

*Si fidei fueris multos mirabilis amicos
Tempora si fuerint mobilis, solus eris*



To the Reader.

NOte gentle Reader, that the starre
in the margent signifyeth the sen-
tences, and the hand the histoꝛyes,
The errors escaped in printyng,
though euery diligent reader of him selfe may
easely correct, yet in the behalfe of the vnlear-
ned sort, I haue added the corrections of theim
to the ende of the booke, where euery man that
listeth to loke may be satisfiſſed both in the woꝛ-
des and sentences of the faultes escaped.

Elizabeth set over this booke
To the Moste hyghe and

vertuouse Princesse. Mary, by the grace of G D D,
QUENE of Englande, Spaine, Fraunce, both Sicilles, Ierusalem,
and Irelande . Defendour of the faith , Archiduchesse of
Austria, Duchesse of Burgundie, Mylaine, and Brabante,
Countesse of Haspourge, Flaunders, and Tyroll.

**Longe health and perpetuall
felycitie.**



THE Devine philosopher Plato, moste gracious soueraigne Lady, traualinge all his lyfe time to abolishe the barbarous maners of the Gretians, and to induce a ciuile forme of liuing amonge the people: ordeined a lawe to the greate comforte of those that folovved vertue, and no lesse to the terrour of others that haunted vices. The vvhiche commaunded, that not onely those, vvhiche broughte in, or inuented any newe thinge that mighte either corrupte the good maners, violate the aunciente customes, hinder throughe euill example good liuinge, impoison vvith erronious doctrine the consciences, effeminate vvith voluptuous pleasures the heartes, impouerishe vvith vnprofitable marchaundise the people, or diffame through malicious vvordes the renouvmes: shoulde be (as vnprofitable membres) from the common vvelth expelled and banished: but also ordeined, that those vvhich studied to publishe any institution, apperteininge, eyther to the honoure of the Goddes, to the reformation of the frayltie of men, or by any other meane, to the profit of the vveale publike, shoulde be condignlye of the common vvealth entertained, preferred, and honoured. Then, if this lawe vvere iust, moste gracious souereigne Lady (as it is moste iuste in dede) vvho deserued more honourable enterテインement amonge the liuinge, or vvho meriteth a vvorthier fame amonge the deade, then Don Antony of Guevara, the Author hereof: For by his stayed life, God hath bene glorified, by his holisome doctrine, the people of Spaine, heretofore edified, and by his svvete and vvritinges, vve (and sundrye other naryons) at thys presente maye be muche profited. The vvhiche thoughe they are all pythy and full of hyghe doctrine: yet this entituled *Los relox de principes*, aboute the rest (in my opinion) is most profounde

A.

and

THE EPISTLE

and pleasaunt. For yf the zeale that I beare to his vvorke deceiue not my iudgement, there is no Auctor (the sacred letters set aparte) that more effectiuously setteth out the omnipotencie of God, the frailty of men, the inconstancie of Fortune, the vanity of this vvorlde, the miserie of this life, and finally that more plainly teacheth the good, vvhiche mortal men ought to pursue, and the euil that al men ought to flye: then this present vvorke doth. The vvhiche is so ful of highe doctrine, so adourned vvith auncient histories, so auctorised vvith graue sentences, and so beautified vvith apt simylitudes: that I knowe not vvhowe eyes in redyng it can be vveried, nor vvhowe eares in hearinge it not satisfied. Considering therefore (most gracious soueraigne Ladye) that this vvorke maye serue to hygh estates for counsell, to curious serchers of antiquities, for knowlledge, and to all other vertuous gentlemen for an honest, pleasaunte, and profitable recreation, and finallye that it maye profite all, and can hurte none: I (according to my smal knowlledge and tender yeares) haue reduced it into oure vulgare tongue, and vnder your graces name haue published it for the commodity of many. Most humbly beseeching your highnes to accept in good part (according to your graces accustomed goodnes) this my good vvill and trauayle: vvich here I offer as a pledge of my bounden duty tovvardes your hyghnes, and also as a perpetual memory of the seruent zeale I beare to my countrey. And in so doinge your grace shal not onely encourage me, beinge yonge, in these my first fruytes: bur also others, (peradventure) of more ripe yeres, to attempt the like enterprise, by the vvich the deuine maiestie may be immortally glorified, your puisaunt name vvorthely magnified, your royal parson duely obeyed, and al your graces natural, and louinge subiectes greatly profited.

At Lincones Inne the. 20. of Decembre,

Your highnes most humble and loyall subiecte,

Thomas North

The Generall Prologue

Upon the Booke entytled, the Diall of Princes, With the

famous booke of MARCVS AVRELIVS. Compyled by the

reuerende father in God, Don Antony of Guevara, Bpshop

of Guadix, Confessor, and Chronicker, of Charles the fyfte,

Emperour of Rome, to whom, and to all other

Princes and noble men, this worke

was directed.



POLONIVS THIANEVVS, disputinge with the Schola

lers of Marcas, saide, that amonge all the affections of nature, nothing

is moze naturall, than the desire, that all haue to maintayne their lyfe.

Besides that, the auncient Philosophers are agreed in their disputas

cions, we also our selves dayly se it by experience, that to lyue, men doe

travaille, to lye, birdes do fly; to lye, fishes do swyme, and to lyue beas

tes do hyde them selves. Finally I say, there is no living creature so brutish, that hath not

a naturall desier to lyue. And albeit many of the auncient Paynens so lytle esteemed their

lyfe, that of their owne free willes, they offered them selves to death: yet they did not this, for

that they dyspyled lyfe: but because they thoughte that for their lytle regardynge lyfe, they

would highly esteeme their fame. For asynge as men of halowe courages seeke rather to

win a longe burynge fame, than to saue a shorte lastynge lyfe. The euill willes, that men

haue to die, are easely sene, by the great paynes they take to lyue. For it is a naturall thing

to all mortall men, to leaue their lyues with joye, and take their deaths with feare. As

mytte that all do taste this cozpoall death, and that generally, both good, and euill do dye:

yet notwithstandinge, there is great difference, betwene the death of one, and the death of

another. If the good desyre to lyue, it is for the greater desier they haue to do good: but if

the euill desier to lye, it is for that they would abuse the world longer. For the chylde

of vanitie, call no tyme good, but that wherein they lye accordynge to their owne desires.

I let ye vnderstande, that are at this present, and ye also, that shall come hereafter, that I

direct my wytyng vnto those, which embrace vertue, and not vnto those, that are borne a

way with vice. God doth not way vs as we are, but as we desier to be. And let no man say,

I would, and can not be good: for as we haue the audacitie to commit a fault, so (if we

lyst) we may enforce our selves, to worke amendes. All our vndoing procedeth of this, that

we all outwardly make a shewe of vertue, but inwardly in dede, we employe our power

to vice, which is an abuse, where with all the world is corrupted, and decciued. For hea

uen, is not furnysshed but with good dedes, and hell is not replenished but with euill de

sires, I graunt, that neither man, nor beaste, desiereth to die, but all trauaile to thende they

may lye. But now I aske the this question, What doth it enayle a man, to desyre his lyfe

to be prolonged, if that it be wicked, vngood, and defamed? The man, that is high minded,

proude, vnconstante, cruell, dyshonest, enuious, full of hatred, angry, malicious, full of

wrath, couetous a lye, a glutton, a blasphemmer, and in all his doinges disordred, why will

we suffer him in the world? The lyfe of a poore man, that for nede stealeth a gowne, or any

other small crisse, is forþwith taken away, why than saie, that disturbeth a whole comon

weylth

The generall

wealth, lest alyue? I would to god, there were no greater theues in the world, than those,
 whiche robbe the tempoꝝ all goodes of the ryche, and that we did not winke continually at
 them, whiche take awaye the good renoume, as well of the riche, as of the poore. But we
 chastice the one, and dissemble with the other, the whiche thing is euidently sene, how the
 theife that stealeth my neighbours golwe is hanged forthwith, but he that robbeth me
 of my good name, walketh still before my doore. The deuine philosopher Plato, in the first
 booke, that he made of lawes, saide. We ordaine and commaunde, that he that blent not him
 selfe honestly, and hath not his house well resourmed, his riches wel gouerned, his family
 well instructed, and lyueth not in peace with his neighbours, that vnto him be assigned
 tutors, whiche shall gouerne him, as a foole, and as a vacabonde, shalbe expelled from the
 people: to chintent, the common wealthe be not throughte him infected. For there is neuer
 contention, no: strife in a common wealthe, but by suche men, as arre alwayes out of or-
 der. Truly the deuine Philosopher Plato had greete reason in his sayenges, for the man
 that is bitious of his personne, and dothe not trauaile in thinges touching his house, no:
 heapeh his family in good order, no: lyueth quietly in the common wealthe, deserteth to
 be banished, and ouen oute of the countrey. We see, in dyuerse places, many madde men
 tied, and bound faste, which if they were at libertie, would not doe suche harme, as those,
 which dayly walke the streates, at their owne willes, and sensualitie. There is not at this
 daye, so greete, or noble a Lord, no: Lady so delicate, but had rather suffer, a blowe on the
 heade with a stone, than a blot, in their good name, with an euill tonge. For the wounde of
 the heade, in a moneth or twoe, may wel be healed: but the blemmishe of their good name,
 during life, wil neuer be remotied. Lactius saith, in his booke of the life of philosophers,
 that Diogenes (being asked of one of his neighbours, what they were, that ordeined the
 lawes:) answered in this wise. Thou shalt vnderstand, my friend, that the earnest whole
 desire of our forefathers, and all the intention of the Philosophers was, to instructe them
 in their common wealthe, howe they oughte to speake, how to be occupied, howe to cate,
 how to slepe, how to treate, how to apparail, how to trauaile, and how to rest: and in this,
 consisteth all the wealthe of worldly wisedome. In deede, this Philosopher in his an-
 swere, touched an excellent pointe, for the lawe, was made for no other cause, but to bydel
 him, that liueth without reason or lawe. To men, that will liue in reste, and without trou-
 ble in this life, it is requisite, and necessarye, that they chose to them selves, some kind, and
 maner of lyuinge, whereby, they maye maintayne their house in good order, and confirme
 their liues, vnto the same. That estate ought not to be, as the folly of their parson dothe de-
 sire, no: as maye be most pleasaunte, to the delightes of the bodie: but as reason teacheth
 them, and god commaundeth them, for the surer saluacion of their soules. For the children
 of banitie, embrace that onely, which the sensuall appetite desireth, and reiecte that, which
 reason commaundeth. Sence the time that trees were created, they alwayes (remayninge
 in their first nature) vntil this present day, doe beare the same lease, and frute, which thins-
 ges are plainly seen in this, that the date tree, beareth dates, the figge tree, figges, the nut
 tree, nattes, the peare tree, peares, the apple tree, apples, the chesnutte tree, chesnuttes, the
 whe, acornes, and to conlude, I saye, all thinges haue kepte their firste nature, save
 onely, the sinful man, which hath fallen by malice. The planettes, the starres, the heauens,
 the water, the earthe, the ayer, and the fier: the brute beastes, and the fishes, all continue
 in the same estate, wherein they were firste created, not complaininge, no: enueng one the
 other. Man complaineth continually, he is neuer satisfied, and alwaies desireth, to chaunge
 his estate. For the sheperd would be a husbandman, the husbandman a squier, the squier a
 Knight,

Prologue.

- * Knight, the knight, a king, the king, an Emperour. Therfore I say, that selue is the number of them that seke amendement of life: but infinite are they, that trauaile to better their estate, and to increase their goodes. The decaye of the common wealthe (at this presente) through all the worlde is, that the hye, and withered oke (which haue ben nourished vpon the sharpe mountaynes) would now seme to be balmye date trees, cherished in the pleasant gardenes. I meane, that those which yesterdaye coulde haue ben pleased with bye asoznes, in a poore cottage at home: at this daye will not eat, but of delicate dishes, in other mens houses abroad. What estate men oughte to take tipp on them, to kepe their conscience pure, and to haue more rest, in their life, a man cannot easely describe. For there is no state in the church of god, but men maye therein (if they will) serue god, and profite them selues. For there is no kinde of life in the worlde, but the wicked (if they perseuer, and continue therein) maye sclander their personnes, and also leaue their soules. Plini in an epistle he wrote to Fabatus his friend, saith. There is nothing among mortal men more common, and more dangerous, than to giue place to vaine imaginacions, whereby, a man beleueth the estate of one, to be muche better, than the estate of an other. And hereof it proceedeth, that the worlde dothe blinde men so, that they will rather seke that, which is an other mans, by trauaile, and dainger: than enioye their owne, with quiet, and rest. I saye the state of Princes is good, if they abuse it not. I saye the state of the people is good, if they behaue them selues obediently. I saye the estate of the rich, is good, if they wil godly vse it. I saye the estate of the religious is good, if they be able to profite others. I saye the estate of the communalite is good, if they will content them selues. I saye that the estate of the poore is good, if they haue patience. For it is no merite to suffer many troubles, if we haue not patience therein. During the time of this our miserable life, we cannot denaye, but in every estate there is bothe trouble, and dainger. For then onely our estate shalbe perfect, when we shal come gloriously in soule, and bodye, without the feare of death: and also, when we shal reioyce without daungers in life. Remyninge againe to oure purpose (mightie Prince) although we al be of value litle, we al haue litle, we al can attaine litle, we al know litle, we al are able to do litle, we all do litle but litle. Yet in all this litle, the state of Princes semeth some great, & high thing. For y^e worldly men say, there is no such felicitye in this life, as to haue authoritie to commaund many, & to be bounde to obey none. But if either subiectes knewe, how dere Princes bye their power to commaund, or if Princes knewe, how swete a thinge it is, to liue in quiet: doubtlesse, the subiectes woulde petye their rulers, and the rulers, woulde not enuye, their subiectes. For full fewe are the pleasures, which Princes enioye, in respects of the troubles, that they endure. Sithe then the state of Princes is greater than all, that he maye doe more than all, is more of value than all, upholdeth more than al, and finally that from thence, proceedeth the gouernement of al, it is more nedeful, that the house, the person, and the life of a Prince, be better gouerned, and ordered, than all the rest. For even as by the yarde, the marchaunte measurcth al his war: so by the life of the Prince, is measured the whole comon weale. Many sorowes endureth the woman, in nourysshing a waywerde chyld, greates trauaile taketh a scholl maister, in teaching an vntowarde scholler, muche paine taketh an officer, in gouerning a multitude of men: how great chan is the paine, and perill, whereunto I offer my selfe, in takinge vpon me to order the life, of such a one, vpon whose life, hangeth al the good state of a common weale. For Princes and greates Lordes, oughte of vs to be serued, and not to be offended: we ought to exhorte them, not to berayle them: we ought to entreate them, not to defame them: finally I saye, that right simple rechen I that surgeo, which

The generall

With the same plaisters he layd to a harde heele, seeking to cure the tender eyes. I mean
 by this comparison, that my purpose is not to tell princes in this booke, what they be, but
 to warne theim, what they ought to be: not to tel them what they doe, but to aduise them,
 what they ought to doe. For that noble man, which will not amende his life, for remorse
 of his owne conscience, I doe not thinke that he will amend it, for the writing of my penne.
 Paulus diaconus the historiographer, in the seconde booke of his commentaries, the worthy
 an antiquitie, righte woorthy to remember, and also, pleasant to reade. Although in dede,
 to the hinderaunce of my selfe, I shal reherse it. It is, as of the henne, who by longe strai-
 ping on the dongehill, discovereth the knife, that shall cut hir owne throte. Thus was the
 case, Hannibal, the most renowned captaine of Carthage (after he was vanquished by
 shaduenturous Scipio) fled into Asia, to king Antiochus, a prince then living, of great
 vertue, who receiued him into his realme, tooke him into his protection, and right honour-
 ably entertained him, in his house. And certes, the king Antiochus did herein, as a pitie-
 full prince, for there is nothing, whereby princes appoyne them selves more noble, than
 by succouring those which are noble, in their necessitie. These two princes fled of custome
 ofte to hunt in the mountaynes, ofte to dysporte them in the fieldes, ofte to be with these
 armies: But most of all, they went to the schooles to heere the Philosophers. And truly
 they dyd like wyse and skilfull men. For there is no hotter in a daye otherwise so wel em-
 ployed, as in hearkening a wyse pleasant tongued man. There was at that time in Ephesus,
 a famous philosopher called Phormio, which openly reb, and taught, the people of that
 realme. And one daye as these princes came into the schole, the Philosopher Phormio,
 chaunged the matter, whereupon he reb, and of a sodayne, began to talke of the meanes,
 and wayes, that princes ought to be in warre, and of thorder to be kepte in geuing bat-
 tles. Such, is strange, and high phraesed was the matter, whiche he talked of, that not
 onely they indured, whiche neuer before sawe him: but euen those also, that of long time,
 had dayly heard him. For herein, curious, and flourishing wittes, shewe their excellen-
 ce, in that they neuer waite for the matter, to entreate vpon. Creatly gloried the king
 Antiochus, that this Philosopher in presence of this strange prince had so excellently
 spoken, so that strangers might vnderstand, that he had his realme stored with wise men,
 for, courageous and noble princes, esteeme nothing so precious, as to haue men ballant
 to defende their frontiers, and wyse, to gouerne their common weales. The king Antio-
 chus demaunded of the prince Hannibal, how he liked the talke of the philosopher Phor-
 mio, to whome, Hannibal stoutly answered, and in his answer, shewed hym selfe to
 be of the same stoutnes, that he was the same daye, when he wanne the greates battayle at
 Camas. For although, noble harted and courageous princes, lose all their estates, and
 sometimes yet they will neuer confesse their hartes to be ouerthrowen, nor vanquished.
 And these were the wordes, that at that time Hannibal said. Thou shalt vnderstand king
 Antiochus, that I haue seen dyuerse docting olde men, but I neuer sawe a more doctarde
 man, than Phormio, whom thou caulest such a great philosopher. For the greatest kinde
 of folly is, to haue a man, that hath onely a litle vaine science, presumeth to teache, not those
 which haue onely science, but also such, as haue most certayne experiente. Tel me (king
 Antiochus) what harte can brooke with patience, or what tonge can suffer with silence,
 as this man as this philosopher is nourished all his life time, in a corner of Grece,
 teaching philosophy, to presume as he hath done to talke before the prince Hannibal, of
 the affaires of warre, as though he had ben, either lord of Affrike, or captaine of Rome.
 Certes, he sheweth litle knowery hym selfe, or a litle effeminy. For it appeareth
 by

Prologue.

by his same wordes, he would seeme to know more in matters of warre, by that he hath read in bookes, than dothe Hanniball, by the many and great battayles, which he hath fought in the fieldes. Whinge Antiochus, how farre, and how great is the difference, betwene the state of philosophers, and the state of captaynes: betwene the skill to reade in schole, and the knowledge to rule an armye, betwene the science, that these haue in bookes, and the experience, that thothers haue in warre, betwene one, that for his pastime is set round with bookes, and an other, in perill of life, compassed with troups of enemyes. For many there are, which wth great eloquence, in blasing deedes done in warres, can vs^e their tongues; but fewe are those, that at the hunte, haue hartes to aduenture their liues. This s^{ol}p philosopher, neuer sawe man of warre in the feld, neuer sawe one arme of men, discouered by an other, neuer hearde the terrible trumpet, sounde to the horrible and cruel slaughter of men, neuer sawe the treasons of some, nor vnderstode the cowardnes of othes, neuer sawe how fewe they be that fight, nor how many there are that runne away. Finallye, I saye, as it is seynelye for a philosopher and a learned man, to prayse the profitees of peace: euen so it is in his mouthe a thinge vncomely, to prayse of the perilles of warre. Of this philosopher, hath seene no one thinge with his eyes, that he hath spoken, but onelye receyued them in s^{ol}p bookes: let hym recounte them to such, as haue neiether seen, nor receyued them, For warlike sciences, are better learned in s^{ol}p bloody fieldes of Affrike, than in s^{ol}p beautiful schooles of Grece. Thou knowest right wel (king Antiochus) that for the space of, 35 yeares, I had continual, and daungerous warres, almost in Italye, as in Spayne, in the which, fortune did not fauour me (as alwayes her custome is to doe, to those, which by greuous hardnes, and manfulnes, enterpryse high thinges, and of greare vntowlesse) a witness whereof, thou seest me heare, who before my verbe began to giue, was serued, & now when it is hore. I my selfe begynne to serue, I sweare vnto the, by the god Mars, (king Antiochus) that if any man did aske me, how he should vs^e and behaue hym selfe in warre, I would not aunswere hym one word, for they are thinges, that are learned by experience of deedes, & not by prayse in wordes. Although princes beginne warres by iustice, and folow them with wisdom, yet the ende, standeth vppon fickle fortune. Diuerse other thinges Hanniball said vnto Antiochus; and to s^{ol}p curious Phormio, who so euer wil see them, let him reade s^{ol}p apothemes of Plutarke. This example (noble prince) tenderly to this ende, that a man maye condeempne my bolones, and not commende my enterprise, sauing, that thaffaires of the common wealth, be as vnknewen to me, as the daungers of the warres, were to Phormio. They may iustlye saye vnto me, s^{ol}p I being a poore simple man (broughte by a greare while in a base countrey) doe greaues presume, to describe how a prince ought to gouerne his realme, for of trouthe, s^{ol}p moze ignoraunt a man is, of the troubles, and alteracions of the worlde: the better he shalbe counted, in the sight of god. The estate of princes, is to haue great traittes aboute them, and the estate of religious men, is to be solitary: for the seruante of god, ought to be alwayes vnder s^{ol}p vaine thoughtes, & to be euer accompanied with holy meditations. The estate of princes, is alwayes vniquiet: but the state of the religious, is to be enclosed. For other wise, he aboue all others may be called an apostata, that hath his body in the sell, and his harte in the market place. To princes, it is necessarye to speake, and comon with all men: but for the religious, it is not decennte, to be conuersaunt with the worlde. For solitary men (if they doe as they ought) shoulde occupie their handes in trauaile, their body in fasting, their tongue in prayer, and their harte in contemplacion. The estate of princes, for the more parte, is employed to warre: but the state of the religious, is to desire, and procure peace. For if the prince would stoupe to passe his bandes, and by battaile, to shed the blood of his churche:

The generall

Religious ought to these teares, & pray to god for his sines, & if it pleased almighty god,
 as I know what my bounde dutie is in my harte, so if he wold geue me grace to accomplishe
 the same in my dedes. Alas, whā I ponder wth my self the waightrines of the matter, my pen
 is ready soth wth, through negligēce, & slouthfulness (which I feele in my selfe) to faul out of
 my hand, & I halfe minded to leaue of mine enterpryse, my entent is, to speake against my
 self in this case. For although, if mē may know thaffaires of princes by experie^{nce}: yet they
 shal not know how to speake nor write thē, but by science. Those which ought to counsaile
 princes, those which ought to re^{com}mend the life of princes, & that ought to instruct thē, ought
 to haue a cleere iudgemēt, an vpright mind, their wordes aduisedly cōsidered, their doctrine
 holesom, & their life wthout suspitiō. For who so will speake of high thinges, hauing no expe
 riēce of thē: is like vnto a blinde mā, that wold leade, & teach him the way, which seeth bet
 ter, thā he him selfe. This is the sentence of Xenophō the great, which saith, There is no
 thing harder in this life, than to know a wise man. And the reasoⁿ which he gaue, was this.
 That a wise man cānot be knowē, but by an other wise mā, we may gather by this, which
 Xenophō saith: that as one wise man, cannot be knowen, but by an other wise man: so
 likewise it is requisite, that he should be, or haue ben a prince, which should write of the life
 of a prince. For he that hath ben a mariner, & sailed but one yere on the sea: shal be able to
 giue better counsaile & aduise, than he that hath dwelled 10. yeares in the haueⁿ. Xeno
 phō wrote a booke touchi^{ng} the instructiō of princes, & bringeth in Camibises the kinge,
 how he taughte, and spake vnto king Cyrus his sonne. And he wrote an other booke like
 wise, of the arte of chenalrpe, and brought in kinge Phillip, how he taughte to teache his
 sonne Alexander to fight. For the philosophers thought that writi^{ng} to be of no auctoritie,
 vntill it were intituled & set soth, vnder the name of those princes, which had experie^{nce},
 of the thinges they wrote. If an aged prince wold with his penne (if not with worde of mouth) de
 clare, what misfortunes haue happened, sⁱⁿce the first time he began to rule the realme, how
 disobedient his subiectes haue ben vnto him, what griefe his sernautes haue wrought a
 gainst him, what unkindnes his frendes haue shewed him, what subtil wiles his ene
 mies haue bled against him, what daunger his person hath escaped, what iarringes haue
 ben in his palace, what faultes they haue laide against him, how many times they haue de
 ceitued straungers, finally what griefes he hath had by day, & what sorrowful sighes he hath
 fetched in the night: trulye I thinke, and in my thought I am nothing decaued, that if a
 prince wold declare vnto vs his hole life, and if he wold particularly shew vs euery thing,
 we wold both wonder at that body, which had so much suffered: & also we wold be offens
 ed with that harte, that had so greatly dissembled. It is a troublesome thing, a daunge
 rous thing, & an insolent and proude enterpryse, for a man to take vppō him with a penne
 to gouerne the cōmon wealthe, & with a prince to reasoⁿ of his life. For men are not per
 swaded to liue wel by faire wordes, but by vertuous dedes. With out cause therfore I do
 not say, if he is not wise, but a very arrogant man, which dare be so bolde brashed, as to
 giue a prince cōsaile. For princes in many thinges haue their mindes occupied, & hangho
 tely bent, & some of them also are affectioned, & where as we (peradventure) thinke to haue
 them mercifull, we finde them moze angry, & heauy against vs. For counsaile doth moze
 harme than profite, if the giuers thereof be not very wise, & he also which receiuethe it, very
 patient. I haue not ben a prince, to know the traualles of princes, nor am not as president,
 to counsaile princes: yet though I was so bolde to cōpile this booke, it was not vppō pre
 sumption to counsaile a prince so much: as by an humble soth, to giue mine aduise. For
 to giue counsaile, I cōfesse I haue no credite: but for to giue them aduise, it sufficeth me to
 be a subiecte. What the order is, that I haue taken in this booke, how profitable it is to al
 men

Prologue.

men, & how displeasunt to no man, how holisome, & profound doctrine in it is contained, & how the histories be herein applied: I will not by my pen do write, but they the selues shal iudge, whiche shal reade this worke. While it oft cometh to passe, that others booke do loose their estimaciō, not for that they are not very good & excellent: but because the autours hath ben to presumptuous & dainglorious. For in my opiniō, for a mā to praise his owne writings much, is nothyng els, but to giue men occasiō to speake euill both of him, & of his worke. Let no mā thinke, by I haue written this, which is written, without great aduise ment and examinatiō. I do confesse before the redeemer of the whole world, that I haue consumed so many yeres, to seke what I shuld write, that this ii. yeres, one day hath scarcely escaped me, wherein my pen hath not don his dutie to write, or correct in this worke. I confesse, that I toke great paine in writing it, for of trueth, it hath ben written twise, in mine owne hand, and thise, with another mans hand. I confesse, I haue red & searched in diuers & sondrie pottes, many & good strange booke, to thende I might finde good & pleasant doctrine, & besides that, I trauailed much to see, & apply the histories to my purpose. For it is an vnseemly thing to apply an historye without a purpose. I had great respecte, in that I was not so bold in my writings, by a mā might note me to be obscure: nor yet in any thing so long that a mā shuld scander me to much talke. For by al the excellēcie of writing consisteth, where many & goodly sentences are declared in fewe apte wordes. For oft times the long stile is lothsom & tedious, both to the hearers, & readers. Nero the emperor, was I loue to a lady in Rome, named Pompeia, by which I beauty (to his taste) exceeded al other. In the ende yely to intreaty, yely to money & presents, he obtained of her, by which he desired. For in this case of loue, where prayers & impossibilitie he patiently hard & resistance doth lacke: there cannot be long chaste virginity kept. The intemperate loue, by Nero bare to Pompeia, proceeded of the yelow heeres she had, which were of the colour of amber, & in praise of them, he compiled diuers & sondry songes in heroical meter, & with an instrument sang the himself in her presence. Nero was a sage prince, wise & excellently wel learned in the latin tongue, & also a good musician: yet Plutarke in his booke of the geste of noble women (to declare by whattie & lightnes of Nero) reciteth this history: & describing Pompeia, said, by her body was small, her fingers long, her mouth pper, her eye lyds thin, her nose somewhat sharpe, her teeth small, her lips red, her neck white, her forehead broad, & finally, her eyes great & rowling, her brest large, & wel proportioned. What thinke you would Nero haue don, if he had so affectionately see his fatall bypō al other her beautiful pperities, sins & for by loue alonely of her yelow locks, he was deprived both of his wisdom, & also of his senses. For vaine & light mē, loue cometh by not by, which reason commaundeth: but by which their appetite desireth. The loue of the emperor, encreased to folly so much, by not only he counted lecherally al the heeres that his louer Pompeia had on her head: but also gaue to every heere a pper name, & in praise of euery one of the made a song, in somuch, by this effeminate prince spent moze time in vnhersing, & playing to his louer Pompeia: than he did to reforme, & amende the faultes of the common welth. Yea his folly so much surmounted al reason, by he commaunded a combe of gold to be made, & therin he himself combed her yelow locks. And if it chaused by any one heere in his mēg fel of, he by & by, caused it to be set in gold, & offered it by in the temple to the goddess Juno. For it was an auncient custome among the Romaines, that by thing which they entirely loued (whether it were good, or euill) should be offered by to their gods. And whan it was once knowen that Nero was so in loue to these heeres of Pompeia, which were of the colour of amber, al the ladies endeuored them selues, not onely to make artificially their heere of that colour: but also to weere their garmentes, and other attyres of the same colour, in somuch that both men and women did by collers of amber, brooches and ringes set with amber, and al their

The generall

other Jewelles, were of amber. For alwaies it hath bene seen, & euer shalbe: & those things
 ges, whereunto the p[ri]nce is most addicted, the people follow, and aboute al other, cometh the
 same. Before this emperour Nero played this light parte in Rome, the amber stone was
 had in litle estimation, and after that he set so muche by it, there was no p[re]cious stone in
 Rome so much esteemed. Yea and furthermore, the marchaunt gained nothing so muche
 (whether it were in golde or silke) as he did, in the amber stones, nor broughte any kinde
 of marchandise to Rome, more p[re]cious, or more vendible than that was. I doe not mee
 nile at this vanitie, soasmuch as the childe of the world, doe loue, desire, and laboure
 more, to follow the strange folwe of an other: than to furnish & supply, their owne proper
 necessity. Therefore, returning againe to my purpose (most excellent p[ri]nce) by this exam-
 ple you may cōiecture, what I would say, that is, that if this writing were accepted vnto
 p[ri]nces, I am assured it woulde be refused of no man: And if any man would slanderously
 talke of it, he durste not, rememb[er]ing that your maiestie hath receiued it. For those thin-
 ges, which p[ri]nces take to their custodie, we are bound to defende, & it is not lawfull for vs,
 to diminish their credite. Suppose that this my worke were not so p[ro]founde, as it might
 be of this matter, nor with such eloquence set out, as many other bookes are: yet I dare be
 bolde to say, that y^e p[ri]nce shal take more p[ro]fite, by reading of this worke, than Nero did,
 by his loue Pompeia, for in y^e ende, by readinge & studying good bookes, men rouse, &
 become sage, & wise: and by heaping ill company, they are counted fooles, & vicious; y^e mea-
 ning is not, nor I am not, so importunate, & unreasonable, to perswade p[ri]nces, that they
 shoulde so fauour my doctrine, that it shoulde be in like estimatiō now in these partes, as the
 amber was there in Rome. But that, which onely I require, & demaunde is, that the time
 which Nero spent, in singing, & telling the heeres of his loue Pompeia, shoulde now be em-
 ployed, to redresse the wronges, & faultes, of the cōmon wealch. For the noble & valiaunt
 p[ri]nce, ought to employe the leasse parte of the day, in the recreatiō of his personne. After
 he hath giuen audience to his counsaillours, to the embassadours, to the great lordes & p[re]-
 lates, to y^e riche & poore, to his owne cōuntry men, & straungers, and after y^e he be come in-
 to his p[ri]uie chamber, then my desire is, that he would reade this treatise, or some other bet-
 ter than this: for in p[ri]nces chambers oftentimes, p[ri]uate men lose great time, in reciting
 vaine & trifling matters, & of small p[ro]fite, the whiche might better be spent, in readinge
 some good booke. In all worldly affaires that we doe, & in all our bookes which we com-
 pile, it is a great matter to be fortunate. For to a man that fortune doth not fauoure, dili-
 gence (without doubt) can litle auail. Admitte that fortune were against me, in y^e this my
 worke shoulde not be acceptable vnto your maiestie, without cōparisō, it shoulde be a great
 griefe, & dishon[or] vnto me, to tell you what shoulde be good to reade for your pastime, if on
 the other parte, you would not p[ro]fite by mine aduise. For my minde was not, onely to make
 this booke, to the ende p[ri]nces shoulde reade it for a pastime, but to that ende (in recreating
 them selues) sometimes they mowghte thereby also take p[ro]fite. Aulus gelius, in the 12.
 chapter of his thirde booke, entituled De nocte attica, saith, that amonge all y^e schollers
 which y^e deuine Plato had, one was named Demosthenes, a man amonge the Grekes,
 most highly esteemed, & of the Romaines, greatly desired. Because he was in his liuinge,
 seuer, & in his tōge & doctrine, a very satire. If Demosthenes had come in y^e time of Phal-
 laris y^e tirant, when Grecia was peopled with tirantes, and that he had not ben in Pla-
 toes time, when it was replenished with philosophers, truly, Demosthenes had ben as
 clere a lantern in Asia, as Cicero was in Europe. It is a great difference, for a notable
 ma to be borne in one age, fro that it is, to be borne in another age. I meane, y^e if a valiant
 brighte, come in the tyme of a couragious and stout p[ri]nce, such one truly shalbe este-
 med

Prologue

med and set in great authoritie. But if he come in the time of an other effeminate and covetous prince, he shall not be regarded at all. For he will rather esteeme one, that will augment his treasure at home: than him, that can vanquish his enemies in battayle. So likewise it chaunceth to wise, and vertuous men, the which, if they come in the time of vicious and learned princes, are esteemed & honoured: But if they come in the time of vaine and vicious princes, they make small account of them. For it is an auncient custome amonge vaintes chlozen, not to honour him, which is to the common wealthe most profitable: but him, which to the prince, is most acceptable. The ende why this is spoken (Most pleasant Prince) is, because these two renowned philosophers were in Greeke bothe at one time, and because the deuine philosopher Plato, was so much esteemed, and made of, they did not greatly esteeme the philosopher Demosthenes. For the emperence and highe reputation of thone, diminished the estimation amonge the people of the other, and especially, when they be bothe of one profession. Although Demosthenes was such a one in dede, as we haue sayd, that is to witte, eloquent of tongue, ready of memorie, sharpe and quick of witte, in liuinge seuer, sure, and profitable in gettinge of counsaile, in renoume excellent, in yeares very aunciente, and in philosophie, a man righte well learned. Per he refused not, to goe to the schooles of Plato, to heare in all philosophie. But that shoulde reade this thing, or heare it redde, ought not to merueyle, but to folow it, and to profite likewise in the same, that is to vnderstande, that one philosopher learned of an other, and one wise man, suffereth him selfe, to be taught of an other. For, knowledge is of such a qualitie, that the more a man knoweth, dayly there encreaseth in him a desire to know more. All things of this life (after they haue ben tasted, and possessed) cloyeth a man, wearyeth and troubleth him, that science only excepted, which neuer dothe cloye, wearye, nor trouble them. And if it happen the weerye anye, it is but the eyes, which are wearied with lookinge, and readinge: and not the spirite, with feelinge, and tastinge. Many Lordes, and my familiare friends doe tell me, and aske, how it is possible I shoulde liue with so muche studye. And I aske them, how it is possible for them, to liue so longe in idelnes. For consideringe the promotion & assaults of the flesh, the daungers of the world, the temptations of the deuill, the treasons of enemies, & the importunities of frendes: what harte can suffer, so great, and continual tranasle, but onely in reading and comfortinge him selfe in bookes. Truly, a man ought to haue more compassion, of a simple ignorant man, than of a poore man.

For there is no greater pouertie vnto a man, than to lacke wisdom, whereby he shoulde knowe, how to gouerne him selfe. Therefore folowing our matter, the case was such. That one day Demosthenes (going to the schole of Plato) saw in the market place of Athens, a great assembly of people, which were hearing a philosopher, newly come vnto that place: and he spake not this without a cause, that there was a great company of people assembled, For that naturally, the common people are desirous, to heare, new and strange things.

Demosthenes asked, what philosopher he was, after whom so many people went: when it was answered him, that it was Calistratus the philosopher, a man, which in eloquence, was very swete and pleasant, he determined, to stae, and heare him, to the ende, he woulde knowe, whether it were true or vaine, that the people tolde him. For oftentimes it happeneth, that amonge the people, some get them selues great fame, more by fauoure, than by good learninge. The difference that was betwixte the deuine Philosopher Plato, and Calistratus, was, in that Plato was exceedingly well learned, and the other very eloquent: and thus it came to passe, that in liuinge, they folowed Plato: and in eloquence of speche, they folowed Calistratus. For there are diuers men sufficientely well learned,

which

The generall

- * whiche haue profounde doctrine, but they haue no waye nor meanes to teache it others. De mosthenes, hearing Callistratus but once, was so farre in loue with his doctrine, that he neuer after heard Plato, nor entred into his schole, for to harken to any of his lectures, at whiche newes, diuerse of the sages of Grecia, marvelled muche, seeinge that the tongue of a man was of suche power, that it had put all their doctrine to silence. Although I applye not this example, I doute not but you vnderstande to what ende I haue declared it. And moreouer I saye, that although Princes haue in their chambers bookes so well corrected, & men in their houses so wel learned, that they maye worthely heape the stinias, which Plato had in his schole, yet, in this case it should not displease me, that the difference, that was betwene Plato, and Callistratus, should be, betwene Princes, and this booke. God forbidd, that by this sayeng men should thinke, that I meane to dissuade Princes, from the companie of the sage men, or from readinge of anye other booke but this, for in so doinge, Plato should be reiected, which was deuine; and Callistratus embraced, which was more worldly. But my desire is, that sometime they would vse to reade this booke a little, for it may chaunce, they shal finde some holde counsaile therein, which at one time or other, may profite them in their affaires. For the good & careful princes, ought to graffe in their memory, the wise sayenges which they reade, & forget the cankered iniuries, which to them are done. I do not speake it without a cause, that he that readeth this my writing, shal finde in it some profitable counsaile, for al that which hath ben written in it, hath ben in euery worde, and sentence, with great diligence so wel weyed, and corrected, as if therein onely consysted all the hooke matter. The greatest griefe, that learned men feele in their writinge, is, to thinke, that if there be many that biewe their doinges, to take profite thereby, they shal perceiue that ther are as many moe, which occupy their tongues, in the slander and dispraise thereof. In publishinge this my woork, I haue obserued the maner as they do, that plant a newe gardein, wherein they set Roses, whiche giue a pleasant sauour to the nose, they make faire grene plattes, to deliyght the eyes, they graffe fruitful trees, to be gathered with the handes, but in the ende, as I am a man, so haue I written it for men, and consequently, as a man I may haue erred, for there is not at this day so perfite a painter, but another will presume to amende his woork. Those whiche diligently will endeavour themselves to reade this booke, shal finde in it very profitable counsailes, very lively lawes, good reasons, very notable sayenges, sentences very profound, worthy examples, & histories very aunciente. For to sake the trouthe, I had a respecte in that the doctrine was auncient, and the stile newe, not for that onely, because it should be giuen to a prince, whiche is a greater Lord, Kinge, and Emperour, than any other, and that I, amonge all his other subiectes, am one of the least, yet he ought not for my base condicion, to disdain to cast his eyes hypon this, nor to thinke scoorne to put that thing in prooffe, which semeth good. For a good letter, ought to be nothing the lesse esteemed, although it be written with an euill penne. I haue saide, and will saye, that princes and great Lordes, the stouter, the richer, & the greater of renoume they be, the greater neede they haue of men, of good knowledge aboute them, to counsell them in their affaires, and of good bookes, whiche they may reade: and this they ought to doe, aswel in prosperitie, as in aduersitie, to the ende, that their affaires in tyme conueniente, maye be debated, and redressed. For otherwyle, they should haue time to repent, but no leasure to amende. Plinie and Marcus Varro, Strabo and Macrobes (whiche were historiographers, no lesse graue, than true) were at great conseruatione, in prouing what thinges were most autentike in a common weale, and at what tyme, they were of al men accepted. Seneca in a pisse he wrote to Lucilla, passed without ceasing,

Prologue.

cessinge, the common wealth of the Rhodiens, in the whiche (with muche adoe) they bent
 them selves altogether to kepe one selfe thinge, and after they had ther vpon agreed, they
 kepte and mainteined it inuiolatelye. The deuine philosopher Plato, in the sixte booke en-
 titled De legibus, ordeyned, and commaunded, that if any citizen, dyd inuente any new
 thinge, whiche neuer before was reade, nor harde of, the inuentour thereof shoulde firste
 practise the same, for the space of .10. yeares in his owne house, before it was brought into
 the common wealth, and before it should be published vnto the people, to the end, if the in-
 uencion were good, it should be profitable vnto him, and if it were noughte, that than the
 daunger and hurte thereof, should lighte onelye on hym. Plutarke in his Apothemes
 saith, that Licurgus, vpon greuous penalties dyd prohibite, that none should be so hardy
 in his common wealth, to goe wandering into straunge countreys, nor that he should
 be so hardy, to admit any straungers to come into his house, and the cause why this lawe
 was made, was, to the end straungers should not bring into their houses, thinges straunge,
 and not accustomed in their comon wealth, and that they, traunspylge through straunge
 countreys, should not learne newe customes. The presumption of men now a dayes is so
 great, and the consideracion of the people so small, that what soeuer a man would speake,
 he speaketh, what so euer he can inuente, he dothe inuente what he woulde, he dothe wryte,
 and it is no merueill for there is no man that wyl speake againste them, for the common
 people in this case are so light, that amonges them, you maye daylye see new deuises, and
 whether it hurte, or profite the common wealth, they force not. If there came at this daye,
 a baine man amonges the people, which was neuer seen, nor harde of before, if he be any
 thinge subtile, I aske you but this question: shall it not be easie for him to speake, and in-
 uent what he listeth, to set forth what he pleaseth, to perswade that, whiche to him seemeth
 good: and all his sayenges to be beleued? Truly it is a wonderfull thinge, and no lesse sclau-
 derous, that one should be sufficiente, to peruerthe the senses, and iudgements of all, and
 all not able to repress, the lightenes and vanitie of one. Thinges, that are newe and not
 accustomed, neither princes oughte to allowe, nor yet the people to vse, for a newe thinge,
 * oughte no lesse to be examined & considered, before it be brought into the common wealth:
 than the greate doubt whiche arys in mens myndes. Rufinus in the prologue of his
 seconde booke, reprehendeth greatly the Egyptians, because they were to curious in spea-
 kinge fine wordes, and aboue all others, he greatlye prayseth the Romaines, for that they
 were very hard of beleife, & that they scarcely alwayes credited the sayenges of the Grekes,
 and because they were discrete, in admittinge the indencions of the Egyptians. This
 * autho: hath reas: to praise thone, and dispraise thother. For it procedeth of a lighte iudge-
 ment, to credite all thinges, that a man heareth, and to doo all thinges, that he seeth. Re-
 turninge therefore now to our matter. Marcus Varro sayd, there were .5. thinges in the
 * worlde, very harde to bringe in, whereof none after they were commonly accepted, were
 * euer losse, or forgotten, for euen as thinges vainely begonne, are easelye lesse of: so suche
 thinges, which with greate feare, and doute were accepted, with muche diligence, are al-
 wayes obserued. The firste thinge, that chieselye throught out all the worlde was accepted,
 was al nys to liue togethers: that is to say, they shuld make places, towne, villages, cities
 and comon welthes. For according to the sayeng of Plautus, the first, & best inuentours of
 the comon welth, were the antes, which (according to the experience we see) do liue togethers,
 do trauaile togethers, do go togethers, & also for y winter, they make prouision togethers,
 and furthermore, none of these antes do geue the selfes, to any priuat thing, but all theirs
 is brought into their comon welth, It is a merueilous thinge, to beholde the comon welth
 of the

The generall

of the antes, how netely they trim theyr hilles, to behold how they sweepe away the graine, when it is wet, and how they drye it when they fele anye moysture to beholde howe they come from their worke, and how the one doth not hurte the other. And to behold also, how they doe reioyce the one, in the others trauaile. And that, whiche is our greatest confusion is, that if it should come to passe so, thousande antes would lyue in a lyttle caue of earthe, and two men onely, cannot liue in peace, and concoide in a common wealthe. Woulde to god, the wylfedome of men were so greate to kepe them selves, as the prudence of the antes is, to lyue. When the worlde came to a certayne age, and mens wyltes waxed moze fine, than tirauntes sprange vp, which oppressed the poore, theues that robbed the riche, rebels that robbed the quiet, murderers that slewe the patient, the ybell that ate the swete of other mens browes, all the which thinges considered, by them, which were vertuons, they agreed to assemble and liue together, that therby, they might preferue the good, and withstande the wicked. Macrobius, in the seconde booke of Scipions dreame sayeth, that couetousnes, and auarice, was the greatest cause, why men inuented the common wealthe, Plinie in the seuenth booke. 52. chapter saith, the firste that made small assemblies, were the Atheniens, and the firste that builte greate cities, were the Egipcians. The seconde thinge, that was accepted throughtoute all the worlde, were the letters, whiche we reade, whereby we take profite in wrytyng. Accordyng whereunto Marcus Varro sayeth, the Egipcians prayse them selves, and say, that they dyd inuente them: and the Assirians as firme the contrarpe, and sweare that they were shewed firste of all amongst them. Plinie in the seuenth booke sayeth, that in the firste age, there was in the alphabet, no moze than 18. letters, and that great Pallamedes at the siege of Troye, added other. 4. and Aristotele saith, that immediately after the beginninge, there were founde, 18. letters. And that afterwarde Pallamedes did adde but. 2. and so there were. 20. and that the Philosopher Epicarme, did adde other two, whiche were. 22. It is no great mater, whether the Egipcians or the Assiriens firste founde the letters. But I say, and affirme, that it was a thing necessarie for a common wealthe, and also for the increase of mans knowlage. For yf we had wanted letters, and wrytyngs, we could haue had no knowlege of the tyme past, nor yet our posteritye could haue ben aduertised, what was done in our dayes. Plutarche in the seconde booke entituled De uitis illustribus, and Plinie in the seuenth booke and. 42. chapter, doe greatly praise Pirotas, because he first founde the fier in a flinte stone. They greatly commend Protheus, because he inuented harness, and they highly extolled Parischazille, because she inuented the hatchet. They praised Citheus, because he inuented the bowe, and the arrowes. They greatly praised Pheniseus, because he inuented the crosse bowe, and the slinge. They highly praised the Lacedemonians, because they inuented, the helmet, the spere, and the sword. They commend those of Thessalia, because they inuented the combate on horsebacke, and they commend those of Affrike, because they inuented the sight by sea. But I doe prayse, and continually wyl magnifye, not those which founde the arte of fightinge, and inuented weapons to procure warre, for to kill his neighbour: but those, which founde letters, for to learne science, and to make peace betwene two princes. What difference is there, to wet the penne with inke, and to painte the spere with bloud, to be enuironned with bookes, or to be laden with weapons. To study howe every man ought to liue, or els to goe pryuelly and robbe, in the warres, and to lye in waighte to kyl his neighbour. There is none of so baine a iudgement, but will praise moze, the speculation of the sciences, than the practyse of the warre. Because that in the ende, he that lea-
rnyth sciences, learneth noughte els, but howe he, and others oughte to lyue. And he that
learneth

Prologue.

learneth swarthyke feates, learneth none other thinge, than howe to slep his neighbour, and to destroye others. The thirde thinge, that equallye of all was accepted, were lawes. For admittethat al men now liued together in common, if they would not be subiecte one to another, there would muche contention arise amongst them, for that accordyng to the saying of Plato, there is no greater token of the distruction of a comon weale than when many rulers are chosen therein. Plinie in his seuenth booke. 56. chapter saith, that a quene called Ceres, was the firste, that taughte them to sowe in h fieldes, to grinde in milles, to passe and bake in ovens, and also she was the firste that taughte the people to liue accordyng to the lawe. And by the meanes of all these thinges our forefathers called her a goddess. Som what time, we neuer haue seen, heard, nor red of any realme, or other nation (as wel straunge, as barbarous) what so etier they were, but haue had lawes, whereby the good were fauoured, and also institutions of greuous paines, wherewith the wicked were punished. Although truly I had rather, & it were better, that the good shuld loue reason: than feare the lawe. I speake of those which loue to doe euil woorkes for feare: onely, of falling into the punishmentes appointed for euil doers. For although men approue that which they doe, yet god condemneth that, which they desire. Seneca in an epistle he wrote to his friend Lucille, sayde these wordes. Thou wilstest vnto me Lucille, that those of the Ile of Scicili, haue caried a greate quantitie of corne into Spaine, and into Affrike, the which thinge was forbidden by a Romaine lawe, and therefore they haue deserved greuous punishment. Now because thou arte vertuous, thou maistte teache me to doe wel, and I that am olde, will teache the to saye well: and this is, because that amongst wise and vertuous men, it is not enoughe to saye, that the lawe commaundeth, appointeth, and suffereth this thing, but in asmuch, as it is agreying with reason. For the crowne of the good is reason, and the scourge of the wicked is the lawe. The fourth thinge that commonly through the world amongst all men was accepted, was the barbers. And let no man take this thing in mockerie: for if they doe reade Plinie in the. 59. chapter the seuenth booke, they shal finde for a trouthe, that the Romaines were in Rome. 454. yeares, without pouling or hauinge the heddes of the beard of any man. Marcus Varro said, that Publius Philius, was the firste that broughte the barbers fro Scicili to Rome. But admittethat it were so or otherwise: yet notwithstanding there was great contention among the Romaines, for they sayde, they thought it a rashe thinge for a man to commit his life to the curtesye of an other. Dionisius the Siracusan neuer trusted his beard with any barbor, but when his daughters were very litle: they clipped his bearde with sisters, but after they became great, he would not put his trust in them to trimme his beard, but he him selfe did burne it with the shales of nuttes. This Dionisius Siracusan, was demanded why he would not truste anye barbour with hys beard. He answered, because I knowe that there be some, which will geue moze to h barbour to take away my life, than I will giue to trimme my bearde. Plinie in the seuenth booke saith, that the great Scipio called African, and the Emperour Augustus, were the first that caused them in Rome to haue their beards. And I thinke, thend why Plinie spake these thinges, was to exalte these two princes, which had as great courage, to suffer the rayfours touche their throtes, as thone for to fighte against Hanniball in Affrike, & thother againste Sextus Pompeius in Scicill. The fiste thing which commonly through the world was accepted, was the clockes, which the Romaines wanted a long time. For as Plinie and Marcus Varro say, the Romaines were without clockes in Rome, for the space of. 595. yeares. The curious hystoriographers declare thre maner of clockes, that were in olde time, that is to say, clockes

The generall prologue.

kes of the houres, clockes of the sonne, and clockes of the water. The clockes of the sonne
 Aneximenides Millelius inuented, who was greate Animandras scholer. The clocke
 of the water, Scipio Nasica inuented, & the clocke of houres, one of the scholers of Thas-
 les the philosopher inuented. Of all these antiquities, whiche were brought into Rome,
 none of them were so acceptable to the Romaines, as the dialles were, whereby they mea-
 sured the daye by the houre. For before, they could not saye, we will rise at 7. of the clocke,
 we will dine at 10. we will see one another at 12. at 1. we will doe that we oughte to doe. But
 before they saye, after the sonne is vp, we will doe such a thinge, and before it goe downe,
 we will doe that we oughte to doe. The occasion of declaringe vnto you these 5. antiquities
 in this preamble was, to no other intente, but to call my booke the Dial of Prynces. The
 name of the booke beinge newe (as it is) maye make the learninge that is therein, greatlye
 to be esteemed. God forbyd that I should be so bolde to saye, they haue ben so longe time in
 Spayne without dialles of learninge, as they were in Rome without the dial of the sonne,
 the water, and of the houres. For that in Spayne haue ben alwayes men wel learned in
 sciences, and very expert in the warres. By great reason and of greater occasiō, they in-
 res oughte to be commended, the knyghtes, the people, their wittes, and the fertilitye of
 their countrey: but yet to al these goodnes, I haue sene many vnlearned bookes in Spayne,
 which as broken clockes, deserue to be cast into the ster to be foyged and so. I do not speake
 it without a cause, that manye bookes deserue to be broken, and but one. For there are so
 many, that without shame and honestie doe set forth the bookes of loue of the world, at this
 daye as boldly, as if they taughte them to dispise and speake euill of the world. It is pitty
 to see how many dayes, and nightes be consumed, in readinge vayne bookes (that is to say)
 as Dion and Valentins, the Courte of Venus, and the .4. sonnes of Amon, and diuerse
 other vaine bookes, by whose doctrine I dare boldlye saye, they passe not the tyme but in
 perdition: for they learne not how they oughte to sylee vice, but rather what way they may
 with moze pleasour embrace it. This dial of prynces is not of sonne, nor of the sonne, nor
 of the houres, nor of the water, but it is the dial of life, for by other dialles seme to knowe,
 what houre it is in the night, and what houre it is of the day: but this sheweth and tea-
 cheth vs, how we oughte to occupye our mindes, and how to order our lyfe. The propertye
 of other dialles is, to order thinges publyke: but the nature of this dial of prynces is,
 to teache vs how to occupye our selues euerye houre, and howe to amende our
 lyfe euerye momente. It lyeth staypleth to keape the dialles well, and to
 see thy subiectes, by solutelye without anye order, to
 range in routes, and dailye rayse debate
 and contention, amonge
 them selues.

In this Prologue, the

Authour speaketh particularly of the

Booke, called Marcus

Aurelius.



HE greatest banitie that I finde in the worlde is, that vayne men are not onely contente to be vayne in their life: but also procure to leaue a memozye of their banitye, after their death. For it is so thought good, vnto vayne & lyght men, whiche serue the worlde in vayne workes: that at the houre of their deathe, when they perceiue they can doe no more, and that they can no longer preuaile, they offer them selues vnto deathe, which now they see approche vppon theim. Manye of the worlde are so fleshed in the worlde, that althoughe it forsaketh theim in deedes: yet they wyl not forsake it in their desires. And I durste sweare, that if the worlde coulde graunt them perpetual life, they would promise it alwayes to remaine in their custonable folye. What a number of vaine men are alīue, which haue neither remembraunce of god to serue him, nor of his glozy to obey him, nor of their conscience to make it cleane: but like brute beasts solow, and ronne after their voluptuous pleasours. The brute beast is angry, if a man heape him to much in awe: if he be werpe, he taketh his rest, he slepeth when he lysteth, he eateth and drinketh, when he commeth vnto it, and vnles he be compelled, he dothe nothing, he taketh no care for the common wealth, for he neither knoweth how to solow reason, nor yet how to resiste sensualitie. Therfore, if a man at all times should eate when he desireth, reufge him selfe whē he is moued, commit adultery when he is tempted, drinke whē he is thirstie, and sleepe when he is drousey, we might more properly call suche a one, a beast nourished in the mountaynes: than a man brought vp in the common wealth. For hym properly we maye cal a man, that gouerneth him selfe like a man, that is to saye, confosmable vnto suche thinges as reason willet, and not whereunto sensualitie leadeth. Let vs leaue these vaine men which are alīue, and talke of them that be deade, against whom, we dare saye, that whiles they were in the worlde, they folowed the worlde, and liued according to the same. It is not to be meruelled at, that sinners they were liuing in the worlde they were noted of some woefullye pointe. But seing their vnhappy and wicked life is ended: why wyl they then smell of the vanities of the worlde in their graues? It is a greateshame, and dishonour for men of noble and stoute hartes, to see in one minute the ende of our life, and neuer to see the ende of our folye. We neither reade, heare, nor see any thing more common, than such men, as be most hyppositable in the common wealth, and of lyfe moste reprobare to take vppon theim most honour whiles they liue, and to leaue behinde theim the greatest memozye at their deathe. What banitye can be greater in the worlde, than to esteeme the worlde whiche esteemeth no man, and to make no compte of god, who so greatly regardeth all men: what a greater folye can there be in man, than by muche trauaile to encrease his goodes, & with vaine pleasours to lose his soule? It is an olde plague in mannes nature, that many (or the most parte of men) leaue the amendement of their life farre behinde: to set their honour the more before. Suetonius Tranquillus, in the firste booke of the Emperours saith, that Iulius Cesar (no further than in Spaine, in the city of Gades) saue in the temple, the triumphes of Alexander the great paynted, the whiche,

b.ii,

whan

The Auctoures

When he had wel beuewed, he sighed merueilous sore, & being asked why he did so, he answered. What a wooll case am I in, that am now of chage of 33. yerres, and Alexander at 30. had subdued the whole world, and rested him in Babilon. And I (beinge as I am) a Romaine, neuer did yet thinge worthy of praise in my lyfe, nor shal leaue any renoume of me after my death. Dion the Greecian, in the seconde booke de Audacia saith, that the noble Drusius, the Almayne, vsed to visite the graues and tombes, of the famous and renowned, which were buried in Italie, and did this alwayes: especially at his going to warfare, and when it was asked him why he did so, he answered. I visite the sepulchers of Scipio and of dyuerse others whiche are deade, before whome all the earthe trembled, when they were alīue. For in beholdinge their prosperous successe, I dyd recouer bothe strength, and stoutnes. He saith furthermoze, that it encourageth a man to fighte againste his enemies, remembryng he shal leaue of him a memozy in tyme to come. Cicero saith in his Whethorike, & also Plinie maketh mention of the same in an epistle: that thore came from Thebes (in Ægypte) a knight to Rome, for no other purpose, but onely to see, whether it were true or no, that was reported of the notable thinges of Rome. Whom, Messenas demanded, what he perceived of the Romaines, and what he thought of Rome. He answered: the memozy of the absente dothe moze contente me: then the glozy of the present doth satisfie me. And the reason of this, is. The desire, which men haue to excel the liuing, and to be equal vnto the dead: maketh thinges so straunge in their lyfe: that they deserue immortal fame after their death. The Romaines reioysed not a litle, to heare such wordes of a straungers mouth, where by, he praised them which were departed, and exalted them that yet liued. What a thing it is to consider the auncient heathens, which neither feared hel, nor hoped for heauen, and yet by remembraunce of weakenes, they toke vnto them strength: by cowardnes, they were boldened: through feare, they became hardy, of daungers, they tooke encouragement: of enemies, they made frendes: of pouertie, they toke patientie: of malice, they learmed experiance: finally I say, they deuised their owne willes, & folowed thoppynions of others, onely, to leaue behinde theit a memozy with the dead, and to haue a litle honour with the liuing. How many are they, that truste the vncertainnes of fortune, onely to leaue some notable memozy behind them. Let vs call to minde some worthy examples, whereby they may see that to be true, which I haue spoken. What made king Ninus, to inuente such warres? Quene Semiramis, to make such buildinges? Visses the Gretian, to sulke so many seas: kinge Alexander, to conquere so manye landes: Hercules the Thebane, to set by his pilles where he dyd: Caius Cesar the Romaine, to geue 52. batailles at his pleasure. Cyrus king of Persia, to overcome both the Asians: Hannibal the Carthaginēsis, to make so cruel warres againste the Romaines: Pirrhus king of Epirotes, to come downe into Italye: Attila kinge of the Huns, to despoyle all Europe: really they would not haue taken vppon them suche daungerous enterpises, onely vppon the wordes of them which were in those dayes present: but because we should so esteeme them that should come after. Being then that we be men, & the chyldren of men, it is not a litle to be meruailed at, to see the diuersitie betwene the one, & the other, and what cowardnes ther is in the hartes of some, and contrariwise what courage in the stomakes of others. For we see commonly now a daies, that if their be 10. of stout courages, whiche are desirous with honoure to dye: there are 10. thousande cowardes, whiche through harmful pleasures seke to prolonge their life. The man that is ambitious, thinketh him moste happy, who with much estimation can heape his renoume, and with little care regarde his life. And on the other side, he that will set by his life, shal haue, but in

Prologue.

final estimation his renoume. The Sirians, the Affirians, the Thebanes, the Caldes, the Greekes, the Macedoniās, the Rodians, the Romaines, the Huns, the Germanes, & the freche men, if such noble men (as among these were most famous) had not aduentured their liues by such dangerous enterprises, they had neuer got such immortal fame as they had done to leaue to their posteritie. Sextus Cheronēsis, in his third booke, of a valiant heade of the Romaines, saith, that a famous capitaine, Marcus Marcellus (which was the first of al men, that saw the backe of Hannibal in the field) was demaunded of one how he durst enter into battaile, with such a renowned capitaine as Hannibal was, to whom he answered: friend, I am a Romaine boyme, & a capitaine of Rome, and I must daylye put my life in hazard, for my countreys sake, so I shal make perpetual my renoume. He was demaunded againe: why he stroke his enemies with such fiercene, and why he did so pitifully lament those, which were overcome after the victorie gotten in battaile: he answered: the capitaine which is a Romaine, & is not iudged to be a tyrant, ought with his owne hand to shed the bloud of his enemies, and also to shed the teares of his eyes. A capitaine Romaine, ought more to auailie him of his clemencie, then of his bloddie victorie.

And Marcus Marcellus saith further, when the Romaine capitaine shal be in a field, he hath an eye to his enemies, with hope to vanquish the, but after they be vanquished, he ought to remember they are men, and that he might haue ben overcome. For fortune sheweth her selfe in nothing so common, as in the successe of warre. Certes, these were wordes wel becoming such a man, and surely we may boldly say, that al those which shuld heare, or reade such thinges, would commend the wordes, which that Romaine spake: but fewe are they, that in dede would haue done, the feates that he did. For there be many, that are ready to praise in their wordes a which is good, but there are fewe that in their wordes, desire to follow the same. Such hartes as are in quiet, and muche altered by spight & envie, that they bare towardes their auncientes (which through mansplines attained vnto great triumphes, and glory) let them remember, what daungers and trauailes they passed through, before they came thereto, For there was neuer Capitaine that ever triumphed in Rome, vnlesse he had first aduentured his life a thousand times in the felde. I thinke I am not deceived, in this that I wil say. That is to wete, al are desirous to taste of the mary of fame present: but none wil breake the bone for feare of perill ensuing. If honoꝝ coulde be bought with desire onely, I dare boldly say, it would be more esteemed in these daies of the poore age: then it was in times past, of the valiant Romaine Scipio. For there is not at this day so poore a man, but would desire honour aboue al thinges. What a doleful case is this to see, many gentlemen & yong knightes, become euil disposed vacabodes, and loyterers: the which, hearing tel of any famous battaile fought, & that many of their estate and professio have done valiant feates in the same: immediately there with be fired, & set on fire through enuies heate, so that in a same surpe, they chaunge their robes into armour: & with al speed, prepare them selues to warre, to exercise a feates of armes. And finally (like yong men, without experie) make importunate sute, & obtaine licence, & monye of their frendes to go vnto a warres. But after they are ons out of their countrey, & see them selues in a strange place, their daies euil, & their nightes worse, at one time they are commaunded to skirmish, & at an other time to watche, when they haue victualles they want lodging, & when the pay day cometh, that pay, & the nexte also is eaten and spent. With these & other like troubles & discommodities, a poore yong men are so affonied: especially, when they cal to mind, the goodly wide haules, so wel hanged & trimmed, where in they greatly delighted to pass the time in some season, when they remember their great chituneis at home,

The Auctorities

home, whereby they collected their cold limmes, & how they bled to sit quietly upon the
 sunny bankes in winter. For the remembrance of the pleasure past, greatly augmenteth
 the paines present. Notwithstanding these parentes & frendes, had admonished them here
 of before. And now bring death, with their owne folpe, & feeling these discomforts, which
 they thought not of before, they determine to forsake the warres, & eche one to retourne
 home to his owne againe. But where as they asked licence but ons to go forth, now they
 were enforced, 10. times before they could come home. And the worst is, they went forth
 laden with money, and returned home laden with vices. But the ende why these thinges
 are spoken is, that sage & vertuous men, should marke by what trade the evil disposed like
 to gaine: whiche is not gotten by gasinge at the windowes; but by keeping the frontiers
 against their enemies: not with playinge at tables in the tauerne; but with fighting in
 the fieldes: not trimmed with clothe of gold or silkes: but laden with armour & weapons,
 not praucinge their pastreis; but discoueringe the ambushmentes: not sleapinge until
 noone, but watching all night: not by auancing him of his apparasle and handsonnes,
 but for his stout couragiousnes; not bancketing his frendes, but assaulting his enemies;
 though a knight doe these thinges, yet he ought to consider, that it is vanitie and solitarie-
 nes. But seeing the world hath placed honour in such a vaine thing, & that they can attaine
 vnto it by none other way, the yonge aduenturous gentlemen, ought to employe thereunto
 their strength, with stout courage, to atchieue to some great actes, worthy of renoune.
 For in the ende, when a warre is iustly begonne, and that in defence of their countrey,
 they ought to relesse more of him that dieth in the handes of his enemies: then of hym,
 whiche liueth accompanied with vices. It is a great shame & dishonour to men of armes,
 and yonge gentlemen being at home, to heare the prayse of them which be in the warres:
 for the yonge gentleman ought not to thinke it honour for him, to heare or declare the newes
 of others: but that others should declare the vertuous deedes of him. & how many are they
 in the worlde this day (puffed up with pryde, and not very wyse) whiche stil prate of great
 renoune, and yet passe their life with final honestie. For our predecessours fought in the
 felde with their lances, but yonge men now a daies, fight at the table with their coges.
 Admitte that al vaine men desire, & procure to leaue a memoire of their banitie: yet they
 ought to enterpryse suche thinges in their life, whereby they might winne a famous re-
 noune (and not a perpetual shame) after their death. For there are many departed, which
 haue lefte such memoire of their workes, as moueth vs rather to pitye their folpe, than to
 enuie their vertue. I aske those that reade or heare this thing, if they wyl be in loue with
 Nembroth the firste tiraunt: with Semiramis, which sinned with her sonne: with An-
 thenor, that betrayed his countrey: with Medea, that slewe her child: with Tarquine,
 that enforced Lucrecia: with Brutus, that slewe Caesar: with Dilla, that shed so much bloud:
 with Catilina, that plased the tiraunt in his countrey: with Iugurtha, that strangled his
 brotherne: with Nero, that killed his mother: with Heliogabalus, that robbed the tem-
 ples: with Domitian, that in nothing delighted so muche, as by straunge meanes to tor-
 ment men, and to dyue away flies with his owne handes. Small is the nuber of those that
 I haue spoken, in respecte of those which I could recite: of whom I dare say and affirme,
 that if I had ben as they, I cannot tel what I would haue done, or what I should haue de-
 sired: but this I know, it would haue ben more paynes to me, to haue wonne the infamye
 that they haue wonne, then to haue lost the life that they haue lost. It profiteth him litle, to
 haue his podes ful of fische, & his parkes ful of deere, which knoweth, neither how to hunt,
 nor how to fische. I meane to shew by this, & it profiteth a man litle to be in great authori-
 ty,

Prologue. A 511

* eye, if he be not esteemed, nor honoured in the same. For to attain to honour, wisdom is requisite: & to kepe it, patience is necessary. With great considerations, wise men ought to enterpryse dangerous things: I assure thei they shal neuer winne honour, but to where they use to recover slander. Returnyng thetfore to our matter (Puisant Prince) I sweare, & durst undertake, that you rather desire perpetual renowne throught deathe: then any soel rest in this life. And hereof I do not meruell, for there are some: that shal alwaies declare the prowesses of good princes; & others which wil not spare to open the vices, of evil tyrantes. For although your impetial estate is much, and your catholike persone deserves moze: yet I beleue with my harte, and see with these eyes, that your thoughtes are so highly bent vnto aduenturous deedes, & your harte so contagious to set vpon them, that your maiestie little esteemeth the inheritance of your predecessors, in respect of that you hope to gayne, to leane to your successors. A captaine asked Iulius Cesar as he declared in his commentaries why he traualled in the winter in so harde frost, & in somer in such extreme heate. He answered: I will do what lieth in me to do, and afterwarde be, let the fatal deities do what they can. For the valiaunt knight, that giueth in battayle chonfer, ought moze to be esteemed: than sickle fortune, whereby the victorie is obtayned. This fortune giueth the one, and aduenture giveth the other. These wordes were spoken, like a stout & valiaunt captaine of Rome. Of how many princes do we reade, whom truly I much lament to see, what flatteries they haue heard with their eares being alive, and to reade what slaunders they haue susteyned after their death. Princes and great lordes, should haue moze regarde to that, which is spoke in their absence: then vnto that which is doite in their presence. Not to that which they heare, but to that, which they would not heare: not to that, which they tel the, but to that, which they would not be tolde of: not to that which is written vnto them being alive, but to that, which is written of them after their death: not to those that tell them lyes, but to those which (if they durst) would tel them trouth. For men many tymes reftaine not their tonges, for that subiectes be not credited: but because the prince in his authority is suspected. The noble and vertuous prince, should not flite from the trouth whereof he is certified: neyther with flatteryes and lyes, should he suffer him selfe to be deceiued: but to examine him selfe, & see whether they serue him with trouth, or deceiue him with lyes. For there is no better witnes and iudge of trouth & lyes: then is a mans owne conscience. I haue spoken al this, to thintent your maiestie myght know, that I wil not serue you, with that you should not be serued. That is, to thewe my selfe in my writing a flaterer. For it were neither mete nor honest, that flatteries, into the eares of such a noble prince shuld enter: neither, that out of my mouth (which preache the deuline trouth) such baite tales shold issue. I say, I had rather be dyspasse for trewe speaking, then to be honoured for flaterie and lyeing. For of trouth in your highnes it should be muche lightnes to heare them, and in my basenes great wickednes to inuente them. Now againe folowinge our purpose I saye, the histories greatly commend Ligurgus, that gaue lawes to the Lacedemonians. Numa pompilius, that honoured and adourned the churches. Marcus Marcellus, that had pitye on those which were overcome. Iulius Cesar, that forgave his enemies. Octavius, that was so welbeloued of the people. Alexander, that gaue rewardes and gistes to all men. Hector the troiane, because he was so valiaunt in warres. Hercules & Thebarie, because he employed his strength to wel. Vlisses & gretian, because he aduentured him self in so many daungers. Pirthus king of Espiotes, because he inuented so many engins. Catull⁹ Regul⁹, because he suffered so many

The Auctoures

to mentes. Titus & Emperour, because he was father of *h* Orphanes. Traianus, because he edified sumptuous & goodly buildinges. The good Marcus Aurelius, because he knew moze then all they. I do not say that it is requisite for one prince in these daies, to haue in him all those qualities: but I dare be bolde to affirme this, y^e even as it is impossible for one prince to folow all: so likewise it is a great sclander for him to folow none. *¶* Who does not require princes to doe all that they can, but to applye themselves to doe some thinge, y^e they ought. And I speake not without a cause, that which I haue said before, for if Princes did occupie themselves, as they ought to doe: they shoulde haue no time to be vicious. *¶* Plinie saith in an epistle, that the great Cato, called Censor, did weere a ring wth his finger, wherein were written these wordes. *Esto amicus vnus, & inimicus nullius.* whiche is, be friend to one, and enemye to none. He that would truely consider these selue wordes, shall fynd therein many graue sentences. And to applye this to my purpose, I say, the prince, that would well gouerne his comon weale: shew to all equall iustice: desire to possesse a quiete life: to get amonge all a good name: and that couereth to leane of him selfe a perpetuall memozy: ought to embrace the vertues of one, and to reiect the vices of all. I allowe it very well, that princes should be equal: yea and surmount many: but yet I aduise them, not to employe their force, but to folow one. For oftentimes it chaunfeth, that many, which suppose them selues in their life to excel all (when they are dead) are scarcely found equal to any. Though man hath done much, and blased what he can yet in the end, he is but one, one mind, one power, one byrth, one life, and one death. The sithen he is but one, let no man presume to know moze than one. Of all these good princes, whiche I haue named, in the rolle of iustice, the laste was Marcus Aurelius, to thentent, that he shoulde weaue this webbe. For suppose we reade of many princes, that haue compyled notable thinges, the which are to be redde, and knowe, but al that Marcus Aurelius said, or did, is woorthy to be knowen, and necessary to be folowed. I doe not meane, this prince in hys heathen law, but in his vertuous deedes, let vs not stape at his belye: but let vs embrace the good that he did. For compare many christians with some of *h* heathē, and looke howe farre we leane them behind in faith: so farre they excel vs in vertuous workes. All the old princes in times past, had som philosophers to their familiars, as Alexander, Aristotle. king Darius, Herodotus. Augustus, Pisto. Pompeius, Plauto. Titus, Plinie. Adria, Secundus. Traian, Plutarchus, Anthonius, Apolonius, Theodotius, Claudius. Sacerus, Fabatus. Finally I say, y^e philosophers the had such authoritie in princes palaces: that children acknowledged them for fathers, and fathers reuerenced them as maisters. These sage mē were aliue in the company of princes: but the good Marcus Aurelius (whose doctrine is before your maiestie) is not aliue, but dead: Yet therfore, that is no cause why his doctrine should not be admitted. For it may be (paradventure) that this shal profite vs moze, whiche he wrote with his handes, than that, which others spake with their tonges. Plutarke saith, in the time of Alexander the great, Aristotle was alieue, and Homere was dead. But let vs see how he loued the one, & reuerenced the other, for of truth he slept alway wth Homers booke in his handes, & waking he red *h* same with his eyes, & alwaies kept the doctrine therof in his memozy, & layed (whē he rested) the booke vnder his heade. The which priuiledge Aristotle had not, who at al times could not be heard, & much lesse at al seas be belieued: so that Alexander had Homere for his friend, and Aristotle for a maister. Other of these philosophers were but symple men: but our Marcus Aurelius, was both a wise philosopher, and a valiaunt prince: and therfore reason would he should be credited before others. For as a prince he wil declare *h* troubles, & as a philosopher he wil redress

Prologue.

redresse the. Take you therfore (Dyssaunt Prince) this wise philosopher & noble emperorit
 for a teacher in your yowthe, for a father in your gouernment, for a capytayne generall
 in your warres, for a guyde in your iourneys, for a frende in your affayres, for an
 example in your vertues, for a maister in your sciences, for a pure white in your desires,
 and for equall matche in your dedes. I wyll declare vnto you the lyfe of this beinge a
 heathen, and not the lyfe of an other beinge a Christian. For how much glozps this hea-
 * then prince had in this worlde, beinge good and vertuous: so manie paines your maiestie
 shall haue in the other, if you shalbe wicked and vicious. Behold behold, noble prince,
 the lyfe of this Emperour, and you shall see howe cleere he was in his iudgement, howe
 vpright in his iustice, howe circumspecte in his lyfe, howe louinge to his frendes, howe
 patient in his troubles, howe he dissembled with his enemies, howe seuerer againste Ty-
 rantes, howe quiet amonge the quyet, howe great a frende to the sage, and louer of the
 simple, howe aduenturous in his warres, and amiable in peace, and aboue all thinges
 howe hygh in wordes and profounde in sentences. Manye tymes I haue bene in doute
 with my selfe, whether the Eternall maiestie (whiche gyueth vnto you princes the tem-
 porall maiestie to rule aboue all other in power and authorite) did exempte you that are
 princes more from humayne frailtye: then he did vs, that be but subiectes, and at the last
 I knewe he dyd not. For I see euen as you are chyldren of the worlde: so you do lyue ac-
 cordinge to the worlde. I see euen as you trauayle in the worlde: so you can knowe nothing
 but thinges of the worlde. I see because you lyue in the fleshe, that you are subiecte to the
 miseries of the fleshe. I see though for a tyme you prolonge your lyfe: yet at the laste you
 are brought to your graue. I see your trauayle is great, and that within your gates there
 dwelleth no rest. I see you are colde in the wynter, and hote in the sommer. I see that
 hunger feebleth you, and thirste troubleth you. I see your frendes forsake you, and your
 enemies assaile you. I see that you are sadde, and lacke ioye. I see you are sycke, and be
 not well serued. I see you haue much, and yet that whiche you lacke, is more. What wyll
 ye see more, seinge that princes dyer O noble princes, and great Lordes, sons you muste
 dye, and become wormes meate, why doe you not in your lyfe time serche for good coun-
 saile. If the princes and noble men, commit an errour, no man dare chaunce them, where-
 * fore they stand in greater neede of aduise and counsaile. For the trauayler, who is out of
 his waye, the more he goeth forwarde, the more he erreth. If the people doe amisse, they
 ought to be punished: but if the prince erre, he shoulde be admonished, and as the prince
 wyll the people shoulde at his handes haue punishment: so it is reason that he at their
 handes shoulde receyue counsaile. For as the wealth of the one dependeth on the wealth of
 the other: so truly if the prince be vicious the people can not be vertuous. If your maiestie
 * wyll punishe your people whiche wordes commaunde them to prynte this present worke
 in their hartes. And if your people would serue your hyghnes with their aduise: let them
 likewise beseeche you to reade ouer this booke. For therein the subiectes shal fynd how they
 may amend, and you Lordes shal see, all that you ought to doe. whether this present worke
 be profitable or noe, I wyll not that my penne shall declare: but they whiche reede it shall
 iudge. For we authours take paines to make & translate, & others for vs ble to gyue iudges-
 * met & sentence. Fro my tender yeres vntyll this present, I haue liued in this worlde, occupieng
 my selfe in reading & studieng humaine, & deuyne bookes, and althoughe I confesse my des-
 bilite to be such, & I haue not reade so much as I might, nor studied so muche as I ought:
 yet notwithstanding al this I haue redde, hath not caused me to muse so much, as this doctrine of
 Marcus Aurelius hath, sicke & in this month of an heathen, god hath put such a great treasor,

The Auctoures Prologue.

The greatest parte of all his woꝝkes were in Greeke: yet he wrote also many in latin. I haue drawen this out of Greeke thꝛough the healde of my frendes, and afterwarde out of latin into our bulgare tonge by the trauaile of my handes. Let al men iudge what I haue suffred in drawing it out of Greeke into latyn, out of the latin into the bulgar, and out of a plaine bulgar, into a swete and pleasaunt style. For that banket is not counted sumptuous, vnles there be both pleasaunt meates, and sauory sauces. To cal sentences to mind, to place the woꝝdes, to examyn languages, to coꝛrecte sillables: what swette I haue suffred in the hote sommer, what bytter colde in the sharpe winter, what abstinence from meates when I desired to eate, what watchinge in the night when I should haue slepte, what cares I haue suffred in freed of reste that I mighte haue entoyed: let others proue, if me they will not credite. The intention of my painefull trauailes, I offer to the diuine maiestie vppon my knees, and to your highnesse (noble Prince) I present this my woꝝke, & humbly beseeche god, that the doctrine of this booke, may be as profitable vnto you & the common wealth in your lyfe: as it hath ben to me tedious, and hinderaunce to my health. I haue thoughte it good to offer to your maiestie the effecte of my labours, thꝛough you peraduenture wyl litle regarde my paines: for the requiting of my trauaile and rewarde of my good wil, I requite nought els of your highnes, but that prudenesse of my vnderstandinge, the basenes of my style, the smalnes of my eloquence, the euill order of my sentences, the vanitie of my woꝝdes, be no occasion, why so excellent and goodly a woꝝke shoulde be litle regarded. For it is not reason, that a good horse shoulde be the lesse esteemed, for that the ryder knowethe not howe to make hym ranne his carrier. I haue done what I coulde doe, doe you nowe what you ought to doe, in geuinge to this present woꝝke grauntie, and to me the interpreter thereof, authoritie. I saye no more, but humbly beseeche god to maintayne your estimation and power in earthe: and that you may afterwarde enioye the fruition of his deuntie presentacion in heauen.

The Argument of the Booke called the Diall of Princes. Wherein the author declareth his intencion and maner of

proceedynges.



Archimenes, the great and famous Philosopher;

(to whom Marcus Marcellus for his knowledge sake granted life) and after, being by pyromancie deserved death) being demanded what time was; sayde, that time was the induror of all humeities; and a Regestre certayne of antiquities, which seeth of it both the beginning, the middest, and the ending of all thinges. And finally, time is he that

endereth al. No man can deny but the distinction of this Philosopher is true: for if time could speake, he would certifie vs of sondry thinges, toherin we doubt, and declare them, as a wyenes of sight. Admyt all thinges perishe, and haue an end: yet one thing is exempted, and neuer hath end, which is trueneth, that amongst all thinges is privileged in such wise, that the triumpheth of time, and not time of her: for accordinge to the bytyme sayenge, it shalbe moze easy to se heauē, and earth to fall: then onis, truch to perishe. There is not hang so enryper, but may be disinthred: nothinge so healthful, but maye be diseased: nothinge so strong, but may be broken: neyther any thinge so wel kept, but may be corrupted. And finally I say, therets nothing but by time is ruled and gouerned, save onely trath; which is subject to none. The frutes of the springe time haue no force to geue sustentance, nor perfaite sweetenes to giue any saubur, but after that the sommer is past, and haruest cometh, they rypp, and then all that we eate, nouriseth moze, and geueth a better ratione meane by this, when the worlde beganne to haue wyse men, the moze Philosophers were esteemed for their good maners; the moze they deserved to be repproued for their euill vnderstandings. Plato in his second booke of the comon wealth said, that the auncient Philosophers (aswell Grekes, as Egyptians and Caldees), which first beganne to behold the starres of heauen, & ascended to the toppes of the mount Olympus, to vew the Influences, and motions of the planettes on the earth, deserved rather pardone for their ignorance, then prayse for their knowledge. Plato saide further, that the Philosophers which were before vs, were the firste that gaue them selues to searche out the truch of the Elementes in the heauen, and the first which solued errors in thinges naturall of the earth. Homere in his hylthadagreynge with Plato, sayeth. I condēne all that the auncient Philosophers knew, but I greatly commend them for that they desyred to know. Certes Homere saide well, and Plato saide not amysse: for if amongst the firste Philosophers this ignorance had not raygned, there had not bene suche contrary scies in euery Schoole. He that harbe

redde, nor the bookes which are lost, but the opinions: whiche the auncient Philosophers had, will graunte me, though the knowledge were one: yet their scies were diuerse: that is to say, Cinici, Stoici, Academici, Platonici, and Epicorei, which were as variable the one fro the other in their opinions, as they were repugnant in their condicions. I will not, neither reason requirerth, that my penne should be so much dismeasured, as to repproue those, which are dead, for to giue the glory alanel; to the that are aliue: for the one of vs knew not al, neyther were the other ignorant of al. If he deserueth thakes, that the worth me the waye, wherby I oughte to go: no lesse then meryeth he, which warneth me of the place, wherin I may erre. The ignorance of our sozefathers, was but a gyde to kepe

The Argumente

vs from erryng: for the errour of them, shewed vs the reach: to their muche prasse, and to
 our great shame. Therefore I dare boldly say, yf we that are now, had ben then, we had
 knowen lesse then they knewe. And yf those were now, whiche were then, they woulde
 haue knowen more, then we know. And that this is true, it appereth wel, for that the aun-
 cient philosophers, throughe the great desyre they had to knowe the trouth, of small and
 bypathes haue made brode and large waies, the whiche we now wil not se, nor yet walke
 therein. Wherefore we haue not so muche cause to betwaille their ignorance, as they haue
 reason to complaine of our negligence. For truth, whiche is (as Aulus Gellius saith) the
 daughter of time hath reueled vnto vs the errours, whiche we ought to esteeme, and the
 true doctrines, whiche we ought to folowe. What is there to se, but hath ben seene: what to
 discouer, but hath ben discovered: what is there to reade, but hath ben red: what to write,
 but hath ben written: what is there to knowe, but hath ben knowen: nowe a dayes, it is
 maine malice is so experte, men so well able, and our witten so subtil, that we wante no-
 thinge to vnderstande, neither good, nor euill. And we vndoe our selues by schynge that
 haue knowledge, which is not necessarie for our life. No man vnder the pretence of igno-
 rance, can excuse his faulte, sens all men knowe, all men reade, and all men learne, the
 which is euident in this case, as it shall appere. Suppose the ploughman, and the learned
 man do go to the lawe, and you shall perceyue, the labourer (vnder that symple garment)
 to forge to his counsellour halfe a dosen of malicious triches, to delude his aduersarye as
 synely: as the other that is learned shalbe able to expound 2. or 3. chapters of his booke. If
 men would employe their knowledge to honestie, wisdom, patience, and merce, it were
 well: but I am sorye they knowe so muche, onely for that they subtillye discreue, and by
 vsurp abuse their neighbours, and kepe that they haue vnjustly gotten, and daylye gaine
 more, inuentinge newe trades. Finally I say, yf they haue any knowledge, it is not to as-
 mend their lyfe: but rather to encrease their goodes. If the deuill could sleepe, as men do,
 he might safely sleepe, for whereas he waketh to deceiue vs, we awake to vndo our selues.
 Well, suppose that al which hertofore I haue said is true. Let vs now leue asyde craft, and
 take in hande knowledge, the knowledge whiche we attaine to, is so small, and that which
 we should attaine to so great, that all that we knowe, is the least parte of that we are ig-
 norant. Euen as in thinges natural, the elementes haue their operations, according to
 the variety of time: so moral doctrines (as the ages haue succeeded) & sciences were discou-
 red. Truly al frutes come not togither, but when one faileth, another cometh in season.
 I meane, that neither all the Doctors amonge the Christians, nor all the Philosophers
 amongst the Gentiles were concurrent at one time, but after the doath of one good, there
 came another better. The chiefe wisdom, whiche measureth all thinges by Justice, and
 disperseth them accordinge to his bounce, wil not, that at one time they should be al wise
 men, and at an other time al simple. For it had not ben reason the one should haue had the
 frute, and the other the leaues. The olde woylde that ran in Saturnes dayes (otherwyse
 called the golden woylde) was (of a truch) muche esteemed of them that sawe it, and greatly
 comendyd of them that wrote of it. That is to say it was not gilded by the Sages, whiche
 did gilbe it: but because there was no euil men, whiche did vngilde it. For as the pertyence
 of the meane estate & nobility teacheth vs, of one only parson, dependeth aswell the same
 and renoume, as the infamy of a hole house, and parentage. That age was called gol-
 den, that is to say of golde, and this our age is called yronne, that is to say, of yron. This
 difference was not, for that golde then was found, and now yron: nor for that, in this our
 age there is want of them that be sage: but because the numbze of them surmounteth,
 that

of the Booke.

that be at this day malicious. I confesse one thinge, and I suppose many will fauour me in the same: that there were neuer so many teachers of vertues, and so few followers of the same. Phauorin the philosopher (which was maister to Aulus Gellius, and his especial frende) said oftentimes, that the philosophers in olde tyme were holden in reputacion, because there were few teachers, and many learners, we now a dayes see the contrary, for infinitie are they which presume to be maisters but few are they, which humble themselves to be scollers. a man maye know, how litle wise men are esteemed at this houre, by the great veneracion that the philosophers had in the olde tyme. What a matter is it to see Homere, amongst the Grecians, Salamon, amongst the Hebrues, Licurgus, amongst the Lacedemoniens, Phocomeus, also amongst the Grekes, Ptolomeus, amongst the Egyptians, Lin, amongst the Romanes, & Cicero, likewise amongst the Latines, Appolonius, amongst the Indians, and Secundus amongst the Assirians. How happye were those philosophers, to be as they were in those dayes, when the world was so full of simple personnes, and so destitute of sage men: that theye flocked great numbers, out of diuers countreies, and straunge nations: not only to here their doctrine: but also to see their persones. The glorious saint Hierome, in the prologue, to his bible saith. When Rome was in her prosperitie, then wrote Titus Liuius his decades: yet notwithstandinge, men came to Rome, more to speake with Titus Liuius, then to see Rome, or the highe capitall thereof. Marcus Aurelius writing to his frend called Pulio sayde these wordes. Thou shalt vnderstand my frend, I was not chosen emperor, for the noble blood of my predecessours, nor for the fauoure I had, amongst them now present, for there were in Rome, men of greater blood & riches then I, but the emperor Adrian my maister setting his eyes vpon me, chose me for his sonne in lawe, the emperor Anthony my father in lawe, for no other cause, but for that they saue me a frende of the sages, and an enemye of the ignorant: happye was Rome to chose so wise an emperor, and no lesse happye was he to attaine to so great an emper. Not for that he was heire to his predecessours, but for that he gaue his minde to studie. Truly, if that age then were happye, to enioye his person: no lesse happye shal ours be now at this present, to enioye his doctrine. Salust saith, they deserved great glory, which did worthy seates: and no lesse renowne merited they, which wrote them in highe stile. What had Alexander the great ben, if Diuitius Curtius had not written of him: what of Alcibiades, if Homere had not ben bozne: what had Alcibiades ben, if Peronophon had not exalted him: what of Cirus, if the philosopher Chilo, had not put his actes in memoie: what had ben of Pirrus, king of the Epirotes, if Hermicles cronicles were not: what had ben of Scipio the great Affricane, if it had not ben for his decades of Titus Liuius: what had ben of Traiane, if the renowned Plutarke had not ben his friend: what of Nerua and Anthonius the meke, if Phosio the greke had not made mention of them: how should we haue knownen the stout courage of Cesar, & the great prowess of Pompeius, if Lucanus had not written them: what of the twelue Celsars, if Suetonius tranquillius had not compiled a booke of there liues, & how should we haue knownen the antiquities of the Hebrues, if the vpright Ioseph had not ben: who coulde haue knownen, the comminge of the Lombardes into Italie, if Paulus Diaconus had not wrote it: how could we haue knownen the comming in, the going out, and ende of the Gothes in Spaine, if the curious Rodericus had not shewed it vnto vs. By these thinges that we haue spoken of before, the readers may perceiue, what is due vnto the Historiographers: who, in my opinion, haue left as great memoie of them, for that they wrote with there penne, as the princes haue done for that they did with their swordes. I confesse, I deserue

The Argument

not to be named amongst the sages, neither for that I haue wrytten and translated, nor yet for that I haue composed, therefore (the sacred and deuine letters set a side) there is nothing in the world so curiously wrytten, but needeth correction, & as I say of the one, so wil I say of the other, and that is, as I wil with my wil, do rehoounce the glory whiche the good for my learning would giue me: so in like maner, euil men shall not want, that againste my wil, wil seeke to defame it. The other wryters, smally esteeme the labour and paines we haue to wryte, althoughe in dede we are not ignorant of a thousande enuious tongues, that wil backbite it. Many now a daies are so euil taught, or to say better, so enuious, that when the auctour laboreth in his studie, they playe in the streets: when he waketh, they sleape. When he fasteth, they eate: when he sitteth turning the leaues of the booke, they go hunting after vices abroad: yet for al that, they wil presume to iudge, depaue, and condemn an other mans doctrine, as if they had the auctoritie that Plato had in grece, or the eloquence that Cicero had in Rome. When I finde a man in the latin tongue wel sene, his vulgar tongue wel polished, in histories wel grounded, in greake letters very experte, and desirous to spend his time with good bookes: this so herotical and noble a parsonage, I would not only he should correcte my worke: but also I would desier him to put my doctrine vnder his fete: for it is no shame, for a vertuous and wise man, to be corrected of another wise man. Yet I would gladly know, what patients can suffer, or harte dissemble, when two or thre be assembled togithers at meate, and after (at the table or other wise) one of them taketh a booke, at aduenture in his handes, against the which, another wil saye, it is to longe, and an other wil saye, it speaketh not to the purpose: another it is obscure, and another the wordes are not wel couched: another wil say, al that that is spoken, is fained: one wil say he speaketh nothing of profite, another he is to curious, and the other, he is to malicious. So that in speakinge thus, the doctrine remaineth suspicious, and the auctour scapeth not scotte free. Suppose them to be such, that speake it, and at the table do finde such fautes, therefore they deserue pardon: for they speake not accordinge to the bookes whiche they haue redde: but accordinge to the meates whiche they haue eaten: for he that taketh not that in gess, which is spoken at the table, knoweth not what gessing meaneth. It is an olde custome to murmur at vertuous dedes, and into this rule, entreth not onely those that make them, but also those, whiche wryte them. Which thing seemeth to be true: for that Socrates was reprobued of Plato, Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Aueris, Scelio of Sulpitius, Lelius of Varro, Marinus of Ptolomeus, Ennius of Horace, Seneca of Aulus Gellius, Crastonestes of Strabo, Theophrastus of Gallia, Hermogaras, of Cicero, Cicero of Salust, Origines of Saint Hierome, Hierome of Ruffinus, Ruffinus of Donatus, Donatus, of prosper, and prosper of Lupus. Then sithe that in these men, & in these workes hath ben such neede of correction, whiche were men of great knowledge, and letters of the world: it is no marueil at al, that I haue such fortune, since I know so little as I doe. He maye worthely be counted baine & light, whiche at the first sight, or for only once reading, wil rashly iudge that, whiche a wise man with much diligence, and studie hath wrytten. The auctours, & wryters are oftentimes reprobued: not of them, whiche can translate, and compile workes, but of those, whiche can not reade, and yet lesse vnderstande them, to chintrent, simple folkes should count them wise, and take there partes in condemning this worke, and esteeme him for a great wise man, I take god to witness, who can iudge, whether my intencion were naught to compile this worke, and also I lay this my doctrine at the fete of wise and vertuous men, to the ende, they maye be protectours, and defendours of the same. For I trust in god, thoughe some would come to blame (as diuers do) the simple

ple wordes, whiche I spake, yet others would not saye, to declare the good intencion that I mente; and to declare farther I saye, that dyuerse haue wrytten of the tyme of the sayde Marcus Aurelius, as Herodian wrote bytell, Eutropius lesse, Lampridius not so muche, and Iulius Capitolin, somewhat more. Likewyse ye ought to know, that the maysters whiche taught Marcus Aurelius sciences, were Iunius Rusticus, Cinnia Catul-
lus, and Sextus Cheronensis, whiche was neapheue to the great Plutarque. These thyes were those, that principallie as wittneses of sight, wrote the most parte of his life and doct-
trine. Whan ye maye mayeste to here tell of the doctrine of Marcus Aurelius, sayeng, it hath ben kepte hidde and secret a great while, and that of mine owne hed I haue inuented
it: And that there neuer was anye Marcus Aurelius in the worlde. I know not what to
saye now vnto them, for it is euident to all those whiche haue redde any thinge, that Mar-
cus Aurelius was husbande to Faustina, father to commodus, brother to Annus Ves-
rus, & sonne in lawe, to Antonius Pius, the seuenith (of Rome) Emperour. Those, whiche
saye I only haue made this doctrine, truly I thanke them for so sayeng, but not for there
so meaning. For truly, the Romaines would haue set up my Image in Rome, for perpe-
tual renoume, if so gracie sentences should haue proceeded from my heade. We se that in
our tyme, whiche was neuer sene before, & heare that, we neuer harde before. We practise
not in a new worlde, and yet we mernaile that there is at this present a new booke. For
so that I was curious to discouer Marcus Aurelius, or studious to translate him. For
truly it is worthy he be noted of wise personnes, and not accused of enuious tonges. For
it chaunceth oftentimes in huntinge, that the moste symplest man kyllerh the deare. The
last thinge, whiche the Romaines conquered in Spayne, was Cantabria, whiche was a
citty in Navarra, ouer against Logrono, and situated in a hygh countrey, where there
is now a batte of bygner, and the Emperour Augustus, whiche destroyed it, made tenne
bookes de bello cantabrico, where are thinges worthy of notinge, and no lesse plea-
saunt in readinge, whiche hapned vnto him in the same conquest. As Marcus Aurelius
was brought me from florens, so was this other booke of the warres of Cantabrie,
brought me from Colletine. If perhappes I toke paynes to translate this booke, as selwe
haue done, whiche haue sene it, they would speake the like of it, that they dyd of Marcus
Aurelius. Bicause men are so longe in speakinge, and so brieft in studieng, that without
anye let or shame, they wil abowe, no booke to be in the worlde this daye, but that they
haue redde, or seen it. I haue as muche profited in this wrytinge, whiche is humane: as
other doctours haue done in matters, whiche are deuine. It is not translated worde for
worde, but sentence for sentence, for we other interpreters, are not bounde to glue wor-
des by measure: but it suffiseth vs, to gyue sentencis by waighte. I began to studie this
worke in the yere, a thousande, siue hundred, and eightene, and vntill the yere, a thous-
sande, siue hundred, twentie and foure, I could neither vnderstande, nor know, wherein
I was occupied. Immediately the yere folowinge. 24. his maiestie being with the seauer
diseased, I (acordinge to his commaundement) shewed him Marcus Aurelius to passe
the tyme, that then was vnicorrected, and humbly beseeching him (said) that for recompence
of all my trauaile, I desired no other rewarde, but that no man in hys chamber myghte
copie the booke. And I in the meane tyme proceeded to accomplyshe the worke. Bicause I
dyd not meane in suche maner to publyshe it, for other wyse, I sayd his maiestie should be
euil serued, and I also of my purpose pzeuented: but my synnes caused, that the booke was
copped, and conueyed from one to another. And by the handes of Pages, sondre tymes
wrytten: so that there encreased dayly in it errours, and faultes. And since there was but

The Argument

one originall coppe, they brought it vnto me to correct, whiche if it coulde haue spoken, would haue complayned it selfe, more of them that dyd wryte it; then of those whiche dyd steale it. And thus when I had finyshed the worke, and thought to haue published it, I perceaued that Marcus Aurelius: was now imprinted at Cinsle. And in this case, I take the readers, to be iudges, betwene me and the Imprinters, because they maye see, whether it maye stande with law, and iustice, that a booke, which was to his imperial maiestye dedicated, the auctour thereof being but an infant, & the booke so vnperfecte and vncorrect, without my consent or knowledge should be published. Notwithstanding they ceased not, but printed it againe in Portugal, and also in the kingdome of Nauarra, And if the firste impression was faulty, truly the seconde and the thirde were no lesse. So, that whiche was wryten for the wealthe of al men generallye, each man dyd applye to the profite of him selfe particularlye. There chaunced another thinge of this booke, called the golden booke of Marcus Aurelius, whiche I am ashamed to speake, but greater shame they shuld haue, that so dishonestly haue done. That is, some made them selues to be auctours of the whole worke, others saue, that parte of it was made, and copiled of their owne heades: the which appeareth in a booke in print, wherein the auctour dyd like a man boyde of all honestye, and in another booke, one bled likewise the wordes whiche Marcus Aurelius spake to Faustine, when she asked him the key of his study. After these thens came to my knowledge, iudge you, whether it were inoughe to proue my patience. For I had rather they had robbed me of my goodes, then taken away my renowne. By this, all men shall see, that Marcus Aurelius was not then corrected, nor in any place perfecte, whereby they might perceauie, that it was not my minde to translate Marcus Aurelius: but to make a diall for princes, whereby, all christen people maye be gouerned and ruled. And as the doctrine is helued for the vse of many, so I would profite my selfe, with that whiche the wise men had spoken and wryten. And in this sorte, proceadeth the worke, wherein I put one, or two, chapiters of mine, and after I put some epistles of Marcus Aurelius, and other doctrine of some auncient men. Let not the reader be disceaued, to thinke that the one, and the other is of the auctour. For although the phrase of the language be mine, yet I confesse the greatest parte that I knew, was of another man, although the historiographers and doctours (with whome I was holpen) were manye: yet the doctrine whiche I wryote, was but one. I wil not denye, but I haue left out some thinges, whiche were superfluous: in whole steade, I haue placed, thinges more swete, and profitable. So that it needeth good wittes, to make that whiche semeth in one language grosse, in another, to giue it the apparaunce of golde. I haue deuised into thre bookes, this present diall of Princes. The first treateth, that the prince ought to be a good christian. The second, how he ought to gouerne his wife, and children. The thirde teacheth, how he shuld gouerne his person, and his common wealthe. I had begonne another Looke, wherein was conteyned, how a pryncce should behaue him selfe in his court, and palace, but the impossibilitie of my frendes, caused me to withdraloe my pen, to the ende I mighte bringe this worke to lighte.

The Table of the Diall of Princes.

The Prologue generall, of the Auctour.

The Prologue, vpon the booke entituled Marcus Aurelius.

The Argument of the whole booke.



The first Chapter entreateth of the linage, and byrth of Mar. Aur. where the auctour reciteth at the beginninge of the booke 3. chapters, in which he declareth the discursive of his life: for by his owne Epistles and doctrine this whole worke is proued.

Of a letter, whiche the Emp. Mar. Aur. wrote to his friend Pultor: wherein he recounteth the order of his life, and amonge other thinges declareth the wordes whiche a poore man of Bona spake vnto the Romaine Censor. ca. 2.

Mar. Aur. concludeth his letter, & mentioneth the sciences, which he leered, and all the matters which he had, and in the end he receiveth five notable thinges in the obseruance of the which, the Romans were very curious. ca. 3.

Of the excellency of the Christian Religion, whereby the true god is knowen, and of the banishes of the auncientes in times past. ca. 4.

How among the auncientes the Philosopher Eurillo was esteemed, and the wordes he spake vnto the at the houre of his death. ca. 5.

Of the wordes, whiche a philosopher spake in the Senat of Rome. cap. 6.

How the gentiles thought that on God was not of power sufficient, to defend them from their enemies. cap. 7.

Of a letter that the Senate sent vnto all those, which were subiect to the empyre. ca. 8.

Of the lining God, & of the maruailes he wrote in his old lawe, to manifest his diuine power, & of the superstition of the false gods. ca. 9.

That ther is but one god, & that that Realme is happy, whiche hath a king that is a good Christian. cap. 10.

Of sondry gods, whiche the auncientes worshipped and of their temples. cap. 11.

Of the diuersite of gods whiche the Romaynes and other auncient people had. the intent of the auctour was to wryte those thinges, because the Christian prince myght see what a singular benefyte we haue, whiche know the true God. cap. 12.

How Tyberius the knight was chosen Emp. onely for being a good Christian. And how God depyined Iulian the younger, both of his empyre & senses for being an heretik. 11.

Of the wordes whiche the emperre Sophia spake to Tyberius, whych sounded to his reproffe, for that he consumed the treasures which she had gathered. cap. 14.

The answer of Tyberius vnto the emperre, wherein he declareth that princes neede not to hurde by great treasures. cap. 15.

How the Chetereyne Parles overcame many battailes, onely for that his whole confidence was in God. Of the reprochefull wordes which Sophia the emperre spake vnto Parles, wherein may be noted the unthankfulness of princes towards their seruantes. ca. 16.

Of a letter whiche the empe. Mar. Aur. sent to the king of Armenia, in the which he receiveth the traungles, whiche they endured together in their youth, and reprimeth him of his smal reuerence towards the seyles. ca. 17.

The emp. proceedeth in his letter to admonish the princes to be fearefull of their gods, and of the sentence whiche the Senate gaue vpon this king. cap. 18.

How the gentiles honoured those which were deuoute in the seruice of the gods. cap. 19.

For 5. causes princes ought to be better Christians, then their subiectes. cap. 20.

Of the philosopher Plutarch, of the tenne lawes, which he gaue wryth to be had in mind. 11.

How god from the beginning punished euill men by his iustice. cap. 22.

The Auctour proueth by 12. examples of princes are sharply punished when they blaspheboldly vpon the Churches, and violate the Temples. cap. 23.

How Valentine the Emp. because he was an euill Christian, lost in one day both the empyre and his life, and was burned alive in a heerecoote. cap. 24.

Of the emp. Valentinian. and the emp. Gratian his sone which because they were good Christians were alwaies fortunate. that god geueth victories vnto princes more though they feares of them, that pray, then though they be weapons of those that fight. cap. 25.

Of the godly ozation, which the emp. Gratian made to his souldiours before he gaue the battayle. cap. 26.

That the Captaine Theodosius, whiche was father of the great Emp. Theodosius, dyed a good Christian. And of the king Simatus, & the bishop Siluanus, and the holy lawes which they made and established. cap. 27.

What a goodly thyng it is to haue but one prince to rule in the publike weale for there is no greater enemy to the comen weale, then he which procureth many to commaund therein as by reasons following it shalbe proued. 28.

That in a publike weale ther is no greater destruction: then when princes daily consent to new orders, & change old customes. ca. 29.

When the Armanes began to reygne, & vpon what occasion commaunding, & obeyng first beganne. And how the auctour, whiche the

c.iii. prince 4

The Table.

prince hath is by the ordinance of god. 30.
 Of the golden age in times past, and worldly
 misery, which we have at this present. ca. 31.
 What the Caramantes said unto king Alexan-
 der the great, when he went to conquer India,
 and howe that the pursuit of life, hath more
 power, then any force of warre. cap. 32.
 Of an oration, which one of the Sages of Ca-
 ramantia made unto king Alexander. A good
 lesson for all ambitious men. cap. 33.
 Among other notable matters he maketh men-
 tion of seven lawes, which they observed. 34.
 That princes ought to consider for what cause
 they were made princes. cap. 35.
 What platoarch & philoparch was. And how the
 good prince is a head of a publick weale. And
 if it be safe to live under a iuste lawe: it is
 much better to live under a good prince. 36.
 The prince ought to heere the complaints of
 all his subiectes, and to know them all, to
 recompence their services. cap. 37.
 Of a solemne feast, which the Romanes ce-
 lebrated. And of that which befell vnto the
 Emperour. Mar. Aur. the same day. cap. 38.
 Of the answer which the emperour made to
 the Senator before all the people, wherein
 he prayeth enuyous men. cap. 39.
 Of a letter which the Emp. Mar. Aur. wrote to
 his especial friend, wherein he declareth the
 opinions of certaine Philosophers concern-
 ing the felicity of man. cap. 40.
 That princes and great lordes ought not to
 esteeme them selues for being saide and well
 proportioned of person. cap. 41.
 Of a letter which the Emp. Mar. Aur. wrote to
 his nephew worthy to be noted of all ponge
 gentlemen. cap. 42.
 How Princes and great lordes in olde tyme
 were louers of sages. cap. 43.
 How the Emper. provided at the house of his
 death for the education of his sonnes. ca. 44.
 Of a letter which Cretas king of Lydia wrote,
 to the Philosopher Anacarses. cap. 45.
 Of the wisdom, & sentence of Phalaris the
 Tyrant. cap. 46.
 That sondry mightie & puissant princes were
 louers, and frendes of the sages. cap. 47.

¶ The end of the Table of the first booke.

¶ The Table of the second booke.

Of what excellency marriage is, & wheras
 comen people may of free will, prin-
 ces and noble men ought to marry of
 necessity. cap. 1.
 The auctor folowinge his purpose declareth
 that by meanes of marriages many mortall
 enemies haue bene made good and perfect
 frendes. cap. 2.

Of sondry and diuerse lawes, which the an-
 cientes had in contracting matrimony not
 onely in the choyle of women, but also in
 the manner of celebrating marriage. cap. 3.
 How the princesses and great dames ought to
 love their husbands, if they will live quietly
 with them, and suche loue ought not to be pro-
 cured by contractions, & enchainementes,
 but by honesty, wisdom, and vertue. ca. 4.
 Of the reuengement that a woman of gressie
 toke of him, that had killed her husbande in
 hope to haue her in marriage. cap. 5.
 That princesses and great ladies ought to be
 obedient to their husbands, and that it is a
 great shame to the husband, when the wife
 speaketh vnto him things not decent. ca. 6.
 That women and especially princesses & great
 ladies should be very circumspecte in going
 abrode out of their houses, and that though
 the reioyce of them that cometh to theyr
 houses, they be not easily spoken of. ca. 7.
 Of the commodities and discomodities, which
 follow princesses and great ladies that goe
 abroade or abyde in the house. ca. 8.
 That women great with childe, especially
 the princesses and great ladies ought to be
 very circumspecte, for the daunger of the
 creatures. cap. 9.
 The auctor foloweth and declareth other in-
 conueniences and vnlucky chancers, which
 haue happened to women with childe. ca. 10.
 That women great with childe, and especially
 Princes & great ladies ought to be of their
 husbands gently bled. cap. 11.
 What the philosopher Pisto was, & of 8 rules
 he gaue concerning women with childe. 12.
 Of the counsellies which Lucius Seneca gaue
 vnto a secretarie, his frende, who serued the
 Emperour Nero. cap. 13.
 Of the importunate suite of the Emperesse con-
 cerning the key of her husbands closet. 14.
 Of the answer of the Emperour to his wife,
 concerning her demaundes, and of the great
 trouble that some men haue with their wo-
 men. And how certaine barbarous people se-
 parated them selues from their wives. ca. 15.
 The Emperour folowinge his matter, admo-
 nished men of the greafe daungers, which
 ensue vnto them by excessive hauntinge the
 company of women. And reciteth certaine
 rules for married men which if they be obser-
 ned maye cause them to lyue in peace with
 their wyues. cap. 16.
 The emperour answereth more particularly
 concerning the key of his study. cap. 17.
 That ladies and other gentle women oughte
 not to be ashamed to nurse their children
 with their owne breaſtes. cap. 18.
 The auctor perswadeth them still to nurse
 their owne children. And sheweth of manye
 ladies

The Table.

labies & desireth to kepe little dogs in their
lappes: & pet disoaine to nozise their olme
chilozen with their bzealles. cap. 19.
That pynces and great lades ought to be ve-
ry circumspect in chusing their nourses. Of
seuen properties which a good nourse shold
haue: cap. 20.
The auctour addeth .3. other condicions to a
good nourse. cap. 21.
Of the disputations befoze Alex. Auer the great,
concerninge the suckinge of babes, and of
diuers customes, which the auncientes vied
in this behaile. cap. 22.
Of sondry kyndes of sorceries, charmes and
witchcraftes, whiche they in olde tyme vied
in gettinge their children sucke, the whiche
Christians ought to eschew. cap. 23.
Of a letter whych Mar. Aur. sent to his friend,
in the end wherof, he inueryeth against those,
which cure children by sorceries, charmes
and enchauntementes. cap. 24.
Howe decent a thinge it is for a gentelman to
haue an eloquent tongue. cap. 25.
Of a letter whiche the Athenians sent to the La-
cedemonians. cap. 26.
That nourses whiche geue sucke to the chil-
dren of pynces, oughte to be discrete and
sage women. cap. 27.
That women may be no lesse wise, then men, &
though they be not, it is not through y fault
of nature: but for want of bringinge vp. ca. 28.
Of a letter whiche Pythagoras let to a sister of
his. cap. 29.
The auctour foloweth his purpose, perswading
pynces & other ladies to endenour them sel-
ues to be wise, as the women were in olde
tyme. cap. 30.
Of the worthines of the ladye Cornelia, & of a
notable epistle she wrot to her .2. sones whiche
serued in the warres, disuading them fro the
pleasures of Rome, & exortyng the to enture
the trauayles of the warre. cap. 31.
Of the education & doctrine of childze, whyles
they are very yonge. Wher in the auctour de-
clareth many notable hystories. cap. 32.
Pynces ought to take heede that their children
be not brynght by in vaine pleasures, for oft
times they are so wicked, y the fathers wold
not onely haue them with sharpe disciplyne
corrected: but also to bitter teares buried. 33.
That Pynces and greates lades oughte to be
carefull in sekynge wyse men to bringe by
their children. Of .10. conditpons, that good
maisters ought to haue. Of an office whiche
was in Rome, the officer wherof had aucto-
rity to chastise all yonge men, whych were
idle loyterers. It is a notable chapter for him
that hathe a sonne whom he entirely loueth
& desireth to haue him wel brynght by. ca. 34.
Of the .2. children of Mar. Aur. the emperour,

of the whiche, the best beloued died. And of the
maisters he prouyded for the other named
Comodus. cap. 35.
Of the wordes whiche Marcus Aurelius spake
to .5. of the .14. maisters, whiche he had chosen
for the education of his child, and howe he
reioyced the rest from his pallace, for that they
behaued them selues lightly at the lease of
the god Genius. cap. 36.
That pynners and other noble men oughte to
ouersee the tuctours of their children, least
they oskate the secreete faultes of their scoli-
ers. cap. 37.
Of the determination of the Emperour when
he committed his child to the tuctours, whiche
he had prouyded for his education. cap. 38.
That tuctours of noble mens children oughte
to be very circumspect, that their scollers do
not accustomie them selfes in vices, whyles
they are yonge, and specially to kepe them
from .4. vices. cap. 39.
Of two other vices periphous, in yonge men,
whiche are, to be shameles in countenance,
and addicted to the lust of the fleshe. cap. 40.

The end of the Table of the second booke.

The Table of the thirde booke.

How Pynces oughte to trauayle, to mi-
nistre iustice equally to all men. ca. 1.
The way pynces oughte to be in chu-
sing their iudges & officers, in their countreis. 2.
Of an oration whiche a villaine dwelling nere
to the ryuer of Danuby made befoze the Se-
natours of Rome, concerning the tyrannes
and oppressions, whiche their officers vied
in his countrey. cap. 3.
The villaine argueth against the Romaynes,
whiche without cause or reason conquered
ther countrey, and proued manifestly that
they through offendinge of their gods, were
banquished of the Romaynes. cap. 4.
The villaine concludeth his oration against the
iudges, whiche ministre not iustice, & decla-
reth how prejudicial suche wycked men are
vnto the publyke weale. cap. 5.
That pynces & noble me oughte to be very cir-
cumspect in chosing iudges & officers, for ther
in consisteth y profite of the publike weale. 6.
Of a letter of the Empe. Mar. Aur. wher in he
speaketh against the cruelty of iudges & offi-
cers, whiche letter is deuised into .5. cha. ca. 7.
The Empe. speaketh against cruel iudges & re-
iteth .2. exaples, y one of a pitiful king of Cy-
pres, & the other of a cruel iudge of Rome. 8.
Of the wordes, whiche Nero spake concerning
iustice, and of the instructio, whiche the Em-
perour Augustus gaue to a iudge, whiche he
sent into Asia, cap. 9.
s. llll. The

The Table.

The Emp. foloweth his purpose against cruel
Iudges, and declareth a notable Ambassage
wher he cometh from India to the Senate of
Rome, to complaine of the Iudges, that con-
uerred that Kingdom. cap. 10.

The emp. concludeth his letter against the cruel
Iudges, and declareth what the good fathens of
king Boed make in the Senate. cap. 11.

An exhortation of the Autour to Princes and
noble men to embrace peace, and to eschewe
the occasions of warre. cap. 12.

The commodities, which come of peace. cap. 13.

A letter of Mar. Aur. Emp. wherein he descri-
beth the discommodities of warre, and the
vanities of the triumphes. cap. 14.

The emp. Mar. Aur. declareth the order that the
Romains vied in setting forth men of war,
and of the outrageous vilianies, which cap-
tivities and soulourges vs in the war. ca. 15.

The emp. Mar. Aur. lamenteth with bitter
teares the follye of the Romaines for they
made warre with Asia, and declareth what
great damage cometh vnto the people wher
the prince doth begin warres in a straunge
countrey. cap. 16.

That princes and great lordes shoulde be the
more they grow in yeares the more discrete
and vertuous. cap. 17.

That Princes when they are aged shoulde be
temperate in eating sober in drinke, mo-
deste in apparell and aboue all, true in their
communication. cap. 18.

Of a letter of the Em. Mar. Aur. wherein he re-
proueth those, that haue many yeares, and little
discretion. cap. 19.

The emperour perswadeth those that are old,
to geue no more credit to the world, nor to
any of his flatteries. cap. 20.

The emp. proueth by good reasons, that they
the aged persons will be serued and hono-
red of the yonger: they ought to be more ver-
tuous and honest, then the yonger. cap. 21.

The emperour concludeth his letter and sheweth
what perplexes those olde men lyue in, which
absolutely like yonger chylde passe their daies,
and geueth vnto them holisome counsell, for
the remedy therof. cap. 22.

That princes ought to take heede that they are
not noted of Auarice, for that the covetous
man is both of god and man hated. cap. 23.

The autour foloweth his matter, and with great
reasons discomendeth the vices of covetous
men. cap. 24.

Of a letter whiche the emperour wrote to his
friend wherein he touched those gentlemen,
which will take vpon them the trade of mar-
chandises against their vocations. cap. 25.

The emperour declareth what vertues, men
ought to vse, and the vices whiche they
ought to eschewe. cap. 26.

The emp. Mar. Aur. perswadeth his frende to
despyse the vanities of the world, and sheweth
though a man be neuer so wyse: yet he shall
haue neede of another mans counsel. ca. 27.

The autour perswadeth Princes and greates
lordes to vse conuiscion and avarice, and to
become liberall, whiche is a vertue semelye
for a Royall parson. cap. 28.

The autour perswadeth gentlemen, not to
abuse them selues by taking vpon them any
vyle offices for gaine sake. cap. 29.

The emp. wyterth his friend, wherin he may
learne the daungers of those, whiche traffike
by sea, and see the covetousnes of the byland. ca. 30.

The Emp. in his letter rebuketh his friend for
that he taketh thought, for the losse of his
goodes. He sheweth the nature of fortune,
and the conditions of the covetous man. cap. 31.

That Princes and noble men ought to consider
the miserie of mans nature, and that brute
beastes are (in some pointes) readie set apart
to be preserved vnto man. cap. 32.

The autour reasoneth of the miserie of men,
and of the libertie of beastes. cap. 33.

The Emp. wyterth this letter to comforte his
frende with all, whiche is comfortable to all
them, that haue bene in prosperite, and are
now brought into aduersite. cap. 34.

That princes and noble men ought to be aduo-
cates for widowes, fathers of orphans, and
helpers of al those which are cōsoltes. ca. 35.

That the troubles, griefes, and sorowes of wo-
men are much greater then those of men, wher
fore princes and noble men ought to haue more
compassion vpon women: then on men. cap. 36.

Of a letter whiche the Emp. wrote to a ladye
comforting her for the death of her husband,
whiche is a greates consolation for all those,
that are sorrowfull, for the disceale of their
frendes. cap. 37.

The emperour perswadeth widowes to put their
wylles vnto the wyl of god, and exhorteth them
to lue honestly. cap. 38.

That princes and noble men ought to despyse
the world, for that there is nothinge in the
world but plaine discepte. cap. 39.

The emperour speaketh vehemently against
the disciples of the world. cap. 40.

Of a letter, whiche the emperour Mar. Aur.
wrote to comforte his friend in his banishment,
whiche is notable for all men to learne the
vanities of this world. cap. 41.

The Emperour perswadeth al men by strong
reasons, not to trust the world nor anything
therin. cap. 42.

Princes and noble men ought not to beare
with fuglers, flatters, parasites, miscreantes
lopters, nor with any such kind of rascals
And of the laues whiche the Romains made
in this behalfe. cap. 43.

The Table.

How some of those loyterers were punished by the auncientes, and of these raskalles of our tyme. cap. 44.

Of a letter which the Empe. wrote to a frende of his, certifieng him, that he had banished from Rome, the iesters, iuglers, conterfet soules, parasytes, ruffians, minstrels, bacabondes, and al other loyterers. cap. 45.

How the Emperour found the sepulchres of many lerned Philosophers in Helespont, wherunto he sent al these loyteres. cap. 46.

The emperour declareth the cause why these iesters and iuglers were admytted into Rome. cap. 47.

That Princes and noble men oughte to remember, that they are mortall and muste dye, wher are sondry notable consolacions againste the feare of death. cap. 48.

Of the sicknesse of the Emperour. Mar. Aur. and how they are few frendes which dare say the truth vnto sickmen. cap. 49.

Of the faithfull wordes, which Pannutius spake to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, at the houre of his death. cap. 50.

Pannutius the secretarpe exorteth all men wplyngly to accept death. cap. 51.

The aunswere of the Emperour. Marcus. wherein he declared y he toke no thought to forsake the world: but al his sorow was to leaue behynde him an unhappy chyld to inherite the Emppye. cap. 52.

The Emperour Marcus Aurelius concludeth his matter and sheweth that sondrye ponge Princes for beyng vicious, haue vndone the selues and impouerished their Realmes. cap. 53.

Of the wordes whiche the Emperour spake vnto his sonne, necessary for al noble yong gentlemen to vnderstand. cap. 54.

The emperour Mar. aur. amonge other holysome counselles exorteth his sonne to kepe wyse and sage men about him, for to geue him counsel in all his affaires. cap. 55.

The Emperour foloweth his matter and exorteth his sonne vnto certaine particuler thinges worthy to be engrained in the hartes of men. cap. 56.

The good Mar. Au. Emperour of Rome endeth his purpose, and lyfe. And of the lasse wordes which he spake to his sonne Commodus and of the table of counsels whiche he gaue him. cap. 57.

Here begynneth the Table of the letters, translated out of spanishe, vvhiche were not in the frenche copie.

Of a huge monster which was sene in Sicill in the tyme of Mar. au. ca. 58. Of that which chanced, vnto a neighbour of his in Rome, in the tyme of his emppye. cap. 59.

How Mar. Aure. Empe. sought the wealth of his people, & how his people loved him. cap. 60.

How, at the intercession of many, whiche the Emppye had sent, the Emperour graunted his daughter Lucilla licence to spoote her selfe at the seastes. cap. 61.

Of the sharpe wordes, whiche Mar. Au. spake to his wyfe, and to his daughter. cap. 62.

The Emperour exorteth his wyfe to take a way al occasions of euill from her daughter, wherein is declared the frailtie of the tender fleshe. cap. 63.

Of the wisdom of marc. Aur. in procuring husbandes for his daughters. cap. 64.

Of a letter which the Emperour Mar. Aure. sent to his especiall frende, to comfort him in his troubles. cap. 65.

A letter sent by the Empe. Marcus Aurelius to Censorinus, that was so sorrowful for the death of his sone, worthy to be red and noted. cap. 66.

A letter sent by Marcus Aurel. Emperoure to Censorinus of the netwes, whiche at that tyme were at Rome. cap. 67.

Of a sharpe letter full of reprehensions sente by the Emperour Mar. Aur. to the amorous ladies of Rome, because in his absence they deuised a play of him. cap. 68.

Of a letter which he sent to his lover Bobemisa, for that he desired so earnestly to go with him to the warres, wherein is to be noted the great folly of yong men, and the litle shame of euill women. cap. 69.

The aunswere of Bobemisa to the Em. Mar. Au. wherein is exprested the great malice, & litle patience of an euil woman. cap. 70.

Of a letter which the Emperour Mar. Aur. sent to the ladye Macrine, the Romaine, of whom (beholdinge her at the wyndowe) he became enamoured, which declareth what force the beauty of a sayre woman hath in a weake man. cap. 71.

Of an other letter, whiche the Emperour sent to the lady Macrine, wherein he expresteth the fyre flames which consume honest & gentle hartes. cap. 72.

Of a letter, whiche the Emperour. Mar. Aur. sent to the beautifull lady Lybia, wherein he proueth that lone is naturall, and that the mosse part of the philosophers & wyse men haue bene by lone overcome. cap. 73.

The end of the Table.

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THE DIAL

The fyrste Booke of the DIAL OF PRINCES, VVITH THE famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius, Where- in he treateth, what excellency is in the prince, that is a good Christian : and contrariwise, what ensles do folowe him, that is a cruell tyrante,

*

The firste Chapter.

Where the Auctoure speaketh of the byrthe, and lynage, of the wyse Philosopher and Emperoure, *Marcus Aurelius*. And he putteth also, at the beginninge of this Booke, thre Chapters, vvherein he entreateth, of the discourse of his life: for by his Epistles, and doctrine, the vvhole of this presente vvorke is proued:



AFTER the death of the Emperour Antonius Pius, in the .695. yeares, from the foundation of Rome, in the 173. Olympiade; Fulvius Cato, and Gneus Patroclus, then beinge consules, the .4. daie of October, in the highe Capitoll of Rome, at sute of the whole Romaine people, and with consent, of the sacred Senate: Marcus Aurelius was proclaimed Emperour vniuersal, of the whole Romaine monarchie. This noble prince was naturallie of Rome,

borne in the mounte Celio, on the fyrte day before the Calendes of Maie, whyche after the Latins accounte: is the .26. daie of Apryll. His graundefather was called Annus verus, and was chosse senator, in the tyme of the Emperours Titus and Vespasian, his great grandefather, was named Annus Verus, which was borne in Spayne, in the free towne of Gububa; when the warres were moste cruell, betwene Caesar and Pompeius, at whate tyme many Spaniards fled to Rome, and many Romaines ranne into Spayne, by this meanes this Emperour had a great graundefather a Romaine; and a greete grandmother, a Spaniard. His father was named Annus Verus, after his graundfather, and great grandfather, for the occasion wherof, the auncient historiographers call him, Marcus Antonius Verus. And true it is, that the Emperoure Adrian, was alwaye called Verissimus, for that he neuer forged lye, nor swarued at any tyme from the trouthe. These Annii veri, were a kynred in Rome, (as Iulius Capitolinus reporteth) whiche vaunted themselves to come of Numa Pompilius, and Quintus Curtius, the famous Romaine, which to worke the Romain peoples safetye, and his owne person euerlastinge memorye

THE DIALL

more) willingtly chere hym selfe, then the lake of curse, that as then was sene in Rome. This Emperours mother was called Domitia Clauilla, as recoiteth Cincina, in the booke that he wrote of Romaine pedigrees. That stocke of Camilli, was in those daies, hyghly honoured in Rome: for that they conueghed their dissent from that Camillus, whiche was so renowned and valiaunte Romaine caprayne, who de liuered Rome, when the Gawles had taken it, and besieged the Capitoll. The men that sprange of this linage, beare the name of Camilli, for remembraunce of this Camillus. And the women that came of the same stocke, kepte the name of Clauilla, the saide Camillus his daughter. This Clauilla refused mariage, and chose to lyue amonge the bestall virgines: and there longe space remayned, enduring a sharpe and harde lyfe. And she was so precise in her life, that in the tyme of Severus Emperour of Rome, her tombe was honoured as a relique, whereon was engraued this Epitaphic.

*Clauilla lo, doth beare engraued rest
That onely was, Camillus daughter deere
Twisfetwentie yeares, and fixe, she hath possist
A conuerse lyfe, vntoucht of any feere.*

*The kinge of Trimacry, contie not her moue
To taste, the swete delight of wedlockes bande
Nor trayne by suite, her sacred mynde to loue
Inclosde in Lince, so deepe dyd chastenes stande.*

*But oh, great wronge, the crawlinge wormes her do
To gnaw, on that vnsotted fencles case
That rage of youth, spent vndefyled so
With sober lyfe, in spure of Cupides force.*

But to our mater, ye shall vnderstand, that the Romaines kepte a certaine lawe in the 12. tables, & wordes wherof were these. We obdeyne and commaunde, that all the Romaines, shall for ever haue speciall pryncesse in euery suche place, where they auncestours haue done to the Romaine people, any notable seruise. For it is reason, that wher the citizen aduentureth his

lyfe, there the citie should doe hym some good: nor after his death. By vertue of this lawe, all the familie of Camilli, euer enioyed the keepinge of the hygh Capitoll, for that by his force & pollicy, he chased the frenche men from the siege. Truelye it is not vns knowen, that this noble knight, and valyaunt captaine Camille dyd other thinges as great, and greater, than this: but because it was done within the circuite of Rome, it was esteemed aboue all his other actes, and prowes. And herein the Romaines swarned not farre from reaso, for that amongst al princely vertues, & is esteemed to be the chiefest, which is employed, to the profite of the comon wealth. The Romaine Cronicklers with teares cease not to lament the ruine of their countrey, seying that vnrictie of time, the multitude of tyrantes, the cruelty of ciuill warres, were occasion, that the auncient state of the Romaine gouernment came to better destruction, and in the steede thereof, a new and euill trade of lyfe to be placed. And hercof no man ought to maruaile, for it chaunceth through out al realmes and nations (by oft chaunging gouernours,) that among the people dayly springeth sondry newe vices. Pulio saith, that for no alteracion whiche befell to the comon weale, for no calamity which euer Rome suffred, was that pryncesse taken auaie from the linage of Camill: I meane, the gouernment of so hygh Capitoll: except it were, in the tyme of Scilla the consull, when this family was sore persecuted, for none other cause, but for that they fauoured the consull Maritus. This cruell Silla, beinge deade, and the pitifull Iulius Cesar pryncailinge, all the banished men from Rome returned home agayne to the common wealth. As touchinge the auncestours of Marcus Aurelius the Emperour, what hath bene their trade of life, or estate, povertie, or riches, standinge in fauour, or displeasour, what prosperitie, or aduersitie they haue had, or suffred: we finde

finde not in wyrynges, though with great
 dyligence they haue ben serched for. And
 the cause hereof was, for that the auncient
 wyryters of the Romaine histories, touched
 the lyues of the emperours fathers (speci-
 allye, when they were made prynces) moze
 for the good merites that were in the chil-
 dren, then for the greate estimation, that
 came fro the fathers, Iulius Capitolinus
 sayth, that Annus Verus father of Mar-
 cus Aurelius, was Pretor of the Rhodian
 armyes, and also warden, in other fronti-
 ers, in the time of Traiane the good, Adri-
 an the wyle, and Antonye the mercifull;
 whiche Emperours, trusted none with
 their armues, but dyscrete, and valyaunte
 men. For good prynces, chuse alwaye suche
 captaynes, as can by wysedome guide the
 armye, and with valiauntnes giue the bat-
 taile. Though the Romaynes had sondre
 warres in diuerse places, yet cheselye they
 kept great garrisons alwayes in foure par-
 tes of the world. That is to say, in Bizance
 (which now is Constantinople) to resiste
 the Parthians, in Gades (whiche now is
 called Caliz) to withstand the Portugales,
 in the riuer of Rene, to defende them sel-
 ues from the Germaines: and at Colosses
 (whiche now is called Rhodes) for to sub-
 due the Barbarians. In the moneth of Ja-
 nuary, when the Senate distributed their
 offices, the dictatoure, being appointed for
 6. monethes, and the 2. Consulles cholen
 for one yeare: incontinently in the 3. place,
 they chose 4. of the moste renowned per-
 sonnes, to defende the salde 4. dangerous
 frontiers. For the Romaynes neither fea-
 red the paynes of hell, nor trusted for re-
 warde in heuen: but sought by all occasi-
 ons possible in their life, to leaue some no-
 table memory of them, after their deathe.
 And that Romaine was counted most va-
 liaunte, and of the Senate best fauoured,
 to whom they committed the charge, of the
 moste cruel, and dangerous warres. For
 their strife was not to beare rule, and to be

in office to get money: but to be in the fron-
 tiers, to overcome their enemies. In what
 estimation these 4. frontiers were, we may
 easely perceiue, by that we see, the most no-
 ble Romaynes, haue passed some parte of
 their yowthe in those places as captaynes,
 vntill suche time, that for moze weightie af-
 faires, they were appointed from thence to
 some other places. For at that time, there
 was no worde so greuous to a citeizin, as
 to saye, go, go, thou hast neuer ben brought
 vp in the warres: and to proue the same,
 great Pompey passed the winter season in
 Biscaja, the aduenturous Scipio, in Co-
 longes, the couragious Caesar, in Gades,
 and the renowned Marcus, in Rhodes.
 And these 4. were not only in the frontiers
 as sayde in their yowthe: but there they
 dyd suche valiaunt actes, that the memory
 of them, remayned euermore after their
 deathe. These thinges I haue spoken to
 proue, syth we finde, that Marcus Aure-
 lius father, was captaine of one of those 4.
 frontiers: it foloweth, that he was a man
 of singuler wisdom, and prowesse. For as
 Scipio sayde (to his frende Masinissa in
 affraye) it is not possible, for a Romaine cap-
 tayne, to want either wysedome, or cou-
 rage, for therunto, they were predestined
 at their birth. We finde in no history, from
 whence, when, or how, in what countreys,
 nor with what persons, this captaine pas-
 sed his yowthe. And the cause is, for that the
 Romaine cronicklers were not accustomed,
 to write the thinges done by their prynces,
 before they were created: but only the actes
 of yong men, which from their yowthe, had
 their hartes stoutly bent to greate aduentu-
 res. And in my opinion, it is well done. For
 it is greater honour, to obtayne an em-
 pire by policie: then to haue it by descent, so
 that there be no tyrannie. Suetonius Tra-
 quillus, in his firste booke of Emperours,
 counteth at large, the aduenturous enter-
 prizes taken in hande, by Iulius Caesar in
 his yonge age, thereby to shew vnto prin-
 ces

THE DIAL

res, how earnestly Iulius Cæsars harte was
 bet to winne h Romaine Monarchie, like
 wile, how wisdom failed him, in behauing
 hym selfe therein. A philosopher of Rome
 wrote to Phalaris the tiraunt, whiche was
 in Sicillie, asking him, why he possessed the
 realme so long by tyrannye: Phalaris an-
 swered hym agayne in another epistle, in
 these fewe wordes. I graunte (q he) that
 ❖ I was a tiraunte in vsurpinge it. For no
 man occupieth another mans right, but by
 reason, he is a tiraunte. But yet I will not
 agree, to be called a tiraunte, sith it is now
 32. yeares, sins I haue possessed it. And
 though I haue atcheued it by tyrannye, yet
 I haue gouerned it by wisdom. And I let
 the to vnderstande, that to take another
 mans goodes, it is a thing easy, but to kepe
 them, I ensure the it is verye harde. The
 Emperour Marcus Aurelius, married the
 daughter of Antonius Pius, the 16. Em-
 perour of Rome: and she was named Dina
 Faustina, who, as sole heire, had the em-
 pire: and so, throughe marpage, Marcus
 Aurelius came to be emperour. this Fau-
 stine, was not so honest, and chaste, as she
 was faire, and beautifull. She had by him,
 two sonnes, Commodus, and Verissimus,
 Marcus Aurelius triumphed twice, once,
 when he ouercame the Perthians, and an
 other tyme, when he conquered the Argo-
 nates, and Pirrathes. He was a man, very
 wel learned, and of a deepe vnderstanding.
 He was as excellent, bothe in Greke and
 latin, as he was, in his mother tonge. He
 was verye temperate in eatinge, and vni-
 kinge: he wrote many thinges, full of good
 learninge and swete sentences: he dyed in
 conquering the realme of Pannonia, whiche
 is now called Hongrye. His deatch was as
 muche bewayled, as his lyfe was despyed.
 And he was lones so intierly in the citie of
 Rome, that euerie Romaine, had a statue
 of him in his house, to chende, the memo-
 ry of him (amonge them) should neuer be cape.
 The which thing, they neuer did for any or

ther, that was either king, or emperoure of
 Rome. He gouerned h empire, for the space
 of 18. yeres, with byright iustice: and dyed,
 at the age of 63. yeres, with much honour,
 in the yere clymaticke, whiche is, in h. 60.
 and 3. yeres, whereth the life of man, con-
 sistent in great peril. For then are accom-
 shed the nine seuens, or the seuen nynes.
 Aulus Gellius, writeth a chapter of this
 mater, in the booke, Denotibus Atticis.
 Marcus Aurelius, was a prince, of lyfe
 moste pure, of doctrine moste profound, and
 of fortune moste happye, saue onely, for
 Faustine his wife, and Commodus his
 sonne. And to the ende we maye see, what
 Marcus Aurelius was, from his infancie,
 I haue put here an epistle of hys, whiche
 is this.

❖ The seconde Chapter.

❖ Of a letter, vvhiche *Marcus Au-
 relius* sent, to his frende *Pullio*,
 vvherein he declarcth, the ordre
 of his lyfe.



Marcus Aurelius, onely Em-
 perour of Rome, greieth h, his
 olde frende *Pullio*, witheth
 healtie to thy personne, and
 peace to the common wealth. As I was in
 the temple, of the vestal virgins, a letter of
 thine, was presented vnto me, whiche was
 wypten longe before, and greatly desired of
 me: but the best therof is, that thou writting
 vnto me briefly, desirest, that I shuld write
 vnto the at large, whiche is vndecent for
 the authoritie of him, that is president, and
 chiefe of the empire, in especial, if such one
 be conetous: for to a price there is no grea-
 ter infamye, then to be longe in wordes,
 and shorte in rewardynge hys seruantes.
 Thou wyrttest to me, of thy grieve-
 in thy legge, and trulpe, the payne thereof
 troubleth

troubleth me at my harte, and I am righte
 soꝝ, that thou wantest that, whiche is ne-
 cessary foꝝ thy health. Foꝝ in the ende, all
 the trauailes of the life may be endured, so
 that þy body with diseases be not troubled.
 Thou lettest me vnderstand by thy letters,
 that thou arte arriued at Rhodes, and re-
 quirest me, to wryte vnto the, how I liued
 in that place, when I was yonge, what time
 I gaue my minde to studie, and likewise,
 what the discourse of my life was, vntil the
 time, of my being Emperour of Rome. In
 this case, truly I mervell at the not a lytle,
 that thou shouldest aske me, suche a questi-
 on, and so muche the moze, that thou byd-
 dest not consider, the greates payne, that I
 had, in aunsweringe this demaunde. Foꝝ
 the doinges, of youth, in a yonge man were
 neuer so byright, but it were moze honesty,
 to amende them: then to declare them. An-
 nius Verus my father, shewing vnto me
 his fatherly loue (not accomplishinge yet
 fully. 3. yeres) dycted me from the vices of
 Rome, & sente me to Rhodes, to learne sci-
 ence, better accompaned with bookes, then
 laden with money: wher I vled suche dili-
 gence, that at the age of. 26. yeres, I red o-
 penly natural philosophy, and Rhetorike,
 and ther was nothinge, gaue me suche oc-
 casion to studie, and reade bookes, as the
 default of money: foꝝ pouertie causeth good
 menis chyliden to be vertuous, so that they
 attayne to that by vertue, whiche others
 come vnto by riches. Truly frende Pulio,
 I founde greates want of the pleasures of
 Rome, specially, at my first comming into
 this Ile: but after I had redde philosophie
 10. yeres, at Rhodes, I toke my selfe as one
 bozne in the countrey. And I thynke my
 conuersaciõ among them, caused it to seme
 no lesse. It is a rule that neuer faileth, that
 vertue, maketh a straunger grow natural,
 and vice, maketh the naturall a straunger
 in his countrey. Thou knowest well, how
 my father Annus Verus, was. 15. yeres a

captaine in the frontiers, against the Bar-
 barous, by the commaundement of Adrian
 my lozde, and master, and Antonius Pius
 my father in law, bothe of them, men of fa-
 mous memoꝝ, whiche recomended me
 there, to their frendes, whiche with fatherly
 counsel exhorted me, to forget the vices of
 Rome, and to accustom me, to the vertues
 of Rhodes. Truly, it was verie necessa-
 ry, foꝝ the naturall loue of the countrey,
 ofte times byingeth domage to him, that is
 bozne therein. Thou shalte vnderstande,
 that þy Rhodians, are men of much curtesy,
 and requyting beneuolence, whiche chaun-
 seth in fewe Iles: because that naturally,
 they are persõs deceitful, subtil, vnthake-
 ful and full of suspicion. I speake this, be-
 cause my fathers frendes succoured me,
 with couysaile, and money: whiche two thin-
 ges, were so necessary, that I could not tel,
 whiche of them was best. The straunger
 maketh his profite to money, to withstande
 the disdainfull pouertie, and profiteth him-
 selfe with counsel, to forget the swete loue
 of his countrey. I would I had red philoso-
 phy, in this Ile of Rhodes, so many yeres,
 as my father continued there captaine. But
 that could not be, foꝝ Adrian my Loꝝd sent
 foꝝ me, to returne to Rome, whiche pleased
 me not a litle. Howbeit (as I haue sayd) they
 vled me, as if I had ben bozne in that coun-
 trey, but notwithstanding, althoughe the
 eyes delighte to see straunge thinges, yet
 therfoze the harte is not satisfied. And this
 is al, that raueth þy Rhodians. I wil now
 tel the, how I was bozne and brought vp in
 mounte Celio (which is in Rome) with my
 father from mine infancie. In the common
 wealth of Rome there was a law vled, and
 by custome wel obserued, that no citezins,
 whiche enioyed any libertie of Rome (after
 their sonnes had accomplished. 10. yeres)
 shuld be so holde, oꝝ hardy to walke þy streas-
 tes like vacabondes. Foꝝ it was a custome
 in Rome, that the chyliden of þy Senators,

THE DIAL

Should such til two yeres of age, and til .4. they should liue at their owne willes, and should reade til .6. yeaers, and the .6. yeaers being passe, they should studie grammer, til .10. yeaers were accomplisshed, then they should take some crafte, or occupation, or giue them selues to study, or go to the exercises of warre, so that throughtout Rome, no man was idel. In the lawe of .12. tables were writen these wordes. The ordeine and commaunde, that euery citizen, that dwel- leth within the circuite of Rome, be bound from .10. yeres bywardes, to kepe his sonne wel ordered. And if perchance the childe being idel, or that no man teacheth hym a nye crafte or science, should thereby perad- uenture fall to vices, or commit some wic- ked offences: that then, the father, no lesse, then the sonne, should be bannished. For there is nothing, so muche breedeth vices a- mongest the people, as whē the fathers are to negligēt, & the childre to bold. And fur- thermore another law saide. The ordeine & commaunde, that after .10. yeaers be passe, for the first offence that the childe shal com- mit in Rome, that the father shalbe bound, to sende him forth some where els, or to be bound suretie, for the good demeanoure of his sonne. For it is not reaso, that the fonde- loue of the father to the sonne, should be an occasion, why the multitude shuld be sleaū- dered: because al the wealthe of the empire, consisteth in kepyng, and maineteinyng quiet men, and in banishing and expelling sedicious personnes. I wil tel the one thing my Pullio, and I am sure thou wilt mer- uel thereat, whiche is, when Rome trium- phed, and by good wisdomē gouerned all the world, the inhabitauntes in the same, surmounted the number of two hundred thousande parsonnes, which was a merue- lous mater. Amongest whom (as a man may iudge, there was aboute a hundred thousande children. But they whiche had the charge of them, kept them in such awe, and

doctrine, that they banished one of the son- nes of Cato vicensis, for breakinge an erthen pot, in a maydens handes, whiche wente to fetch water. In lyke manner they bannished the sonne of good Cinna, onely for entring into a gardein, to gather fruite. And none of these two were as yet, sistene yeres olde. For at that tyme, they chastised them more, for the offences done in gesse: then they do now, for those whiche are done in good earnest. Our Cicero saith, in his booke De legibus, that the Romanes ne- uer toke in any thing more paines, then to restraine the children, aswel olde, as yonge, from idelnes. And so longe endured the feare of their lawe, as they suffred not their chil- dren like bacabondes, idelly to wander the streates. For that countrey maye aboute all other be counted happye, where sche one enioyeth his owne labour, and no man li- ueth, by the sweetes of another. I let the know my Pullio, that I remember, when I was a childe (althoughe I am not yet very olde) none durste be so hardie, to goe commonly throughtout Rome, without a toke about him, of the crafte, and occupation he exercised, and whereby he lyued. And if anye man had bene taken contrarie, the children dyd not only crie oute of him in the streates, as of a foole, but also the Censour condem- ned him, to trauaile with the captiues in common workes. For in Rome, they este- med it no lesse shame, to the childe whiche was a foole, then they dyd in Grece, to the philosopher whiche was ignoraunte. And to thende thou maest see this I wrighte vnto the, to be no newe thinge, thou oughtest to know, that the emperor caused to be bozne also him, a brenning brand, and the coun- sel, an are of armes, & prestes a hat, in ma- ner of a coiffe. The Senatours a crusbill on their armes, the Censours, a lytle bal- lance, the Tribunes, Saces: the gouer- nours a scepter, the Bishoppes, battes of floures. The Oratours a booke: the cutlers

a swerde, the golde smithes, a pot, to melte golde: and so forth of al other offices (straungers excepted) whiche ought to go all after one sorte, marked & noted in Rome. They would not agree, that a straunger should be apparailed, marked, and noted, accordinge to the child: of Rome. My frend Pulio, it was suche a ioye then, to beholde the discipline, and prosperitie of Rome, and it is now at this present suche a greife, to see the calamitie thereof, that by the immortal gods I sweare to the, & so the god Mars leade my hande in warres, that the man which now is best ordered, is not worthe so muche, as the moste dissolute person was then: for then amongst a thousande, they could not finde one man vicious in Rome: and now, amonges twentie thousand, they cannot finde one vertuous in all Italye. I know not why gods are so cruel against me, and fortune so contrary, that this .40. yeares I have done nothinge, but wepe, & lamente, to see the good men die, and immediately to be forgotten: and on the other side, to see the wicked liue allwayes, in their prosperitie. Uniuersallye the noble harte maye endure al the traualles of mans life, vnlesse it be, to see a good man decaye, and the wicked to prosper: which my harte cannot abyde, nor yet my tonge dissemble. As touching our matter, my frend Pulio, I will write vnto the one thinge, whiche I founde in the booke, of the highe Capitoll, where he treateth of the time of Marius, and Sylla, whiche trulye is worthe of memoize, and that is this. There was at Rome a custome, and a lawe inuisolable, sith the tyme of Sylla, that a Censour, expressly commaundered by the senate, should goe, and visite the prouinces, which were subiecte vnto it, throughtoute all Italye: and the cause of those visitacions was, for three thinges. The firste, to see if any complained of iustice, the second, to see in what case the common wealthe stode. The third,

to thende that yeaerlye they shoulde render obedience to Rome. My frend Pulio, how thinkest thou, if they visited Italye at this presente, as at that tyme they surueyed Rome, they should finde it full of errors. And what decaye shoulde they see therein thinkest thou? Trulye (as thou knowest) they should see the common wealthe destroyed, iustice not ministred, and moreover, Rome not obeyed, and not without a iuste cause. For of righte ought that common wealthe to be destroyed, whiche ons of all other hath bene the flower, and moste beautified with vertues: and after cometh moste abhominable, and defiled with vices. The case was suche, that two yeares after the warres of Sylla, and Marius, the Censour was yeaerly at Nola (whiche is a place in the prouince of Campagna) to visite the same countrey, as the custome was. And in those dayes, the tyme and season was verie hoot, and the prouince, quiet, and not disturbed with warres. The censour sayde to the hoste, whiche lodged hym. Frend, I am a iudge, sente from the Senatours, to visite this lande. Therefore goe thy wayes, to cal the good men hither, whiche be amonge the people, and come agayne quickelye. For I haue to saye vnto them, from the sacred senate. This hoste (who peraduenture was wyser, then the Romayne iudge, althoughe not so ryche) goeth to the graues of the dead, whiche in that place were buryed, and spake vnto them with a loude voyce, sayenge. O pee good men, come alwaye quickelye, for the Romayne Censour calleth you. The iudge sente hym agayne to call them: and the hoste, as he dyd at the firste tyme, so dyd he now at the seconde. For when he was at the graues, with a loude voyce he sayd. O pee good men, come hither, for the censour of Rome woulde talke with you. And lyke wyse they were called the thirde tyme. And then sith they came not, the Censour

THE DIAL

sented to be verpe muche dyspleased, and
 sayde. Where is this hoste: come hither.
 Sith these men dysdayne to come vnto
 me, and shewe their allegyaunce, to the sa-
 cred senate of Rome (to thintente I maye
 punythe this their dysobedience) I wyll
 goe vnto theim my selfe. Come, and goe
 with me. The hoste without anye wordes,
 lede the Censour to the graues, where he
 had ben before, and agayne with a loude
 bolce cried, O ye good men, I say, ye good
 men, arise and behold, here is the Romaine
 Censour, whome the Senate hath sent to
 visite this oure countrey, who desireth to
 talke with you, that be good men onelpe,
 arple, arple therfore, for he is here and ta-
 rieth vpo you. The Romayne Censour, lo-
 kyng aboute him, and seeing no man, mar-
 uelled a lōge tyme with him selfe, to whom
 he shoulde talke, and at the last when he
 sawe no man, and that he still contynued
 cryeng vnto them, he was in a greate
 rage, and sayde. Thou lewde fellow, kno-
 west thou what thou doest: canst thou tel
 whom thou mockest: knowest nor thou that
 I am sent, by the auctorite of the Romain
 Senate, to whose commaundemente al the
 worlde is obedyent. What meanest thou
 therfore in suche wise to delude me: in cal-
 ling and crying here at the tombes of these
 that be deade: I sente the not to call those
 whiche (manye yeares since) are dead: but
 those, whiche (at this present) be alpe. The
 hoste perceauinge the Censour to be offen-
 ded, determined to answer him no moze co-
 uartly vnder coulers, but openly with de-
 monstracions, and sayde vnto him. O thou
 Romaine Iudge, if thou art wise (as it is to
 be thought thou arte) why doest thou mar-
 uelle, or why arte thou displeased with that
 I haue done. For if thou wilt indifferently
 wey together y^e whiche I haue done, with
 that whiche thou halst sayd, truly thou shalt
 perceiue some reason in my doinges, and li-
 tle wisdom in thy sayenges. Thy demaūd
 was onely for good men. Thou diddest send

me forth to cal vnto the good men, I haue
 ben there, where they were laied, & if thei be
 not there, trulpe I know not where they
 shalbe found. For I let the vnderstand, that
 in this our citie of Nola there are no good
 men, but only these, whiche are deade & lye
 buried here in these graues. Therfore thou
 hast no cause to marueile, no: yet to be dys-
 pleased wth my answer: but I rather ought
 to be offended with thy demaunde, whiche
 is, to enquire for good men, and thou thy
 selfe, dost offend, with the euil. Wherefore
 I let the know, if thou arte ignorant ther-
 of: if thou wilt speake with any good man,
 thou shalt not finde hym in all the hols
 worlde: vnles the deade be reuiued, or ex-
 cepte the gods wyl make anelwe creation.
 The Consul Silla was two monethes, in
 this oure citie of Nola, in Campaigna,
 sowinge the fruite, whiche ye other Ro-
 maines gathered: that is to saye, he lefte
 chyldren withoute fathers, fathers without
 chyldren, daughters without mothers, and
 husbandes without wyues: wyues without
 husbandes, vnclis without nephewes, sub-
 tectes withoute Lordes, Lordes withoute
 tenauntes, gods without Temples, Tem-
 ples without priestes, mountaines without
 heardes, and fyeldes without frutes. And
 the worste of all is, that this cursed Silla,
 emptyed this oure citie of good and ver-
 tuous men: and replenyshed it, with wic-
 ked and vicious personnes. Ruine, and de-
 cay, neuer destroyed the walles so muche,
 neyther the mootes euer marred so many
 garmentes, ne the wormes rotted so much
 frutes, no: yet the hayle beate downe so
 muche cozne, as the disorder, and vices of
 of Silla (the Romaine Consul) dyd harme,
 whiche he broughte vnto this land of cam-
 paigna. And although the euils, that he did
 here to the men, were manyfolde greate:
 yet muche greater herein was that, whiche
 he dyd to their customes, and maners. For
 in the ende, the good men, whiche he be-
 headed, are burped nowe with the deade:
 but

The thirde Chapter.

* but the vices, whiche he leste vs, ouers-
tohealme at this p[re]sente all the l[iv]ing.
In this lande, there are none but proude,
and arrogante men, that delpte to com-
maunde. In this lande, there are none o-
ther, but enuious men, that know nought
els, but malice. In this lande, there are
idell men, whiche doe nothinge, but loose
their tyme. In this lande, there are none
but glottons, whiche doe nothing but eate.
In this land, there are none, but theues,
whiche entende nought els, but robberies.
In this lande, there are none, but rebelles,
that doe nothinge but stirre seditions. And
if thou, & al the Romaines, esteeme these mē
for good, tary a while, I wil go to cal them
al, for if we shuld kil & put in the shambles,
al the pill mē, as we do the flesh of shepe, or
other lyke beastes: all the neighbours, & in
habitanes of Italy, shoud haue meate suf-
ficiente to eate. Beholde Censor, in this
* lande of Campaigna, they call none good,
but those whiche are quyet, sober, wise, and
discrete men. They call none good, but
the pacyent, honest, and vertuous men. Fi-
nallie I saye, that we call none good, but
those whiche wyl doe no harme, and wyl
occupy thē selues, in good wo[r]kes. With-
out teares I spake not that whiche I wyl
saie, that is: if we seeke for any of them, we
shall fynde none, but in these graues. For
the iuste iudgemente of the gods was, they
shoulde repose them selues in the intrailles
of the earthe, who in the publyke weale de-
serued not to haue their lyues. Thou
cameste to visite this lande, where thou
shalte immediatly be serued with the wic-
ked: and to hyde their faultes, their disso-
lute life, and their vices, thou shalte not
be a litle solicited. Beleue me, if thou wilt
not vndoe thy selfe, and be deceyued. Trust
thou rather these rotten bones, than they:
* decetysfull hartes. For the examples of
the deade doe profyte good men moze to
liue well: than the counsaile of the wicked,
pronoketh the l[iv]ing to lyue euill.

* Marcus Aurelius, cōcludeth the
letter, and declareth the sciences
vvhiche he learned, and all the
maisters vvhiche he had. and in
the ende, he reciterh fyue nota-
ble thinges, in the obseruaunce
of the vvhiche, the Romaines
vvere very curious.



HAVE recited these
thinges vnto the, my frende
Pulio, to the ende, that thou
shouldest knowe, that there
is but a smalle number of
those, nowe a dayes, whiche are good:
but of the euill, the multitude is vnnu-
merable. And this procedeth of none o-
ther thinge, but because the fathers doe
not brynge vp their chyldren, as oure aunc-
cestours did. It is vnpossible a yonge
childe shoulde be vicious, if with due cor-
rection, he had bene instructed in vertues.
Annius Verus, in this case, deserved as
* muche prayse, as I did reproche. For whi-
les I was yonge, he neuer suffred me to
sleepe in bed, to syt in chayre, to eate with
him at his table, neyther durste I lyfte vp
mine eyes, to looke him in the face. And
oftentimes he sated vnto me. Marcus my
sonne, I had rather thou shouldest be an
honest Romaine, than a dissolute Philo-
sopher. Thou desireste me to wyte vnto
the, howe many masters I had, and what
sciences I learned in my yowthe. Knowe
thou, that I had diuerse masters, though
I am become an euill scoller. I learned di-
uerse sciences, though presently I knowe
litle. And not for that I forgote them, but
because the affaires, of the empyre of Ro-
me, excluded me from them, and caused me
to forsake them.

THE DIALL

* For it is a generall rule, that science in that place is neuer permanente, where the persone is not at libertie. I studied gramer with a maister called Euphermon, whose head was hoze for age. In speache he was very tēperate, in correctiō somewhat seuerē, and in life exccading honeste. For ther was a law in Rome, that the childzens masters shoulde be very olde, so that, yf the disciple were .10. yerres of age, the master should be aboue fiftie. I studied a lōg time Rethozick, vnder a greeke called Alexander, bozne in Lycaony, which was so excellent an Orator, yf he had had as great a grace in writing w his pen, as he had eloquēce in speaking with his tonge, truly he had bene, no lesse renoumed among the Crettians: then Cicero was honozed among the Romains. After the death of this my master (at Naples) I went to Rhodes, and hearde rethozicke again of Orosus, of Pharanton, and of Pulio, whiche trulye were men expert, and excellent in the facultie of an Orator, and especially in making comedies, tragedies, and enterludes, they were very syne, and had a goodly grace. Commodus Calcedon, was my firste master, in naturall Philosophie. He was a graue man, and in greate credite with Adrian, he translated Homere out of greke, into latin. After thys man was dead, I toke Sextus Cheronensis for my master, who was nephewe, to Plutarche the greate, whyche Plutarche, was Traianus master. I knewe this Sextus Cheronensis, at .35. yeaeres of age, at what time, I doute whether there hath bene any philosopher that euer was so well esteemed throughtout the Roman empire, as he. I haue him here with me, and although he be foure scoze yerres old, yet continually he writeth, the histories and gesses, done of my time. I let the know, my frend Pulio, that I studied the lawe .2. yerres, and the seeking of the lawes of many nations, was occasion, that I knew many antiquities, and in

this science, Volucius Mecianus was my master, a man which coulde reade it well, and also dispute of it better. So that on a time he demaunded of me merily, and saide. Tell me marke, doest thou thinke there is any lawe in the worlde that I knowe not? and I aunswered him. Tell me master, is there any lawe in the worlde that thou obseruest? The fyfthe yere that I was at Rhodes, there came a marueylous pestilence, whiche was occasion, of the dissolution of our scoole: and though I was in a narrowe, and litle place, where were certaine paynters, paintinge an excellent worke for the Realme of Palestine: yet I for a truth learned there to drawe and painte, and my master was Diogenetus, who in those daies, was a famous paynter. He painted in Rome, 6. worthye Princes, in one table: and 6. other tyrannous emperours in an other. And amongst those euyl, Nero the cruell was paynted so lyuely, that by his eyes, he seemed to be alyue: and that table wherein Nero was so liuely drawen, was by decree of the sacred senat, commaunded to be burnt. For they saide, that a man of so wycked a life, deserued not to be represented, in so goodly a table. Others saide, that it was so naturall and so perfectlye painted, that he made all men asfayde that beheld him, and if he had bene leste there a fewe daies, he would haue spoken, as if he had bene alyue. I studied the arte of Pigromancie a while, with all the kyndes of gyromancie, and chitromancie. In this science, I had no particuler master, but that sometymes I went to heere Apolonius lecture. After I was married to Faustine, I learned Cosmographie, in the citie of Argeleta, which is the chiefeste towne of Illyria: and my masters were Iunius Rusticus, and Cynna Catullus, Croniclers, and counsaylers, to Adrian my master, and Antonius my father in law. And because I would not be ignorant in any of those thinges, that mans debilitie might

mighte attaine to, beinge at the warres of Dalia, I gaue my self to musicke, and was apte to take it, and my master was named Geminus, a man of a quicke hand to play, and of as pleasaunte a voice to singe: as euer I hearde Romayne tonge, prompte to speake. This was the order of my lyfe, and the tyme, that I spent in learninge. And of good reason, a man so occupied, cannot chose but be vertuous. But I sweare and confesse to the, that I did not so much giue my selfe to studie, but that euery day I lost time enoughe. For youthe and the tender fleshe, despyeth lybertye, and althoughe a man accustome it with trauayles, yet he findeth vacant time also for his pleasures. Althoughe all the aunciente Romans were in dyuerse thinges very studious: yet notwithstandinge, amongst all, ouer and besides these, there were sune thinges, wherunto they had euer a greate respecte: and to those that therein offended, neyther requestes auayled, rewarde profited, nor lawe, olde nor new dispensed. Trulye their good willes are to be commended, and their diligence to be exalted. For the prynces that gouerne great Realmes, oughte to employ their hartes to make good lawes, and to occupye their eyes, to see them duly executed, throughout the common wealthe. These sune thinges were these.

* The firste, they ordeyned, that the pye-
stres shoulde not be dyshonest. For in that Realme, where pyestres are dyshonest, it is a token, that the gods agaynst the people are angrye.

* The second, it was not suffered in Rome, that the Virgynnes bestalles shoulde at their pleasour straye abrode. For it is but reason, that she, whiche of her owne free wyll hath heretofore promysed openly to be good, shoulde now, if she chaunge her mynde, be compelled in secrete to be chaste.

* The third, they decreed, that the iudges

shoulde be iuste and bysighte. For there is nothinge that decayeth a common wealthe more, then a iudge, who hath not for all men, one ballaunce indifferente.

The fourth was, that the Capraynes whiche shoulde goe to the warres shoulde not be cowardes: for there is no lyke daunger to the common wealthe, nor no lyke sleaunder to the Prynce, as to committe the charge of men to hym in the field, who wylbe firste to commaunde, and laste to fighte.

The fift was, that they whiche had charge of byngynge vp of children, shoulde not be vicious. For there is nothyng more monstrous and more sleaunderous, than he that is mayster of children, shoulde be subiecte, and seruaunte to byces. Howe thinkest thou my frende Pullio, whan al these thinges were obserued in Rome? Thinkest thou, that the youth was so dissolute, as at this present: thinkest thou in dede, that it is the same Rome, wherin (in times past) were so notable good and auncient men? beleuest thou that it is that Rome, wherin (in the golden age) the old men were so honest, and the children so well taught, the armie well ordered, and the iudges and Senatours so bysighte and iuste? I call God to witnes, and sweare to the, that it is not Rome, neither hath it any likenesse of Rome, nor yet any grace to be Rome, and he that woulde saye, that this Rome, was the olde Rome, knoweth litle of Rome. The matter was this, that the aunciente, and vertuous Romaynes beinge dead, it semeth to the gods, that we are not yet worthy to enioye their houses. So that either this is not Rome, or els we be not the Romaynes of Rome. For consideringe the prowesse, and vertuous deedes of the aunciente Romaynes, and wayenge also our dissolute liues, it were a very great infamy for the, to call vs their successors. I desire my frend Pullio, to write vnto the
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THE DIAL

all these things, to chende thou maist see, what we were, and what we are. For great things, haue neede of great power, and require a longe time befoze they can grow and come to their perfection, and than afterwarde, at one momente, and wth one blow, they fal downe to the ground. I haue bene moze tedious in my letter, than I thought to haue ben, now I haue said, that wth diligence in 3. or 4. times I haue written in mine, that which lacked in thine: and that whiche remaineth, in an other letter shalbe fulfilled: but since I pardone the for being so bryefe, pardon thou me, for beinge to longe. I sawe the ones enquire for vnicoznes ho:ne in Alerandry, wherfoze now I send the a good piece, and likewise I send the a ho:se, which in my iudgemēt is good. Aduertise me if thy daughter Drusilla be alpyne, wth whom I was wont to laugh, and I wyl helpe her to a mariage. The immortal gods kepe the, thy wyfe, & thy step-mother, and salute thy daughter in my behalf. And I wth my wyfe Faustine also salute the. Marke of Mounte Celio Emperour of Rome, with his owne hand, writeth vnto the.

✿ The fourth Chapter.

✿ Of the excellencie of Christian Religion, vvhiche manifesteth the true God, and disproueth the vanite of the auncientes, hauinge so many Gods. And that in the olde time, vvhā the enemyes vvere reconfyled in theyr hovvses, they caused also, that the Gods should embrace eche other in the temples.



of the Hierarchies, moze aunciente then the heauens, Prince of all holynesse, chiefe heade, from whome all hadde theyr begynnyng, the greateste of all gods, and creator of all creatures, in the profoundnesse of his eternall sapience: accorderh all the harmony, and composition of Christian religion. This is suche a maner of sure water, and so well laide, that neither the miseries, which spring of infections of naughty Christians can trouble, nor yet the boysterous windes of the heretiques are able to moue. For it were moze likely, that heauen and earthe shoulde both perishe, then it shoulde suspend for one daie, and that ther shoulde be no Christian religion. The auncient godds, whiche were inuentours of wo:ldly things, as the foundation of their reprobated sectes, was but a flitenge sande and an vnstable grounde, full of dangerous, & erronious abuses: so some of those poore wretches, lookinge perhappes lyke a shippes ronninge vppon a rocke, suspectinge nothinge, were drowned. Other, like ruyned buildinges were shaken in sonder, and fell downe dead: finally, these gods, whiche onely bare the name of gods, shalbe for evermoze forgotten. But he onely shalbe perpetuall, whiche in god, by god, and thorough god, hath his beginninge. Many and sundry were the multitude of the nations, whiche haue bene in tymes passe. That is to wytte, the Sirians, the Asirians, Persians,

Persians, Medians, Macedonians, Grecians, Cythians, Arginians, Corinthians, Indians, Athenians, Lacedemonians, Africans, Vandales, and Swenos, Allains, and Hunnes, Germaignes, Britons, Hebrewes, Palastines, Gentiles, Iberthailides, Maurians, Lucitanians, Gothes, and Spaniardes. And truely in all these, loke how greate the difference amongest them in their customes and manners was: so muche diuersitye was of the ceremonies, whiche they vsed, and of their gods, whiche they honoured. For the gentiles had this errour, that they sayd one alone was not of power sufficient, to create suche a multitude, as were created. If I were before all the sages that euer were, they would not say the contrary, but without comparison, the gods, whom they worshipped and inuented, were greater in multitude: then the realmes, & prouinces were, whiche they conquered, and possessed. For by that folye, the antient poetes durst asseme in their wyrtinges, that the gods of one nation and countrey, were mortal enemies to the gods of another prouince. So that, the gods of Troye, enuied the gods of Grece moze, then the princes of Grece, enuied the princes of Troye. What a thinge was it to see the Assyrians, in what reuerence they worshipped the god Belus. The Egyptians, the god Apis. The Caldeans, the god Assas. The Babilonians, the god dragon. The pharaones, the statue of gold. The Palestines, the god Bezebuthe. The Romaines honoured the god Iupiter. The Penians the god Mars. The Corinthians the god Apollo. The Arabians the god Asstaroth. The Arginians the Sonne. Those of Acaia the Poone. The Cidonians, Belphogon. The Amonites Balhalin. The Indians Baccus. The lacedemonians Osiages. The Macedonians did sacrifice to Mercury. The Ephesians to their goddesse Diana. The Grekes to Juno. The Armenians to Liber. The Troians to Vesta. The

Latins to Februa. The Carittines to Ceres. The Rhodians (according to the saying of Apollonius) worshipped, and belued in the god Janus, and about all thinges, were oughte to meruaile at this. That they striven oftentimes amongest them selues, not so muche vpon the possessions, and signories of Realmes: as vpon a certaine obstinacie they had, to maintaine the gods of the one, to be of greater power, then the others. For they thoughte, yf their gods were not esteemed, that the people should be impoverished, vnforsunate, and persecuted. Pullio in his second booke, De dissolatione regionum orientarum, declareth, that the first prouince that rebelled against the Emperour Helius Adrianus (whiche was the fiftenth Emperour of Rome) was the land of Palestine, against the whiche, was sent a captaine, named, Iulius Seuerus, a man of great courage, and in feates of armes aduenturous, and fortunat. This captaine did not onely synthe the warres, but he wroughte suche an outragious destruction in that lande, that he besieged, & cities, and rased them to the ground, and burned, 980. villages, and slew so many in battaille by Justice, that amounted to the nombze of. 5000. persons. For vnto the proud and cruell captaines, victorie can neuer be glorious, vntill they water the grounde with the bludde of their enemies. And furthermore, in the cities and towne besieged, the chyldren, olde men, and women, whiche died through hunger, and pestilence, were moze in nombze, than those whiche were slain in the warres. For in warres, the sworde of the enemies lighteth not vpon all, but pestilence; and faintne, hath no respecte to any. After this warre of the Palestines was ended, immediately after arose a moze crueller, betwixte the Alaynes, and Armenians. For there are many that se the beginnunge, of the troubles and myseries, whiche arys in Realmes: but there are fewe, that consider the ende, and seke

THE DIAL

like to remedye the same. The occasion of this warre was, as they came to the feast of the mount Olympus, they fel in disputacions, whither of their gods were better, and whiche of them ought to be preferred, besoze other. Whereof there sprang suche contradictions, and suche mortall hatred, that on enerye parte, they were furiously moued to warres, and so, vnder a colour to mainteine the gods, which they honoured, both the common wealthes, were brought into great pouertie, and the people also into muche miserie. The Emperoure Helius Adrianus, seeinge such cruel warres to arise vpon so lighte occasion, sente thither the captayne aboue named, Iulius Severus, to pacifie the Allaines, and Armenians, and commaunded hym, that he should persecute these with warres, whiche would not be ruled, by his arbitrement and sentence. For those lustily deserue a sword, which with no reasonable condicions, will condescende vnto peace. But Iulius Severus vsed suche pollicie, that he made them good frendes, and neuer touched them nor came nere them. Which thing, was no lesse acceptable to the Emperour, then profitable to the realmes. For the captaine, which subdueth the countrey by entreatie, deserueth moze honoure, then he, whiche ouercommeth it by batayle. The agremente of the peace was made, vpon such condicion, that the Allains shuld take for their gods, the Armenians gods, and the Armenians on the contrary, the gods of the Allains: and further, whē the people shuld imbarce, and recōcile them selues to the senate, that then the gods shuld kisse the one, the other, and to be reconciled to the temple. The vanities of the auncientes was suche, and the blindnes of mortall men so greate, and so subiect were they, to deuillish deuises, that as easely as the eternal wisdomē createth a liuely man now a dayes: so easely then a vaine man might haue inuēted a false god. For the Cyprians had this opinion, that

men had no lesse power to inuent goddes, then god had to create men.

The fyfte Chapter.

Hovve the Philosopher Bruxellus vvas greatly esteemed amongest the auncientes, for his lyfe, and the vwoordes vvhiche he spake vnto the Romaines, at the houre of his death.



Harasmaco in his 20. booke De libertate deorum, (whereof Cicerō maketh mencion, in his booke, De natura deorum) saith: whē the Gothes toke Rome, & besyged the high capitoll, there came amongest them a philosopher called Buxellus, the whiche after the Gothes were repulled out of Italie) remained with Camil at Rome. And because at that tyme Rome wanted Philosophers, this Buxelles was had in great beneracion amongest all the Romaines, so that, he was the firste straunger, of whom beyng alyue, a statue was euer made in the Senate. The Romaines vled to make a statue of the Romaines, beinge alyue: but not to straungers, till after their death. The age of this Buxellus was. 113. whereof, 65. he had ben an inhabitante of Rome. And amonge other thinges, they recite. 7. notable thinges of his life. The firste is, that in. 60. yeares, no man euer sawe him issue out of the wales of Rome. For in the olde tyme, the Sages were litle esteemed, if in their behanious, they were not vprighte. The secoude is, that in. 60. yeares, no man heard him speake an idel word: for the wordes that are superfluous, do greatly deface the authoritie of the persone.

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The thirde is, that in all his tyme, they neuer sawe hym loose one hower of tyme. For in a wyse man, ther is no greater follye, then to see him spende a moment of an houre idellye,

The fourthe is, that in all his tyme, he was neuer detected of any vice. And let no man thinke this, to be a small matter. For fewe are they of so longe life, which are not noted of some infamy after their death.

The fift is, that in al the .60. yeares, he neuer made quarrel, nor strived with anye man: and this thinge oughte to be no lesse esteemed then the other. For trulye, he that lyueth a longe tyme withoute offerynge wronge to another, maye be called a monster in nature.

The sixt is, that in thre or foure yeares, he neuer issued oute of the temple, and in this case, this philosopher shewed him selfe to be a good man. For the vertuous man oughte not, to contente him selfe onelye to be voyde of vices: but also he oughte, to withdraue him selfe from the vicious.

The seuenth is, that he spake moze often vnto god, then vnto men. This philosopher now drawinge neere to the houre of death, all the Senate came to visite hym, and to thanke him, for that he had lyued so longe amongst them, in so good conuersacion, and that so willingly, he cared and watched for the wealth of Rome. And likewise, all the people of Rome were righte soye for his disease, and that they should lose the companye, of suche an excellent, and vertuous man. The good philosopher in the presence of them all, spake these wordes.

✿ The sixte chapter.

✿ Of that the sage Philosopher spake, to the Senate of Rome.



Ynce you are vwise (o worthy senators) me thinketh you should not lament my death, cithers I my selfe so ioyfully do receiue it. For we ought not to lament the death we take, but the wicked life, whiche we leade. That man is verpe symple, that dreads death, for feare to loose the pleasures of lyfe. For death, ought not to be feared, for losse of lyfe: but because it is a sharpe scourge, of the wicked lyfe. I dye (noble Senators) in ioye and pleasoure. First, because I doe not remember, that euer I dyd any euill in all my life, or displeasour to anye of the common wealth. And I am certayne, that the man, which did no euill to men in his lyfe: the gods will do him no harme, at the houre of his death. Secondly, I dye ioyfully, to see all Rome lament the losse of my lyfe. For that man is verpe wicked, whose lyfe the people lament, and at whose death, they do reioyse. Thirdly, I dye ioyfully, onely to remember, that this .60. yeares, whiche I haue ben in Rome, alwaies I haue trauailed for the common wealth. For the iuste gods tolde me, that there is no death with payne, but where lyfe is withoute profite. Fourthly, I dye ioyfully, not so muche for the profite I haue done to men, as for the seruice I haue done to the gods. For regarding to how manye vnprofitable thinges we employe our lyfe, we maye saye, we lyue onelye the tyme, whiche is employed to the seruice of god. Ceasinge to speake further of my person, I wyl (worthy Senators) disclose vnto you, a highe secrete, whiche toucheth your common wealth, and it is. That our father Romulus founded Rome, Numa Pompilius erected the highe Capitoll, Anc^{us} Marci^{us} enclosed it with walles, Brutus deliuered it from Tirantes, the good Camillus, dyone oute the frenchemen. Quintus Scicinnatus, augmented her power: but I leaue it peo-
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pled with gods, whiche shal defende Rome better, then walles or men. For in the ende, the feare of one god is moze worthe, then the strengthe of al men. When I came to Rome, it was a confusion, to se how it was peopled with men, and unfurnyshe of gods. For there wert but .5. gods, that is to witte, Iupiter, Mars, Ianus, Berecynthia and the goddesse Vesta. But now it is not so. For there remaineth but one onely god for all. We thinketh it an vnjuste thing, the treasours shoulde be full of golde, and the temples boyde of goddes. As there is .200. neighbours, so ye haue great desire, that I would tel you of .200. gods: by the vertue of the which, I confure you Romaynes, y eche of you be contented, with y god of his house, and haue no care to applye to him selfe, the gods of the comon wealthe. For he that empropereth to him selfe that, whiche oughte to be common to al, is to be blamed of god, and hated of men. This shalbe therefore the order, that you shal heape and haue towarde the gods, if you wyl not erre in their seruice. That is to vnderstande, yee shal heape y mother Berecynthia, to pacifie the ire of the gods. yee shal heape the goddesse Vesta, to turne from you the wicked desires. yee shal heape the god Iupiter and shal commit vnto him y gouernement of your common wealthe. And also ye shal heape him, for the god aboue all the gods in heauen and earthe. For if Iupiter dyd not temper the ire, whiche the gods aboue haue againste you, there shoulde be no memozy of men here beneth in earthe. Of other particuler gods whiche I leaue you, vse your particuler profite. But yet notwithstanding in the meane season (Romaynes) take you hede to your selues, and if at any tyme fortune shoulde be contrarpe, let no man be so hardy to speake euil of the god, which he hath in his house. For the gods tel me, that it was sufficient inough, to dissemble with them which serue them not, and not to pardon those, that offends them in sayenge,

that they are priuate gods, and not able to helpe themselves. For I let you know, that there is not so lytle a god, but is of power sufficient, to reuenge an iniurye. O Romaynes, it is reason that al, from hensforth, liue sayfullye, and in peate, and furthermore, thinke your selues assured, not to be ouercome by your enemies: because now, your neighbours of you, and not you of them, shal desire to borow gods. For ye shal se me no moze ye thinke I must die, and I thinke because I dye, I shal beginne to liue. For I go with the gods, and leaue among you the gods, because I departe.

The seuenth Chapter.

Howe the Gentiles thoughte, that one God, vvas not able to defende them from their enemies, and how they sent throughout al the countrey to borow gods, vwhen the Romaynes foughte against the Gothes.



In the year of the foundacio of Rome .1694. whiche according to the counte of the Latins, is 411. from the incarnation (as Paulus Orosius, in the sixte booke; De machina mundi, sayeth; and Paulus Diaconus, in the .12. booke of the Romayne histories) The gothes (whiche as Spartian sayeth, were called otherwise Gethules, or Messagethes) were driuen out of their countrey by the Huns, and came into Italy, to seke new habitacions, and became natural, and built houses. At this time there was an Emperoure of Rome, named Valentine, a man of smal reputation, and courage in warres, and endued with few good condicions. for that he was

was of Ariā his secte. The kinges of these Gothes, were two renowned men, whose names were, Randagagismus, and Alaricus. Of the which two, Randagagismus was the chiefest, and most puissant. For he led to him at the least 2000000. Gothes, the which, al with him and he with them, made an othe, to shed as much blood of the Romanes, as they coude, & to offer it to their gods. For the barbarous people had a custom, to noynte the god (which was at that time in the temple of Venus) with blood of their enemies, whiche they had slayne. The newes of the comminge of this cruell straunte, was published throughout all Italie. Whose determinacion was not onely to raze the walles of Rome downe to the earth, batter towers, dungeons, houses, walles, and buildings: but also, he purposed to abolyshe, and utterly to bynne to nought, the name of Rome, and likewise of the Romanes. Of this thing all the Italians were in great and meruellous feare. And the moste puissant and couragious knyghtes, nobles, and gentlemen, agreed together, to retire within the walles of Rome, and determined to die in that place, to defend the liberty thereof. For amonges the Romanes there was an aunciente custom, that where they created a knyghte, they made him sweare thre thynges.

Firste, he swaie to spende all the dayes of his lyfe in the warres.

Secondarely, he swaie that neither for pouerty nor ryches, nor for any other thynges, he shoulde euer take wages, but of Rome onely.

Thirde, he swaie that he would rather chuse to die in libertie, then to liue in captiuitie.

After all the Romanes (scattered abroad in Italie) were together assembled in Rome, they agreed to sende letters by their pursuantes, not onely to their subiectes, but also, to all their confederate. The effects wherof was this.

The eight Chapter.

Of a Letter, that the senate sent vnto all those, which were subiecte to the empire.



THE sacred Senate, and al the people of Rome, to all their faithfull and louing subiectes, and to their deare frendes, and confederates, wylshethe health and victorie, agaynst your enemyes. The varietie of time, the negligēce of you all, and the vnhappie successe of our aduentures, haue broughte vs in perilles of tyme, that where as Rome conquered Realmes, and gouerned so manie straunge signories, now at this daye, comethe straungers to conquere, and destroye it, in suche sorte, that the Barbarous people (whom we were wont to kepe for selauies) sweare to become our lordes and masters. We knowe now, how al the Barbarous nation hath conspired againste Rome, our mother: & they, with their king, haue made a vow, to offer all the Romanes bloude, to their gods in the temples. And peraduenture, their pryde and sperelesnes being seen, and our innocēcy knowen, fortune wyl dyspose another thinge. For it is a generall rule, that it is impossible for a prince to haue the victorie of that warre, whiche by malice is begonne, and by pryde and sperelesnes pursued. It hath seemed good vnto vs (since their cause is vniuste, and our righte) to endeoure our selues by all meanes, howe to resiste this Barbarous people. For ofte tymes, that whiche by iustice was gotten, by negligēce is losse. For the remedy of this mischance to come, the sacred senate hath prouided.

THE DIAL

ded these thinges solowynge: and for the accomplishinge thereof, your fauour and ayde is necessarye.

Firste of al, we haue determined to repaire with all dyligence, our ditches, walles, gates, and bulwarkes: and in these places, to arme all our frendes. But to accomplishe that, and dyner's other for the necessitie of warfare, we lacke monye: for ye know wel inoughe, that the warre cannot be prosperous, where enemyes abound, and mony is scarce.

Secondarily, we haue commaunded that all those (whiche be swozne knyghtes of Rome) repaire immediatlye to Rome: and therefore, ye shal sende all those, which are vnder thage of .50. and aboue thage of .20. For in greate warres, aunciente men for counsaile, and yonge men and lustye to execute the same, are required.

Thirde, we haue agreed and concluded, that the cite be prouided of victualles, munitions, and defences, at the leaste for 2. yeres. Wherefore we desire yee, that yee sende vs from you the thirde parte of swine, the one halfe of fleshe, and the thirde parte of your breade. For we haue all swozne to dye: yet we meane not to dye for famine, alleged as fearefull men: but fightinge in playne felde, lyke valyaunte Romaynes.

Fourthly, we haue prouided (since the vnknowen barbarous come to fighte with vs) that you bringe vs to Rome, straunge goddes, to heaule, and defende vs. For you know wel inoughe, that since the greate Constantyne, we haue ben so poze of gods, that we haue not but one god, whome the Christians doe honoure. Therefore we desire you, that you wil also succoure vs with your gods, in this our extream necessitie. For amongst the gods, we know no one alone sufficient, to defende all the Romaine people, from their enemyes. The walles therefore being well repayed, and all the yonge and warrellyke men in garrison, in the cite, the batteries well furnished, and

the treasure house well replenished with mony, & aboue all, the temples wel adourned with goddes: we hope in oure gods, to haue the victorie of oure enemyes. For in fightinge with men, and not agaynste gods, a man ought alwayes to haue hope of victorie. For there are no men of suche mighte, but by god, and other men, maye be bainequished. This epylle was sente, throughe all the dominion of the Romaynes, and not tarpyenge for aunswere of the same, they forthewith openlye blasphemed the name of Christ, and set by idollies in the temples, vbled the ceremonies of the gentyles, and that whyche was worse then that, they said openlye, that Rome was neuer so oppressed with tyrauntes, as it hath ben sence they were Christians. And further they sayde, if they called not againe the gods to Rome, the cytie should neuer be in safegarde, for that they had dishonoured and offended their gods, and caste them oute of Rome, and that those Barbarous were sente, to renenge their iniurie. The deuine prouidence, whiche geueth no place to humayne malice, to execute his forces, before h walles were repaired, and before the messaungers brought aunswere, and before the straunge gods coulde enter into Rome, Randagas gismus, king of the gothes, with 200000 of the barbarous (withoute the effusion of Christian blood) sodaynelye in the mountaynes of Vesulanes, with sampne, thirte, and stones, whyche fell from heauen, losse all hys armye, not one leste alyue, but him selfe, whoe had hys heade strycken of in Rome. And this thinge the eternall wyfedom broughte to passe, to shende the Romaynes shoulde see, that Ihesus Christ, the true god of the Christians, had no nede of straunge gods, to defende hys seruantes.

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The ninthe Chapter.

Of the lyuyng god and of the maruailes he vvrote in the okle lawve, to manifest his diuine power, and of the superstition of the false gods.



Grosse ygnorance, and vnspeakeable obstinacye. O Judgements of GOD, inscrutable.

What thinke these gentyles by the true god? They searched the false gods to heape them, and had a lyuyng god of their owne: they soughte gods full of gyle, and dysceyte, and worse then that, they thoughte it necessarye, that that god, whiche created all thinges, should be accompanied with other gods, to defende them, whiche coulde make nothinge. Let now all their goddes come forth into the fyeldes one the one syde, and I will goe forth alone in godlye companye, that is to saye, with the hyghe god one thother parte. And we wyll compare the deades, and proue the aydes of the false God, agaynste, and with the lease worke of our true god. And they shall clearly perceiue their falsehood, and oure truthe. For the tonge that speaketh of God, can neuer beare with any lye: and that whiche speaketh of Idolles, can neuer dysclose anye truthe. If they esteeme hym muche, for creatinge the worlde with hys myghte, is it anye lesse, to preserve and gouerne it by hys wysedome? For many thinges are done in a moment, for the preseruacion whereof, longe tyme is requysyte, and muche paynesful trauaile

necessarye. I demaunde further, what God of the gentyles, coulde doe that, which oure God hath done: that is to knowe, within one Arcke, to make quyet the Lion with the leoperd, the wolfe with the lambe, the Beare with the Colwe, the Tigar with the Cocodrill, the Stoned horse with the Mare, the Dogge with the Catte, the fore with the Hennes, the houndes with the hares, and so of other beastes: whose enmytys is greater agaynst other beastes, then that of man is, agaynste men. For thenmytys amonges men, proceadeth of malyce: but that of beastes, proceadeth of nature. Also I demaunde, what God (if it were not the true God so myghty) coulde sleie & drowne, in one hower and momente, so many men, women, and beastes: so that all those, which were in the worlde (eigthe onely excepted) perished in the deluge of Noe. The iudgemente of god by dynaunce, and their offences, deserued this so meruelous a damage. For god neuer executed anye notable punishment, but firste it came through their wycked offences. And if this be counted for a greate thinge, I wyll that another thinge be had in greate estymacion. Whiche is, that if god shewed hys rygourous iustyce in this punishmente, incontinentlye he shewed hys myghte and clemencye in remedyng it, in that of these eyght persons (whiche were but fewe) the generacion dyd multiplye in so greate a number, that they dyd replenysh manye and greate Realmes. Whereon a man oughte to maruell, for accordyng as Aristotle sayeth, the great thinges are easelye put to destruccyon, and broughte to noughte: but with greate dyspynctye, they are remedyed, and repayred agayne. And further I demaunde: what God of the gentyles was so puissaunte to doe this, whiche the GOD of the Hebryes dyd, in that auntyente, and opulente realme of the Egyptians: That is to witte, when he woulde, and when it pleased hym, he

THE DIAL

made the ryuers ranne bloude, infected the flesh, darkened the ayer, dyed the seas, and slewe the firste begotten, obscured the sonne, and dyd wonders in Chanaan, and other wonderfull thynges in the reade sea. Fynallye, he comaunded the sea, to drowne the prynce alpye, with all hys Egyptians, and that it shoulde let the Hebrues passe drye. If one of these false goddes had done these thynges, it had ben to be meruayled at: but the true god doing it, we shoulde not meruayle at all. For accordyng to oure lytle vnderstandyng, it semeth a great thyng: but in respecte of that the deuyne power can doe, it is nothyng. For where God putteth hys hande, there are no men so myghty, no beastes so proude, no heauen so hygh, no sea so deape, that can resiste hys power. For as he gaue them power, so can he take it from them, at hys pleasure. Further, what God of the gentyles (althoughe they were all assembled together) coulde haue had the power to haue destroyed one man onelye, as the true god dyd: the whyche (in the tyme of kynge Iehochias) made an hundreth and .8. score thousande of the campe of the Assyrians dye, the Hebrues being a sleepe, whiche were their moztall enemyes. And trulye in this case, god shewed to the Prynces, and great lordes, how lytle their greate armies, their monye, and their subryle wyttes, preuaile them in seates of warre, when god hath determined another thyng for their destruction. For the firste inuencion of warre, proceedeth of mans ambicion, and wo:ldelye malycie; but the victorie of them, proceedeth of the deuyne pleasoure. What god of the gentyles coulde haue done that, whiche oure true God dyd: when he broughte vnder the feete of the renowned Captayne Josue, two and thirty kinges, & realmes, whome he deppeued not onelye from their landes, but also berefte them their liues, in tearinge them in peces, and deuydng the myserable realmes, into .12. Tribes. Those

Those realmes (whiche in olde tyme belonged vnto the hebrues) were moze thē .2000. yeares, kepte of them by tyrāny. Wherefore god woulde, that by the handes of Josue, they shuld be restored. And though god deferred it a longe tyme, it was to giue them greuous tormentes, and not for that god had forgotten them. And althoughe princes do forget many wynges, and tyrannies: yet notwithstanding, riuers of bloud, cease not to runne before the face of the dyuine Justice. If all the auncient goddes had had power, would not they also haue holpen their princes: since the goddes lost no lesse, in losing their temples, then men lost in losing their realmes. For it touched more the case of the auncientes, to lose on lytle temple: then for mē, to lose a noble realme. We see that h goddes of the troians could not resiste the greekes, but that bothe men and gods, gods & mē, came into carthage, and fro carthage into Tinacry, and from Tinacrie, into Italie, and from Italie, into Laurentum, and from Laurentum, into Rome. So they went aboute flying, declaring that the gods of Troie were no lesse conquered, of the gods of Grece: then the Dukes, and captaynes of grece, were vanquished of the captaynes of Troie: the which thyng is harde to them that presume to be gods. For the true god, dothe not onelye make hym selfe feared: but also to be beloved, and feared. That we say of the one, the same we maye wel saye of the others. That is to know, that all the gods had realmes, and temples, wherein they were honored, and serued: but we see thone destroyeth the other, as it is declared by h Hebrues, which were in bondage of the Assyrians: the Assyrians of the Persies: the persies, of the Macedonians: the Macedonians of the Medes: the Medes of the Grekes: the Grekes of the Penians: the penians of the Romaynes: the Romaynes of the Gothes: the Gothes of the Spoores: So that there was no realme nor nation but was conquered. Neither the wynters

ters can deny, but they would haue exalted their gods and ceremonies, that the gods and their worshippers shuld not haue ende. But in the ende, bothe gods and men had all ende, excepte the christian religio, which shal neuer haue ende. For it is founded of that, which hath neither beginninge, nor ending. One of the thinges, which comforteth my harte most in the christian religion is, to see, that since the tyme the churches were founded, the kinges and princes most puissant, haue ben alwayes their enemies, and haue counted them, for their greatest aduersaries: and the most feble, and poore, were alwayes counted of them, greatest healpers and defenders. O glorious millicente church, which now is no other, then golde amongst the rust, a rose amongst the thornes, coine amongst the chaffe, marre amongst the bones, Margarites amongst the peble stones, a hole soule amongst the rotten fleshe, a phoenix in one cage, a shippe rokkinge in the raging seas, which, the more she is beaten, the faster she saileth.

And there is no Realme so lytle, nor no man of so lytle fauour, but whan other doe persecute hym, he is by his frentes, parentes, and defendours, fauoured and succoured. So that those, whiche thinke to destroye, are destroyed: and those, which seme to take their payre, were their chiefest enemies: bothe not that procede of the greatesse of god: for though God suffred the wicked to be wicked a whyle, god wyl not therefore suffer, that one euill man procure an other to do euill. The Palestines, and those of Iherusalem, had not for their principall enemies, but the Chaldeans: and the Chaldeans had for their enemies, the Idumeans: the Idumeans, the Assirians: the Assirians, the Persians: the Persians, the Argines: the Argines had the Athenians: the Athenians had for their principall enemies, the Lacedemonians: and the Lacedemonians, the Sydonians: the

Sydonians, the Rhodians: and the Rhodians, the Scythians: the Scythians, the Hunes: the Hunes, had the Alaines: the Alaines, the Swycherdes: the Swycherdes, the Vuandales: the Vuandales, the Valerians: the Valerians, the Sardes: the Sardes, the Penians: the Penians, the Romaines: the Romaines, the Daces: the Daces, the Gothes: the Gothes, the Frenchemen: the Frenchemen, the Spaniards: the Spaniards, the Mores. And of all these realmes, the one hath persecuted the other. And not al of one, oppressing our mother the holy church, whiche alwaies hath bene persecuted with those realmes, and hath bene socoured of none, but of Iesu Christe onely. And that was wel socoured, & he hath deserved it wel. For the thinges that God taketh charge of, all though all the worlde were againste it, in the end, it is impossible for them to perishe.

The .ix. Chapter.

Hovve that there is but one true GOD, and hovve fortunate that those Realmes are, vvhiche hath a kinge that is a good Christian. VVhiche thyng, the Auctoure proueth, by sondrye auncient examples.



ALTHOUGH the common opinion of the simple people was, that there were many gods, yet notwithstandinge all the Philosophers affirmed, that

THE DIAL

that there was but one *God*, (who of some was named *Iupiter*) the which was chiefe about all other gods. Others called him the first intelligence, for that he had created all the worlde. Others called hym, the first cause, because he was the beginner of all thinges. It seemeth that Aristotle vnderstoode this thing, forasmuche as he saith, in his .12. booke of his metaphisicks, All superiour, and inferiour thinges wold be well ordered, and many thinges muche better by charbitremente of one, then by the aduyce of many. Marcus Varro, in his booke *De theologia mistica*, & Tullius, in his booke *De natura Deorum*, although these were gentyles, and curious enough of the Temples, yet they doe mock the gentils, which beleued there were many gods, & that Mars & Mercurie, & likewise *Iupiter*, & the flocke of gods, (which the gentyles set vp) were al mortall men as we are. And how they knew not the good aungels, nor y had, nor knew not, that ther was any paradise to reward the good, nor hel to torment the euyl. They held this opinion, that the good men after their deathe were gods, and the euyl men deuils. And not contented with these folishe abuses, the deuill broughte them into suche an errour, that they thoughte it consisted in the Senates power, to make some, gods, and other, deuils. For when there dyed at Rome any Emperour, if he had bene well wylled of the Senate, immediatly he was honoured for a god. And if he died in displeasour of the Senate, he was condemned for a deuill: and to the end we do not speake by fauour, but by writinge: Herodian saith, y *Faustine*, was the daughter of *Antonius Pius*, and wife of *Marcus Aurelius*, which were emperours, the one after the other. And trulpe there were fewe either of their predecessours, or of their successours, which were so good as they were, and in mine opinion more better, An Emperour

which wyl haue perpetuall memory, must note .5. thinges, which he should haue in his lyfe. That is to saye, pure in lyfe, vprighte in iustice, aduenturous in feates of armes, excellent in knowledg, and welbeloued in his prouinces, whyche vertues, were in these .2. excellent Princes. This Emperesse *Faustine*, was passinge sayre. And the wyters prayse her beautye in suche sorte, that they saye it is impossible for her to be so beautifull, but that the gods doe put therein some deuine thing. Yet notwithstandinge, this added thereunto, it is dowtefull, whether the beautye of her face was more praysed: than the dishonestie of her lyfe discommended. For her beautye, amazed them that sawe her: and her dishonestie, offendid them that knewe her. Yet after the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* had triumphed ouer the Parthians, as he wente vsitinge the prouinces of Asia, the goodlye *Faustine* dyed, (by occasion of a continuall fener,) in the mounte *Corion*, and so annealed, within .4. daies after, was caried to Rome. And sence she was the daughter of so good a father, and wyfe of so dearly beloued an Emperour, amanges the Gods she was canonized: but consideringe her vncoustantnes, it was neuer thoughte, that the Romaynes woulde haue done her so much honoz. Wherefore the Emperour reioysed so muche, that he neuer ceased to render thanks vnto the Senate. For trulpe, the benefyte oughte to be acceptable to him that receyueth it, especiallye whan it cometh vnlooked for. The contrarie came to the death of *Tiberius*, thirde Emperoure of the Romaynes, which was not onelye kylled, and drawen throughe the streets: but also, the pyestes of all the Temples assembled together, and openly prayed vnto the gods, that they woulde not receyue hym to them, and prayed to the infernall surges, that greauously they woulde tormente hym, sayenge it is iustly required

required, that the Tyrant which dispraiseth the life of the good, in his life, shoulde haue no place amongest the good, after his death. Leauinge the common opinion of the rude people, which in the old time had no knowledge of the true god, & declaringe the opinion of Aristotle, which calleth god, the firste cause: the opinion of the Stoickes, which called him the first intelligence: and the opinion of Cicero, which vnder the colour of Iupiter, putteth none other god but him: I saye and confesse (accordinge to the religion of christian faith) there is but one onely God, which is the creatour of heauen, and earth, whose excellency, and puissance maiestie is litle, to that our tong can speake. For our vnderstanding can not vnderstand, nor our iudgement can determine, neyther our memozy can comprehend, and much lesse our tonge can declare it. That which princes, and other faithfull ought to beleue of god is, that they ought to knowe, god to be almighty, and incomparable, a god immortall, incorruptible, immouable, great, omnipotent, a persite, and sempiternall god: for all mans power is nothinge, in respecte of his diuine maiesty. I say, that our lord god, is the onely hygh god, that if the creature hath any good, it is but a meane good. For a man comparinge well the good which he possesseth, to the misery and calamitie, which persecute him: with oute doute, the euill which foloweth him, is greater, then the good which accompanieth him. Also our god is immortall, and eternall, which like as he had no beginninge, so shall he neuer haue endinge. And the contrary is to the miserable mā, which if some see him bozne, others see him dye. For the byrth of the chylde, is but a memozy of the graue, to the age. Also G D D onely is vncorruptible, the which in hys beinge, hath nether corruption, nor diminution. But all mortall men, suffer corruption in their soules, throughe vyce, and in their bodies, throughe wormes: for in the

ende, no man is privileged, but that hys bodye, is subiecte to corruption: and hys soule, to be saued or condemned. Also God is no chaungelinge, & in this case, though he chaungeth his worke, yet he chaungeth not hys eternall counsaile. But in men it is all contrary, for they oftentimes, beginne their busynes by grautye: and afterwards chaunge their counsaile, and leaue it lightly. I haue nowe shewed you that G D D onely is incomprehensible, the maiestie of whom can not be attayned, nor hys wysedome vnderstanded, which thinges is aboue mans intelligence. For there is no man so sage nor profound; but that an other is as sage and profounde. Also G D D onely is omnipotence, for that he hath power, not onely ouer the lyuinge; but also ouer the deade: not onely ouer the good, but also ouer the euill: For the man, which dothe not feele hys mercy to geue hym glozpe, he wyll make hym feele his wrath in giuinge him payne. O ye Princes of this worlde, trulie it is bothe iuste, and necessarye, that you acknowledge subiection vnto the Prince of heauen, and earth, which in the end, although ye be greate, and thinke your selues to be much worth, although that you haue much, and can do much: yet in respecte of the supreme prince, you are nothing worth, neither can ye doe any thing. For there is no Prince in the worlde this day, but can doe lesse than he would: and would more, than he hath. Since al that we haue spoke of before is true, let Princes and great Lordes see, how consonaunte it is to reason, that al the creatures were not created but by one. Why then doe they not honour one aboue all: For as a Prince wyll not suffer, that an other be called kinge in his realme: so likewise god wyll not suffer, that any other be honoured in this worlde but he onely. The father did a greate benefyte to vs, for to create vs wythoute the desyre of any man: and also the sonne to redeme and
by

THE DIAL

by vs, without the helpe of any man, and aboute all, the holy ghoſte to make vs chriſtians, without the deſert of any man. For, all the good dedes and ſeruices, which we are able to do, are not ſufficient to requite the leaſte benefyte, that he ſhewed vnto vs. Princes ought greatly to eſteeme, that god hath created them men, & not beaſtes: and muche more they ſhoulde eſteeme, that they are Lordes, and not ſeruauntes: but moſte of al they ought to reioyce, & god hath made them chriſtians, and not gentils, nor Poodres. For it profiteth the litle, to haue ſcepters, and realmes to condeſcend, if they ſhall not acknowledge the holy church, without the which, no man can be ſaued. Howe many paynims had bene better peraduenture than I, if thou haddeſte choſen the for the church: and if thou hadſt made me a Paynime, I had bene worſe than they.

Thou leaueſt them, which haue ſerued the, and haſt choſen me a ſinner, which offende the. Lord God, thou knoweſte what thou doeſt, and where thou art; but I know not what I do, nor what I ſpeake. For we are bound to praife the workes of god, & haue not the licence to call them backe. The emperours and papiſt kinges, which haue bene good & vertuous, (as there haue bene many) ſo much leſſe they haue to aunſwer, for that in time of charge they were not called. And likewiſe the contrary to the wicked chriſtian princes. The more goodneſſe they haue receyued without meaſure: ſo much the more toymes ſhalbe giue them, in eternall fyre. For accordinge to the ingratitude, which they haue ſhewed, for the benefites by them receiued in this worlde: ſo ſhall the bitterneſſe of their paynes be, which they ſhal receiue in hell. Princes are much bound to do well, becauſe they were created of god reaſonable men: but they are bound much more, becauſe they be chriſtians, & others more bound, becauſe they were made mighty, and placed in ſo high eſtate: for the greateſt power is not, for a prince to

haue, & poſſeſſe much: but to profite much. They do not requite of a litle & weake tree much, but & he beare his ſcraype in dew tyme. For a great & high tree, is bound to giue wood to heate the that be a cold, ſhadow to reſreſhe the wery trauailours, & fruite to coſort the ready, & alſo it ought to defend it ſelfe fro al impoſtunate windes. For & vertuous prince, ought to be as a ſhadow & reſting place, wher the good maye conuerſe ſelues. The church doth moue vs to do many thinges, & our conſcience willeth vs to obſerue more. But if the princes will promiſe me they will do, 2. thinges onely, that is to ſay, & they wil be faithfull in the lawes of god, whom they honour, & that they wyl not uſe tyranny againſte their people, wher they gouerne: ſo benſoſyth, I promiſe the the glory & felicitie, which they deſire. For the prince dieth in ſafegarde, which dieth in the loue of our ſauour Jeſus Chriſt: and hath lyued in the loue of his neyghbour. Princes and great lordes, whiche preſume to be good Chriſtians, ſhould watche greatly, for aſmuch as al thinges are done to the ſeruice of god, & in the beginninge are ſolowed in god, and ended in god. And if they will watche in this, I let them knowe, that as touching & exaltaciō of faith, they ſhould watche ſo much, that all ſhould knowe, that for the defence of the ſame, they are readye to dye. For if the prince beleue, that ther is paine for the euill, & reward for the good in an other life: it is vnpoſſible, but & he amēd his life, & gouerne wel his common wealch. Thinke this for a ſurety, & wher & princes feare not god, ther their realmes ca not proſper. For & felicitie, or miſerye of realmes, proceedeth not of the paynes & trauailles, & the kinges & people do take: but of & merite which & kinges deſerue. In great peryll lyueth & realme, whose prince is an enyl chriſtian. Happy & ſure is that common wealch, wherof & prince hath a good conſcience. For & man that is of a good conſcience, wyl not dos any euill thing to the common wealch.

The

The xii. Chapter.

Of sondry gods, vvhiche the auncientes vvorshipped and of their temples.



A Hough to men of clere iudgemente, the woorkes of GOD are greate of their selues, without any comparison to others: yet, (that the whyte maye be better knowne from the blacke) I wyl satisfie somewhat the curious reader, in rekeninge by a flocke of false gods, that by them, and their power, men shall see, howe muche the princes are bound to the true God. The auncient Pagans had gods of diuerse sortes, howe be it the chiefe of al, were these, which they called, Diu electi. They would haue said gods of heauen: whiche gods (as they thought) sometime descended from heauen to earth. These gods were, 20. in nombꝛ: as Ianus, Saturnus. Iupiter. Genius. Mercurius. Apollo. Mars. Vulcanus. Neptun⁹. Sol. Orcus. Vibar. Tellus. Ceres. Iuno. Minerva. Luna. Diana. Ven⁹. vesta. These 8. last reherfed, were goddesses, and 12. of h̄ first, were gods. No man mighte take any of those as his owne god, but as common, & indifferent to al. Their office was to profite al, I meane, al of any one Realme, one province singular, or one noble citie. And first note, they had one god whom they called Cæius, whom they honozed much & offred vnto him manye sacrifices, to thende, that god mighte giue thē wise children. And this if they had demaunded of the true god, they should haue had reason. For the impostumaciō of humaine malice is swelled in such wise, that the mā is in great ieopardy, who hath not his recourse to h̄ wyl of god. They had also an other goddess, whom they named Lucina, to whom they did commend women, quick & great with child, to sende,

them safe deliuerie. And without the walles of Rome, in a streete called Salaria, was a great church, wherin all h̄ Romashe women conceived with child, did sacrifice to the goddesse Lucina: and ther they used to make their voto, as Fronton declareth in the veneration of the temples. Numa Pompilius bylte the churche of this goddess, which was plucked downe by the colli fall of Rutuli⁹: because a daughter of his (great w̄ child) made her voto, & vpo more deuotion, was desirous to be deliuered in the same temple. Suche was her mishape, that her deliuerie was not onely enill, but her death was much worse. And Rutullus in his rage, caused the temple secretly to be burned. For we reade, that when the gentyles sawe them selues in great necessitie, they did commend thē selues to their gods, and if they did not succour them in their necessitie, immediatly they tooke from thē their sacrifice, sette downe their temples, or chaunged their gods. And further, the gentiles had an other god called Opis, which was called the god of the babe newe borne, euen as Lucina was goddess of the mother, which bare it. The custome was, that during al the 9. monethes, that the woman was quick with child, she caried the image of the god Opis, hanginge vpon her bely, tyed to her girdell, or sowed to her garments, and at the houre of deliuerie, the midwife toke in her handes the same image, & immediatly after the chylde was borne, she touched it firste w̄ the Idol before she layd any hād vpo it. If the chylde were wel born, the parentes that day made great oblaciōs to h̄ Idol, & if he were euil born or stragled, straight way, either they did beate h̄ image of their god Opis to powder, or els burned it, or drowned it in h̄ riuer. Also h̄ gentiles worshipped an other god called Vagian⁹ & vnto h̄ they used great deuotiō, & because childꝛ should not weepe much, they caried the image of thys god Vagianus hanginge about their neckes, because the gentils thought

THE DIALL

thought it an euill signe and token, when the Babe wepte muche in his fancie: sayenge, he should haue very euill fortune in his age. They had also an other god called god Cinius, him they honored with sacrifice, to thende that he shoulde be their Pastrone, for the safetie of theyr chyldren in their cradels. And those, which were poore, had the god Cinius, and hanged him vpon the cradell: but the riche had very sumptuous cradelles, wherein were painted many gods. Herodian and Pellio declareth in the lyfe of Severus, that when the emperour Severus was in the warre against the Gawles, hys wyfe (whose name was Julia) was deliuered of a gyale, whyche was her firste. And it happened, that a sister of this Julia named Mela, sente vnto her beinge at Rome, a cradell, which was of an vnicorne's horne, and fyne golde. and about the same was painted many images, of the god Cinius. The cradell was of so great value, that many yeares after it was kepte in the Treasury of Rome: Thoughe in deed the Romaines kept those thinges, more for the desire of memory, than for the loue of riches. The Romaines had likewise an other god, whom they called god Ruminus, which was as much to saie: as god of suckinge babes: & to him the matrones, of Rome offered diuerse sacrifices, to thend he would kepe their dugges from corruption. For the maner and custome at that time was, that all widowes (which would bringe vp their chyldren in good discipline) should immediately seuer them selues farre from the dangerous pleasures of Rome. The auncientes had also an other god, called Mantallis, which was in effecte, god of wytte. That is to wyte, he had auctorite, and powere to giue chyldren good or euill sence. And to this god, the auncientes did great sacrifices, especiallye the Greekes, muche more, than the Romaines. For as muche as Seneca saith, that he doth meruaile nothinge at all of that the Greekes

knewe: but that which made him most to merueyle, was of that they knew not, since they had the god Mantallis, within their scooles. All the chyldren, whom they sente to learne Philosophie, were (by the lawes of Athens) bound to serue .3. yeres. And to ompt that, which Seneca spake of the Greekes, I dare boldly say, and affirme (to many, which at these daies are lyuinge) that if it be true, he gaue sence, and vnderstandinge to men, that they would to daye, rather than to morowe, withholde them selues to goe into those temples, and there offer their bolues. For nothinge in the world happeneth to men more, then the wante of wytte and vnderstanding, howe to gouerne them selues, and lyue in quyetie. They hadde also an other god Volumus, and a goddesse called Voluma, these .2. had the charge of affiaunce in wedlocke: and they were .2. because the one shoulde heale the man, and the other shoulde heale the woman. The maner was suche, that duringe the time of their marriage, eche of them had the Image of the god Volumus, and he gaue her the image of Voluma the goddesse. At suche times as the consules were created at Rome, and the kinges banished, and before the comminge of the Emperours, a litle before the Corneliens moued cruell commocions in Rome, ther was one Consull amongeste all these, whose name was Balno. It is sayde he was the firste, that builded the temple of Volumus, and Voluma, It did stand in the ninth warde of the Citie, neere vnto the gate Cornelia, and was called, Scripta Balli, And nyghe vnto it, was an other building called, Theatrum Balli. All the Consuls, senators, noble, and renowned barons, were married in the Temple which Balno builded. There were some that said, that Pompeius the great, refused to marie the daughter, of Iulius Cesar, in the temple of the gods Volumus, and Voluma. Of this, Publius Victor writeth, in his booke of the marriage

riage bled in olde tyme. The aunciente Pagans honoured a god called Agrestes, as muche to say, as the god of feldes and frutes: to him thei offred no sacrifice, but twice in the yeare, that is to wete, in seed tyme, and in haruest. The Phygians greatly obserued this god Agrestes, because he founded manie temples, and inuented manie more ceremonies. This god Agrestes, was honoured of the Sicillyans, and it was, for that in those countreyes there was gathered suche plenty of corne to make breade, that Phygia, was the greate garner of Asia, and Trinacria was his corne house of Europe. They had another god called Belus, whiche was parrone of men of warre. For euen as the Christians (when they come to the poynte to geue the battayle) make their prayers vnto god, so likewyse the auncientes in the same poynte, dyd knele downe, and recommede them selues to Belus. Liuse declareth, that in all other thinges whiche were done, and wherof the Romaine knyghtes were accused, in the battaille of Cannas, agaynst Hannibal, was, for that they did not recommede them selues at al to the god Belus, whē they should giue battayle, sayeng, the Carthaginenses remayned conquerours, because they a lytle before, honoured the god Mars: and the Romaynes were vanquished, for that they offred no sacrifice to God Belus. When Pirrus, kynge of the Epitores, came into Italye, and that the Romaynes were honoured he brought with hym many engins, and subtile inuencions for the warre, they agreed to bulde a temple for the god Belus, within the walles of Rome, in the s. warde nere the gate Carmentalle, and it was named, Edes Beloe, in the fronte wherof, was a meruaylous sumptuous and statelie pylle, wherein was grauen the order of battayle. The Gentiles had another god, called the god of victoie, to whom the Romaynes (more then any other nation) dyd sacrifices, to spend they myghte obayne victoie of

their enemyes. Of this God Victoria, there was manie magnificall temples in Rome, but the chiefe and the greatest, was adioynnge to the gate Venia, in the .12. warde, in the place called, Della victoria. It was bulde in the yeare of the foundacion of Rome, foure hundred, thre score, and seuentene. And it was, for the occasion of the victoie that Appius Claudius, & Quintus Fabius had in Scicill, the first time the Romaine people foughte agaynst the Assyrians. Of this warre and victoie, rose the cruel, long, and perillous warres, betwene Rome and Affrike. There was another god amonges the gods, whome the auncientes called, Honorius, whiche had the charge that the Inkeapers shoulde honour and gentlie intertayne pylgrimes, and strangers: so that, they shoulde be well handled, through the prouinces and realmes, where by they passed. And there was a custome in Rome, that euer when any Romaine shuld goe anye wyage, his wyfe immediatlye shoulde goe to the temple of god Honorius, to doe her sacrifices. In the sixtene yeare, after that Hannibal passed into Italye, the Romaynes knew by a prophete, that as sone as they broughte the image of the goddes Berecinthia (mother of al gods) into Rome: so sone Hannibal shoulde retire oute of Italye. And for to bringe this to passe, the Romaynes sente their Embassadors into Phygie, whiche is one parte of Aspa, to the ende, they shoulde bringe the goddes Berecinthia, and that their embassadours shoulde goe well and retorne safe, and that in comynge and going through the realmes, they shoulde intertayne them well, and doe them honoure. And therefore they bulde a Temple for the god Honorius within the walles of Rome, in the fourth warde, in a place, whiche they called Forum Transitorium.

The.xii.Chapiter.

Of the diuersitie of gods, vvhiche the Romaynes and other auncient people had. Thentent of the auctoure vvas to vvrte these things because the christian prynce myght se, vvhata syngular benefyte vve haue, vvhiche knowe the true God.



AND because it shoulde be to tedious a thig, to name al the gods whiche the gentles wooshypped and semblably, in whose time and reigne they honored them. moste, and what realmes were moze replenysshed then others, and furthermore for what causes so manye temples, & buildinges, were ordeyned and erected for them: I wyl make mencion, onely of those gods, whiche were called natural gods, and particuler gods; and declare why the Gentyles honoured them. And that y causeth me to do so, is, because those, which shal see this my wryting, may know, what especial grace god hath giue to them, whiche are bozne in y time of the Christian law. The god Esculanus was the god of mines, and the auncientes prayed vnto him to the ende he would discouer vnto them, al the mines of golde & siluer. Pecunia, was the goddess of metalles: & they prayed vnto her, to thende to giue them treasours & ryches. Fessoria, was the goddess of traualours and Pilgrimes: and they praised her, that she would not suffer them to be werpe that traualled on fote. Pelonia, was a goddess, which had the charge to drite the enemies out of the land Eulculapius, was the god and patrone of sicke men, and if y may lady were great, they called vppon the god Apollo, whiche was father to Esculapius

Spinensis, was a god whome the auncientes prayed to heape the corne, from thistels and thornes. Rubigo, was a god, whiche kepte the corne & the vines. Fortuna, was the goddess of good fortune: and to her, the auncient wyues of Rome made a temple in the time of Silla and Marius. Muta was the goddess, to whome y auncientes praised, that she would not suffer their enemies to speake, when they would speake euill of them. Genoria was a goddess, that had the charge to chase slouthfulness from them, that recommended them selues to her: and the Greekes honoured her, especially the Philosophers, when they entred into study and vniuersities. Stimula was a goddess, which hastened them of their busines, to thed they shuld forget anything y they had to doe. And her image was at Rome, at the gate of the Senate, and was aduocate for pleaders. Murcia was a goddess, & an aduocate for men and women, which desired not to be leane, nor weake of their bodies, and to this goddess, the women of Rome offred many gistes, to the ende they might be fatte. For in Rome, maidens and women are forsaken, because they be leane & slender, and not so: that they be foule and fatte. Busina properly was a goddess of the feldes, & to her, y auncientes offred sacrifice, because she shoulde loke to the grasse, that grew in the feldes, & the Scythians were great wooshyppers of that goddess: the cause why they beare her more honoure then others, was, for that if they shoulde wante grasse for their flocke, they shuld be vndoone immediately. Iugatinus was he, that was called the god of the highe mounte, and to him the auncientes made a lodge, and altars in the mountaynes, whereunto they wente oftentimes to doe sacrifice, especially when it thundered and lighned. Valoria was the goddess of the vallis, and she had the charge to bridel the waters, that descended from the highe mountaynes, to the end, they shuld not endamage the medowes

and milles wherby they passed. Ceres was a goddess of all nations honored; and reuerenced. for that she was goddess of corne, & of other soueraine sedes, and the auncientes had a custome to offer her a loafe; made of al the sedes and corne; that they sowed. Their lodges and aulters to doe sacrifice, were in the fieldes, but besides those lodges and aulters, there was in Rome a temple, in the ninth warde, in the fieldes of Mars, harde by the gardeins of Luculla, & out of this temple, came firste the fountayne of Scipio. Segecia was a goddess, & had the charge to make the seedes to growe; after they were sowed. I doe not remember I haue read, that she had any temple in Rome. Tutillina was a goddess, whose office was to entreate Iupiter, not to beate downe the corne with haylestones, when it was redye to be repte. And the auncientes paynted her in suche sorte, that it semed, Iupiter dyd cause it to raine stones, & that this goddess Tutillina should gather them al. She had a temple in Rome, in the tenth warde in the market place of Apollo, nere vnto the house of Romulus. And at euery time when it thundered, immediately the Romaines lighted lytle candelles in the temple, to appease the same, that it should not hurte the corne, nor sedes. Flora was the mercifull goddess of the vignes, that pferued them from froste. Those of Capua were greates worshippers of this goddess: wherfore they say, that they were the first that platted vignes in Italy. Matura was a goddess, that had the charge to ripe grapes, and the auncientes vsed a custome, to offer the first grapes whiche were ripe, in the place where the goddess was. And for the more parte, euerie man that had vignes; made in the felde a lodge, and an aulter, to sacrifice vnto her. Ruana was a goddess, and aduocate for them, that gathered the corne and other graynes, to thende they shoulde doe no hurte, in cuttyng awaye the eare, nor shoulde marre the strawe, and that in cut-

tyng, the corne shoulde not shake from the eare. The auncientes paynted her, holding in her righte hand a handeful of strawe, so that the eares were hole. Forculum was the god of lockesmithes, and the auncientes sacrificed him, because he should locke faste the doores, and shoulde not suffer them to be broken open, nor picked; nor false keyes to be made: & auncientes painted this god, holding a chaine in his hand: his Image was ouer the gate of Trigemine. Limentimen was god of the hammers of the gates. I could not finde what the entencion was to inuēt this god, but as I thinke (not for that I haue founde it wyrtten) they prayed this god, that when there shoulde come anye enemy of theirs to the house, that he shoulde cause them stumble, and fall before the doore, if perhappes by negligence it were lefte open. Forculus was the god of the gates, & the auncientes did paynte him, with two gates in his handes, and sacrificed him, because no man shoulde open the gates to the enemies, when they slepte; and to hym the Romaines did sacrifice, in al & gates of Rome, and those whiche had enemies, woulde paynte hym in the gate of their house. Cordea was a God of the barre, and hingies of the gate, and the cause why the auncientes did sacrifice to him, was & no man shoulde breake the gates, nor lyfte by the hingies, and that if they wente aboute to put to their handes, immediatly the hingies shoulde make a noyse, so that the master of the house myght heare it, and know that his enemies were at the gate. There was another God, who was called Siluanus, and he was the most honoured among al the auncientes, especially amongst all the Romaines. This god had the charge, to keape those that wente for their pleasure, and recreacyon, to the gardeines, as Thales Milesius sayeth, in an epyll he wrote to Rotullius. The firste that buylte a temple for the god Siluanus, was Mecenas, whiche was in the tyme of Augustus. And

THE DIAL

he desired above all other men, to make feastes and banquettes. This temple was in the eleuenthe warde, in the place of the goddess, Venus, neere vnto the house of Muchea, which was destroyed in the time of the Emperour Antonius Pius, through an earthequake, whereby manie buildynges, and houses fell, in Rome.

Iugatibus was the God of maryages, who hadde charge, to make the loue, whiche began in youthe, to endure till the olde age. It was wonderfull to see, how the women newelpe married, wente one pylgrymage for deuotyō vnto this God, and what giftes and presētes they offered in his temple. Suetonius Tranquillus sayeth, that there was a Temple of this God, but I fynde not in wyrttyng, by whome, nor of whome, it was builded. But that Helius Spartianus sayeth, that the Emperoure Helio gabalus founde muche ryches in the Temple of Iugatibus, the whiche he toke awaye to maynteyne his warres.

Bacchus was the God of drunkehardes, and the custome in Rome was, that the dull and blockheheadedes celebrated the feaste of this God, and if there were founde anye, hauninge witte and vnderstandynge, they thurst hym forthewith out of the Temple, and soughte in his streade another drunkeharde. The Temple of Bacchus, was in the tenth warde in the medowes, whiche they call Bacchanales, withoute the ctyte, in the waye of Salarta, by the Altars of the Goddess Februa.

The Gauls bylte this Temple, when they besyged Rome, in the tyme of Camillus. Februa was a goddess for the feuers, and they bled in Rome (when anye was taken with the feauer, immediatlye) to sende some sacryfyce vnto her.

This Goddess hadde no temple at all, but her Image was in Pantheon, whiche was a temple, wherein al the goddes were, and in this place, they sacryficed vnto her. Pavor was the God of feare, who had

the charge to take feare from the Romaynes hartes, and to geue them stout courage agaynst their enemyes. This Temple was in Rome in the first warde, in the place of Mamuria, nere the olde Capitoll, and euer when they had anye enemyes, the Romaynes forthewith offred in this place sacrifices, where there was a statue of Scipio the Affricane all of syluer, whiche they offred, when he triumphed ouer the Carthaginians.

Meretrix was the goddess of dyshonest women, & as Publius Victor saith, there was in Rome, foure and forty streates of common women, in the myddest whereof, the temple of this Meretrix was. It chaused in the tyme of Ancus Martius (the fourth kynge of the seven Romayne kynges) that there was in Rome a courtizan, natyue of Laureto, whiche was so fayre, that with her bodye she gayned greates ryches, whereof she made all the Romayne people partakers. Wherefore, in the memorye of her, the Romaynes made a temple, and made her Goddess of all the common women in Rome. Collatina was the Goddess of the Fakes, and to this goddess all those commended them selues, which were troubled with the Collycke, to thend she woulde healepe them to purge their bealyes. Quies was the God of rest, and to hym the Romaynes dyd greates sacryfices, because he shoulde geue them pleasoure, and rest, especyallye one that daye, when there was anye tryumphe in Rome, they gaue in this Temple many gyftes, because he shoulde preserue the glory and ioye of the tryumphe. Numa Pompilius (second kynge of the Romaynes) builded the temple of this God, and it was withoute the ctyte, for to note, that durynge the lyfe of man in this worlde, he coulde neyther haue pleasoure, nor persyte reste. Theatrica was a goddess, that had the charge to kepe the Theatres and Stages, when the Romaynes celebrated their playes: and therefore

reason of inventing of this Goddesse was, because when the Romaynes would set for the their tragedyes, they made so solempne theatres, that there myghte well stande 20. thousande men aboue, and as many underne the, for to beholde the spectacle. And sometime it happened, that for the greate wayghte of them aboue, the wood of the theatres and stages brake, and kyled all those whiche were underne the: and so after this sorte, all their pastime turned into sorrowe. The Romaynes which were prouided in all thinges, agreed to doe sacrifice vnto the Goddesse Theatrica, to the end the shoulde preserve them from the daungers of the Theaters, & builde a Temple in the hynde ward, in the market place of Cornelia, neare the house of Fabius. Domitian (of Rome the .12. Emperoure) destroyed this Temple, because in his presence, one of the Theaters brake, and kyled many men. And for that the Goddesse Theatrica did not preserve them, he made the Temple to be beaten downe. Peraduenture those that haue redde lytle, shall fynde these thynges newe inoughe: but let them reade Cicero, in his booke De natura Deorum, John Bocchas, of the genealogie of gods: and Pulio, of the auntyent Goddes: and Sainte Augustine in his booke, in the .11. and the .18. of the cytye of God.

The .xiii. Chapter.

Howe Tyberius the knyghte was chosen Emperoure, onely for beinge a good Christyan. And howe God deprived Iustynian the yonger, bothe of his empire, and senses, for being an heretike.



HE fystye Emperour of Rome, was Tyberius Constantinus, who succeeded Iustynian the yonger, whiche was a cruell Emperoure. And Paulus Diacon sayeth, that he was an enemye to the poore, a thete to the ryche, a greate lout of ryches, and an enemye to hym selfe, in spendinge them. For the propertye of a couetous man is, to lyue lyke a begger all the dayes of his lyfe, and to be fouthe ryche at the hoare of his deathe. This Iustynian was so couetous, that he commaunded coffers, and chestes of iron to be made, and broughte into his palace, to keape the treasours whiche he had robbed. And of this you oughte not to misse, for Seneca sayeth, that couetous Prynces, doe not onely suspecte their subiectes, but also them selues. In those dayes, the church was greatlye despyled, by the heresye of the Pelagians, & the maineteyner of that sect, was this wyched Prynce Iustynian: so that for hym selfe, he procured riches, and for the deuyll, he cheapened soules. For those that are once forsaken of the hande of God, doe not onely become seruantes of the deuyll, but also labour to allure others to del. Therefore sith the synnes of men are dyuers, & the iudgements of god kepte secreete, and that manye tymes his mercye woulde saue the soules, and his iustyce chaunge the bodye, sith the further it goeth, the more damnation it augmenteth, to saynely withoute anye grudge or token of sicknes, this Emperoure Iustynian became a foole: and because the matter was so iudayne, it caused in Rome greate feare, and admiration, for that the Prynce was a foole, and all the Empire chaunged. This Emperoure was so stricken, that his lyfe and soule ended bothe in one daye. For the dyseases, whiche God sendeth to Prynces, cometh not throughe faulte of humours, but

THE DIAL

thoughts the corruption of manners. Also there is no medicine that can resist it, nor yet any other thing that can remedy it. The people perceiuinge how the Emperour thought his synnes was (accordyng to his diuine pleasure) become a foole, agreed (wythe there was no remedy for his dyssease) to chuse some good parson, to whom the charge of the publyke weale myghte be giuen. For trulye, a man needeth greater prouidence, and wysedome, to gouerne another mans, then for that which is his owne proper. The lotte befell to a knyghte Tiberius so called, a man, for a trulye, bothe chaste, iuste, profitable, sage, vertuous, hardye, mercifull, charitable, in feares of armes aduenturous, and aboue all, a good Christian. Let not this thyng be lytle regarded. For there is no wealthe so happy as that, whiche is gouerned by a pryncce and Lorde, of a good and saythefull conscience, and because he wanted no vertues to adorne a pryncce, he was bothe feared of manye, and beloued of all. Which thinge oughte not lyghtely to be esteemed, for it is the chiefest thyng that belongeth to Prynces, that is to wote, for their gentle conuersacion to be beloued, and for their wyghte iustice to be feared. This emperour Iustinian had a wyfe, whose name was Sophia Augusta, whiche was beautifull, and sage, and as touchyng her person, of good renowne sufficient. For women muste take respect, leste they giue occasion to speake of them: but notwithstandinge all these thynges, this dame was noted of conuolensenes. For she toyled alwayes to hurde by monye, and delighted to see, and tell it, but to spende or giue it, was alwayes her greatest greife. For conuolens parsones, lytle regarde to shorten their lyfe, so that they maye augment their ryches. Tiberius Constantine, as gouernour of the Empire, seinge the Emperesse Sophia Augusta ryche, and despyrre

more the profyte of the common wealthe, then the enrychemente of hym selfe, or of anye other, dyd nothyng els but bulde monasteryes, repayre hospytalles, marie Orphanes, and redeme captiues. For speakinge accordyng to the Christian lawes, that whiche a man hath taken more then necessarye, oughte to be employed to the vse of his poore, and to workes of mercy. Finallye this vertuous pryncce did that, which Christian Prynces shoulde doe, and not as tirauntes doe. For the propertye of a tiraunte is, to heape greate treasours of other mens goodes, and afterwarde to spende and consume them viciousslye. Sophia Augusta, seinge Iustinian become a foole, & not knowyng how to get more monye of the people, nor how to robbe the riche, and that Tiberius spent her ryches withoute compassion, partely to satisfye her sorowfull harte, and partely to see if in tyme to come she coulde remedye it, called one daye Tiberius, and spake vnto hym these wordes in secreete.

The.xiii.Chapter.

Of the vwoordes, vvhiche the Emperesse Sophia spake, vnto Tiberius, then beyng gouernour of the Empyre, and the ende of those vwoordes, founded, to the reproofe of Tiberius, for that he consumed the treasures of the Empire, vvhiche she had gathered.

Thou



ALAS how remem-
berest wel Tiberius, that
though thou arte noye
after Iustinian gover-
nour of the empyre: yet
whan thou wast in A-
lexandrye, thou thoughtest litle to deserue
it, and if thou diddest, thou thoughtest thou
coudeste not attayne vnto it. For thou art
a wise man, and the sage man (accordyng
to the litle or muche which fortune giueth
him) doth rayne, or slacke alwayes the byp-
dell of his thoughtes. Those whiche haue
a vaine hope, and thouroughe power onelye
wyl enforçe fortune to be fauourable vnto
them, shall lyue alwaies a troublesome
life.

For there is nothinge that shorteneth
more the lyfe of man, then vayne hope, and
ydle thoughtes. Thou beinge such a man
as thou arte, and so well wylled, and belon-
ged of Iustinian my husband, art deman-
ded of the Romaine people, and chosen by
the Senate, receiued by the souldiours, and
all the empire reioyce at thy election.

And thou oughtest not a litle to regret-
te it. For the wylles of all, doe not alwaies
faour one. I let the to vnderstande Tibe-
rius, that it did not displease me thou shouldest
be emperour of Rome, sith Iustinian
was deposed: and if I had perceyued that,
whiche I doe perceyue, or had knowen
that, whiche I doe knowe, I am certayne,
that I had neyther said with it, nor against
it. For we women are of so litle credite,
that it puenapleth vs more to approue the
least of that, which other say, than it doth
to speake very well our selues. With fortune
hath brought the to so high estate, I be-
seche the, admonishe the, and aduise the,
that thou knowe how to heape, and gover-
ne thy selfe therein, for to arise to honour,
it sufficeth the bodye to sweate water: but
to mainteine it, it is necessary that the hart

wyse be blonde. Thou knowest righte wel, &
to commaunde more, to doe more, and to
haue more, (as touchyng the affayres of
Princes) oftentimes is giuen more thā
roughe worldlye care, then for the deserte
of the personne. And thys, GOD suffereth
very ofte, to the ende, we may see those dis-
cende, and fall through insamp: whom we
saue mounte, and prosper by payde. Thou
art a man, and I am a woman, Thou hast
wisdomme, & knowledg, but I haue large,
and longe experience, and if thou knowest
muche, I haue seene in the world enough,
but in faith for that I haue saide I tell the,
that mon of thy sorte are vndone in the pa-
laice of Princes by 2. waies. The one, yf
they thinke they deserue muche, and they
can doe litle, for haury mindes, bringe al-
waies alteration in the harte. The other
is, that one alone will commaunde the Em-
perour, and the empyre: wherunto yf any
man come, it is by greate traunple, and he
shall sustayne it with daunger, and shall
possesse it but a shorte tyme. For it is im-
possible that fortune shoulde be so longe
faithful, to a man of much arrogancie.

Though thou be wise, and sage, I coun-
sell the alwayes, to profite with an other
mans counsaile, chesely in thynges con-
cernyng the gouernemente. For to knowe
to obeye, and to knowe to commaunde, dis-
fer much.

For to knowe to obey, commeth by nature:
but to knowe to commaunde, commeth
by longe experience. Take this for a gene-
rall rule, that wheras thou seest thy praiser
to be acceptable, nether take vpon the com-
maundement: for by commaundement thou
shalte be feared, and by praiser thou shalte
be beloued. The thynges that content them
worste, whiche are in the court of princes,
are to doe litle, to haue litle, and to be litle
worth.

For the man that is withoute fauour,
in his harte is halfe deade. For the con-

stray

THE DIAL

frary, the thinge whiche maketh Princes
keale their frendshippes, is to be of small po-
wer, & weak litle, and more ouer this
to prosper more of wyl, then of knowledge,
of auarice, than of reason. For a man ca-
not lye longe in frendshipp, whiche doth
what he wyl in the comon wealth. I haue
spoken all this, to shewe thou shouldest
knowe, that I greatly meruaile at thy pru-
dence, and shew no lesse wonder of my pa-
cesence. Therfore, that the treasures whiche
Iustitia heaped together by greates traual-
le, kept and preserved with great care, thou
wastest without respect what thou doste.
And doe not maruaile at this: For ther is
no pacience can suffer, to see the goodes pro-
per wasted and spent, by the handes of an
other. Let the to knowe Tiberius, that we
haue, neyther to heape, nor to giue, which
thinge is very perillous for the palace of
Princes. For the same to haue greates
treasures, causeth Princes to heape theyr
enemies in feare. It is necessarie for prin-
ces to be stout, and also riche, for by their
stoutnes they maye governe theyr owne,
and by their riches they maye represse their
enemies. It is not onely necessarie that the
Prince be not poore, but also it is requisite
that his common wealth be ryche. For
where the people are poore, of their enemyes
they are nothinge regarded: and where
the common wealth is ryche, the Prince
can not greatly be poore. I wyl not deny
but that it is wel done, to healepe the poore,
and succoure the needye. But yet I say, that
no man ought to giue the treasure to any
one particular, which is kepte for the pre-
seruation of all. For oftentimes the prin-
ce, whiche is to lyberall in geuynge hys
owne, is afterwarde through necessity
compelled to be a Tyranne, and take from
others. Let the wote Tiberius, that thou
shalt fynde fewe Princes but are proude,
magnificent, & vicious. For of a trouthe,
whercommede, libertie, pouer, and riches,

are cruell enemies to honestie. I wyl not
saye that al Princes haue bene euill, but I
will saye there hath bene but fewe good,
and those whiche are, or wyl be good, ought
to be greatly honoured. For no time ought
to be called happy, but that wherein ver-
tuous Princes doe reigne.

And I saye to the further Tiberius, if
Princes become Tyrantes for wante of
ryches, so do they become virtuous through
aboundaunce of treasures, and in this case,
virtuous Princes are chastened in the same
wyse. For their to great pleasure, suffereth
them not to take their owne delighte.

And I let the wote Tiberius, that there
are many Princes, whiche are of good na-
ture, and yet become Tyrantes, for no
thinge els, but because they be oppressed
with power. For truly the noble harte
refuseth no daunger, seynge hys selfe as-
saulted with power.

Therefore I demaunde of the, whiche is
better, or otherwise; whiche of these. 2. es
applies is leaste: that the Prince be poore,
and with that a Tyranne: or that he be ry-
che, and therewith virtuous.

In myne opinion, it were muche bet-
ter, to be ryche and virtuous: then a tyran-
ne and poore, for in the ende, if he doe e-
uill by wyse, he shoulde be euill to no man,
but to hys selfe: but by riches, he shoulde
perill all the people. And if he be poore
and a tyranne, he shoulde doo greates euill
to many, and by power he could perill
no man. For the poore Prince can not main-
teyne the ryche, and much lesse succoure the
poore. Wherewith comparison, it is more pro-
fitable to the common wealth, and more
colleable to men, that the Prince be an
upright man, and therewith a good Prince:
then an euill Prince, and therewith a
good man. For as Plato saith, the Atheni-
ans would alwayes rather seeke a pious
man, then a stout Prince: and the Latins
demonians did erre, in willing rather a
stout

* *floute Prince, the profitable. See Tiberius, what thinge is moſte ſure for the common wealth, either that princes haue treaſours to giue liberallie amonge their ſeruauntes: or pouertie whereby they are enſoyced to robbe, and oppreſſe their people. For princes oftentimes throughe pouertie, take occaſion to leaue greate ſubſidies in their realmes and ſeignories.*

The.xv.Chapter.

* *The aunſwere of Tiberius vnto the Empreſſe Sophia Augusta: VVherin he declareth that noble princes neede not to houre vp great treaſures. And howe this good Emperour beyng a good chriſtian by reuolacion founde a treaſure, vvhiche vvas hid in the Palace, vvherein he vvas.*



TIBERIVS heard verie patientlie the admonition of the Emperreſſe, whereſoꝛe with great reuerence he aunſwered, and with ſweete and gentle words, he ſpake in this ſorte. I haue hearde and vnderſtoode, what you haue tolde me (moſte noble Princeſſe Sophia, alwaies Augusta) and doe receiue your gentle admonitions, moſte humble thankinge you, ſoꝛ your louing counſaile, whiche principallie you giue me in ſo hyghe a ſtile. For oftentimes, richmen abhorre meates, not ſoꝛ þ̄ meates are not

good, but becauſe they are not well dreſſed. If it were gods pleaſour, I would I knew aſwell howe to doe theſe thinges, as you know how to ſpeake the. And doe not maruaile though I make hereof a doute, ſoꝛ we greatly deſyre, to praiſe vertuous woꝛkes: but to put them in vꝛe, we are verie ſlowe. Speaking therfoꝛe wth ſuch reuerence (as is due vnto ſo hyghe a dame) to euerie one of theſe thinges, whiche your excellency hath tolde me, I wyll aunſwere in one woꝛd. For it is reaſon, ſith you haue ſpoken that, whiche you perceiue of my deedes: that I ſpeake that, whiche I gather of your woꝛdes. You tell me, þ̄ when I was in Alemandye, I thought not to be gouernour of the empire after Iuſtinian, and that I thought not my ſelf woꝛthy to deſerue it, noꝛ yet looked to come vnto it. To this I aunſwere, þ̄ though by reaſon I gouerned my ſelfe at that time: yet I oughte not to thinke to deſerue ſuch a dignitie, noꝛ to come to ſo high an eſtate. For thoſe, which by vertues deſerue great dignities are but fewe: and fewer are thoſe, which attayne vnto them though they deſerue the. But if this matter be ſudged accordinge to ſenſualitie, I tell you truly (dame Augusta,) that I thought not onely to deſerue it: but alſo I thoughte to come vnto it. And hereof marueyle not, ſoꝛ it is an vnfallible rule, wher leſſe deſerte is, ther is moſt preſumption. You ſaye, you eſteemed me ſoꝛ a wiſe man, & that by wiſedome I coulde overcome any diſordinate appetite. To this I aunſwere, that you knewe my wiſedome, either in myne owne buſynes, or els in other mens affayres, yf in other mens affaires: where it did coaſt me nought, I was alwaies a lover of iuſtice.

For there is no man in the worlde ſo wyll, that dothe not deſyre (if it be withoute his owne coaſt) to be counted lyberall. But if you iudge me (dame Augusta) on mine owne buſines, giue not to lighte credite

bit. For I wyl that you knowe there is no man so fuste, nor of so cleere a iudgement, that dothe not shewe him selfe fraile in matters whyche touche his owne interest. You saye, that men whiche haue their thoughtes hyghe, and their fortune base, lyue alwaies a penitente lyfe. Trulpe it is as you say. But in mine opinion, as the members of the bodie are but instrumentes of the soule: so is it necessary for men to haue quicke wittes, if they wyl not be negligent. For if Alexander, Pyrrus, Iulius Cesar, Scipio, and Hanniball, had not bene hyghe mynded, they had not bene (as they were) so noble and stout Princes.

I let you vnderstand, moste noble Prince, that men are not losse for hauinge their thoughtes hyghe, nor for hauinge their hartes couragious, neyther for beinge hardie and stout: but they are vndone, because they begynne thinges thowghe for lyfe, pursue them without wysedome, and attcheue them withoute discretion.

For noble men, enterprysinge greate thinges, ought not to employ their force as their noble harte wylleth, but as wysedome and reason teacheth. You saye, you meruaile why I waste the treasours withoute care, whiche Iustinian and you gathered togethers with greate payne. To this I aunswere, you ought not to meruaile, if all the treasours you heaped together of so longe tyme, were spent, and consumed in one daye. For there is an auicente malediction on ryche hynde, and treasours buried, whiche Epimenides casteth out, sayenge these wordes. All the treasours hurded by the couetous, shalbe wasted by the prodigall. You saye, thowghe that I waste in fewe dayes, you shall haue netther to giue, to waste, nor yet to eate at the yeares end. To this I aunswere, that if you (dame Augusta) had bene as ready to releue the poore, as you & Iustinian were diligent to robbe the ryche: then you shoulde

justly haue complayned, and I wold helpe might haue repented. Tyll now we haue not seene, but that of the ryche you haue made poore, and not withstanding this, yet you haue not gotten enoughe to buyde an Hospitall for the poore. You say that Princes, to resist their enemies, haue neede of great treasours. To this I aunswere, if princes be proude, greedy, and of straunge realmes ambitious, it is moste certayne, that they neede great treasours to accomplysh their disordinate appetites. For the ende of a tyrannous prync is, by hooke or by crooke, to make him selfe riche in his lyfe. But if a Prince be, or wyl be a man reposed, quyet, vertuous, patient, peaceable, and not couetous of the good of an other man, what neede hath he of great treasours: For truly in the houses of Princes, there is more offence in that, that auunceth, then there is in that, which wanteth. I wyl not wast many wordes in aunswering, sith I am much more liberrall of deedes, then of wordes: but I conclude, that there is no prince, which in vertuous deedes wasteth so much, but yf he wyl, he may spende much more. For in the ende, Prynces become not poore for spendinge their goodes vpon necessaries: but for wasting it vpon thinges superfluous. And take this word for al, yf for thys he shall not be the poorer, but rather yf rycher. For it is a generall rule in Christian religion, yf god wil geue more to his seruantes in one honre, the they wyl wast in. 20. yeres, Iustinian was emperour. 11. yeres, who (beinge a foule, & obstinate in the heresy of Pellagien) was to the great offence of the Romaine people, whose death was as much desired, as his life abhorred. For yf tyrannous prince, that maketh many weeping eyes in his life, shal cause many reloying hartes at his death. Iustinian beinge dead, Tiberius was elected emperour, who gouerned hys empire throughe so great wysdome, & iustice, yf no man was able to repproue him, if hys histories in his time

did not deceiue vs. for it seldom happeneth to a Prince to be as he was, bright in face, pure in life, & cleane in conscience. For few are those Princes which of some vices are not noted. Paulus Dracon: in his .19. booke of y^e Romain gestes, declareth a thing mercilous, which befell to this emperour at that time, and very worthy to knowe at this present. And it is, that in the cite of Constantinople, the Romaine emperours had a palace very sumptuous, & besmugge the auctoritie of the imperial maiesty, which was begonne in the time of Constantine the great, and afterwarde, as the succession of good, or euill Emperours was: so were the buildinges decayed, or repayed. For it is the beed of a vertuous Prince, to abolshe vices of the common wealch, and to make great and sumptuous buildinges in his countrey. This Emperour Tiberius had spence greate treasours to redeme poore captiues, to builde hospitallies, to erect monasteries, to marie and prouide, for the Orphanes, and widowes, and in this he was so prodigall, that it came almost to passe y^e he had nothinge to eate in his palace. And truly this was a blessed necessity. For catholicke Princes ought to thinke that well employed, whiche in the seruice of Christe is bestowed. And hercof the Emperoure was not ashamed, but thought it a greate gloze, and that whiche onely greued him was, to see the Emperesse reioyce so muche at his misery. For the highe, and noble hartes, whiche feelee them selues wounded, doe not so muche esteeme their owne paine, as they doe to see their enemies reioice at their griefe. God neuer forsake them that for his sake became poore, as it appeareth by this. It chanced one day, that euen as the emperour Tiberius walked in the midst of his palace, he sawe at his feete a marble stone, whiche was in forme of the crosse, of the redeemer of the worlde. And because it had benere vniust a thing (as he thought) to haue spurned that with his feete, where

with we truste from our enemies to be defended: he caused the stone to be taken vp, (not thinking any thing to be thereunder) and immediatly after, they found an other, wherein likewise was the forme of the crosse and this beinge taken vp, they founde an other in like maner, and when that was plucked by fro the bottome, there was found a treasure, whiche conteyned the somme of .5. millions of duckettes, for the whiche the good Emperour Tiberius gaue vnto all mightie god most hygh thanks, and wher as before he was liberrall: yet afterwarde he was muche more bountifull. For all those treasours, he distributed amongst the poore, and needy people. Let therfore mighty princes, and great lordes see, reade, and profite by this example, and let them thinke them selues assured, that for geuing almes to the poore, they neede not feare to become poore: for in the ende the vicious man can not call him selfe riche, nor the vertuous man can count him selfe poore.

The .xvi. Chapter.

Hovve the Cheteyne Narfes ouercame many baralles, onely for that his vyhole confidence was in God. Of the reprochefull vvordes, vvwhich Sophia the Emperesse spake vnto Narfes: vvherin may be noted the vnthankfulnes of Princes to vvardes their seruantes.

IN the yere of the incarnation of Christ .528. Iustinius the greate beinge Emperour, who was the sonne of Iustines sister his predecessour in the empyre, the hyppocrites saye, in especially Paul⁹ Diacon⁹, in the .19. booke

De gestis romanorum: that there was a knight of Greece in Rome, who from his tender yeres had bene brought vp in Italye. He was a man of a meane stature, of a colerpeke complexion, and in the lawe of Christ very deuoute, whiche was no small thinge. For at that time, not onely manie knightes, but almoste all the Bishoppes of Italye were Arrians. This knightes name was Narses, and because he was so vertuous, and in seates of warre so aduirtuous: he was chosen Chiefe of the generall of the army, of the Romaine empyre. For the Romanes had this excellency, that when they had a verruous captaine (although they might haue his weight of gold giuen them) they would neuer depart from his persone. He enterprised so great thinges, he ouercame suche mighty realmes, and had suche notable victories ouer his enemies, that the Romanes said, he had in him the strength of Hercules, the hardinesse of Hector, the noblenesse of Alexander, the policy of Pirrus, and the fortune of Scipio. For many of the badde gētils held opiniō, that as the bodies byd distribute their goods in the lyfe: so did the soules part their gistes after the death. This Narses was a pitefull captaine, and very constant in the faith of Christ, liberall to giue almes, affectuous to build new monasteries, and in repairinge churches, a man very carefull. And truly it was a rare thinge. For in greatesse warres (vpon small occasions) captaynes vse to beate downe churches, and that whiche greatest of all was, that he harde masses, visited the hospitalles, saide his deuotions with greatesse teares, and aboue al, reioyced verie ofte to the Church in the night. And this excellency was no lesse then the other. For that captaynes in suche an honre, are readier to kill men in their campe: than to betwape their sinnes in the church. Finally he was so good a Christian, and so deuoute, that god gaue him the victories more thowowe the prayers, whiche he vled, than thowowe the

weapons wherewith he fought. For there was neuer any man that sawe him shedde the blood of his enemies in battayle, before he had shedde the teares of his eyes in the temple. And to the ende Christian princes, and captaynes maye see, how muche better it is, to pacifye god by teares, and prayers, then to haue their campe full of souldiours, and riches: of manie of his doings I will declare parte, as here foloweth.

Iustinian the Emperour being in Alexandria, Totila, kinge of the Gothes, did manie mischeues and greatesse domages thowowe out all Italye, so that the Romanes durste not goe by the waye, nor could be in safesgarde in their houses. For the Gothes kept the wayes, and in the night robbed & spoyled all the people, wherfore Iustinian the Emperour not knowing the matter, sente the noble Narses, as captaine generall againste the Gothes, who (beinge arryued in Italye) immediately confedered with the Lombardes, the whiche at that tyme had their mansion in Hungarie, and sente his messengers to kinge Albonius, (at that tyme their kinge) for ayde againste the Gothes, and in so doinge, he saide, he shoulde see howe faithfull a frend he woulde be to his frendes: and howe cruel an enemy to his enemies. Albonius hearinge the message of Narses was very glad, and without delaye, immediately armed a greatesse and puissant armye, whiche by the Apostolicale sent came into Italye: so that the answer and the offer, came both at one time with effect, and so together arrived in one daye (for the favour of Narses) the 2. armyes: that is to say, that of the Romanes and of the Lombardes, the whiche assembled al in one, and marched vnder the banner of their captaine Narses. Wherof Totila kinge of the Gothes beinge aduertysed, that (as one had not proued the fortune of Narses, nor the force of the Lombardes) sente to offer them the battayle, whiche was giuen in the fieldes of Aquileia: and it was of both partes

so fierse and cruel, that insynpte were they
 * that dyed, but in the ende, Toulla kyng of
 the Gothes was overcome, and neither he,
 nor anye of his hoste, escaped alpye. The
 good captayne Narses, after the battayle,
 gaue many, and noble gyses, to the Lumbardes,
 and so with ryches and victoꝛye,
 they returned into Hungarye, towarde
 their kyng Alboinus. And truly this Nar-
 ses dyd, as he was bounde to doe. For the
 frende cannot be recompenced by ryches,
 when for his frende he putteth his life in
 leoparde. Whē the lumbardes were gone,
 Narses caused all the spoyle of his campe,
 to be deuyned amongst his souldyers, and
 that whiche belonged vnto hym, he gaue it
 wholly to the poore monasteries: so that by
 this victoꝛy, Narses gotte triple renowne.
 That is to wete, verie bountifull in that
 he gaue to the poore, & valyaunt in that
 he banquished so pusshaunt enemies. The-
 odoberth kyng of Fraunce, being a cou-
 ragious yonge Prince, and verie desirous
 of honoꝛ (for no other cause, but to leaue of
 hym some memoꝛye) determyned him selfe
 in parson to passe into Italye, althoughe he
 had no iuste title thereunto. For the hartes
 full of pryde, thinke it litle, though the qua-
 rel be vniuise in the warre. His myshap-
 was suche, that the same daye he passed the
 riuer of Rubico (where the Romaynes in
 olde tyme limyted the marches of Italye)
 newes came to him that his owne countrey
 was by, and those whiche were there, & one
 rebelled againste the other, the which was
 not withoute the greate suffraunce of God.
 For it is not reason, that that kyng should
 loose his owne realme by deinite iustice,
 whiche wil take other mens onely through
 mans folye. The kyng Theodebert, as-
 semblinge all the chiefe of his realme to
 counsaile, it was agreed, and concluded by
 all, that he alone in person should returne
 into fraunce, and for his reputacion, should
 leaue all the arme in Italye. Whereof re-

mained captaynes, Buccelinus, and Amin-
 gus. For it is better for a Prince to defende
 his countrey by iustice, then to conquere a-
 nother by tyranny. As this arme of Buxa-
 elinus was greete, so was he couragious,
 and wroughte many and greete domages
 in Italye, especially in the lād of Campagnia,
 and worse then that, all the riches that
 he had sacked, and all the captiues he had ta-
 ken, he woulde neither restoze, nor yet sus-
 fer them to be raunsomed: but so sone as
 he toke them, he sente them vnto the kinge,
 as one that shewed him selfe moze desirous
 to robbe and spoile, then to fight and wage
 battaile. This captaine Buxelinus, then
 being in Campagnia, retired into a place
 called tarentū with al his army, because of
 winter. Narses sodainly came vppō him.
 The battaile that was betwene them, was
 verie cruel, wherein Buxelinus was ban-
 quished, and lefte deade in the fildes, among-
 gest the other captaynes of the Galles. After
 his companyon was deade, he confedered
 with Auidius, captayne of the Gothes, &
 they together came againste the Romaynes,
 (whiche thinge was not vnknoen vnto
 Narses) to giue the battaile, nere to Caiet-
 to, whereas those captaynes were conques-
 red, and taken alpye. Of whom, Amingus
 was beheaded, by the commaundement of
 Narses: and Auidius was sente by hym,
 prisoner to the emperour, to Constantinople.
 The captayne Narses wanne another
 battaile againste Syndal, kyng of Byrons,
 which came into Italye with a huge multi-
 tude of people, to recouer the Realme of
 Partinopolis, whiche now we canle Pa-
 ples, for he sayde it apperteyned vnto hym
 of ryght, as to one of the lynage of Hercu-
 les, who in auncyente tyme was kyng of
 that Realme. This kyng Sindall with
 in a whyle, became frende vnto Narses,
 and behaued hym selfe outewardelye, as a
 frend and confederate: but in secrete, con-
 spired againste the Romaynes, and woulde
 haue bene kyng of the Romaynes, and rai-

THE DIAL

ned alone in Italy: through the which, there sprang betwene hym, and Narses, cruell warres, wherein, fortune was of long time variable. For there is not so aduenturous a captaine, to whom in longe warres fortune is alwayes prosperous. Finally the kynge Syndal, & Narses, agreed to halarde their men, and also their lyues in one day, vnto the discrecion of fortune, so that, bothe the armies forned together, & fought betwene Verone, and Trente, where kynge Syndal was conquered, and take, and the same night without anye delay, was hanged openly. And because that Narses was not accustomed to vse such cruelty against those, that were ouercome, and especially against kinges and knightes, he commaunded this title to be set on the gibbet, whereon the kynge hanged, which said this.

*A simple corde, here slept kynge Syndals breath
By faultles doome, of hye Narses best
Not that he sought, by warlike deedes his death
But that in peace, he dyd a Traitor rest.*

Such, and many other battailes and victories, had this aduenturous and good captaine, not onely in the borders of Italy, but also in Asia, where for many yeares, he had the gouernement of the cuntry. And as he was a good christian, so almighty god in all his affaires did prosper him. After all these warres past, Iustinian the yonger sent him to the kingdome of Constantinople, to be chiefe gouernour of all those prouinces, and although he did wel in warlike affaires: yet he did much better in the administration of the common wealth. For men that are accustomed to trauaile in warres, haue a good learning how to gouerne & people in peace. For this occasion (amongest all mortal men) Narses was praised and esteemed, that is, for his valiantnes in the batailles whiche he ouercame, for his riches through & spoyle that he toke, & for the iustice to all men, which he ministered wher he ruled. Narses, because he was a Gretian boyne, was en-

ued of many of & Romaines, and chiefly, because he daily encreased, both his honour and riches. For truly vertue, honoure, and riches in a man, are but a good to light enuy to all the world. The matter was this: & one daye there came many noble Romaines, to the emperour Iustinian, & to the Emperesse Sophia Augusta, to complaine of Narses, and of his behauiour & gouerning, and said these wordes vnto him. We let you to wete, most noble prince, that we had rather (of the two) to serue the Gothes, then to obeye the Greekes: & we speake this, because that the Eunuch commaundeth vs more to his owne seruice, then he doth to that of thine, and the worst is, that thou knowest it not, & if thou knowest it, at the least thou dost not remedie it. Those therfore one of these two things, whether thou wilt deliuer vs from the gouernement of & greeke, or suffer that we put Rome & our selues, into the handes of the Gothes. For it is lesse grieve for & Romaines, to be subiecte to a puissant king: then to an effeminate Eunuch, & a traunt. Narses hearinge these quarelles (as they saye) said thus. If I haue committed any euil, it is vnpossible for me to finde one, & wil do me good: but if I haue done wel, no man shalbe able to do me wrong. The emperesse Sophia of long tyme before had hated Narses, some said it was, because he was an Eunuch, or ther thinke it was, because he was riche, & some other iudge, because he was in greater authoritie in & empire then she. Wherefore perceiuing she had good occasiō & opportunity for & same, she spake a word muche to his reproch, which was this. Sith thou art an eunuch Narses, & not a man fitte to haue an office, I commaund the to worke with my handmaidens, & there & shalt serue, to spinne and weaue clothes. Narses toke this worde heauily, & truly it was to great spighte spoken. Wherefore he stoutly & courageously, spake vnto the emperesse Sophia these wordes, & said: I had rather (most excellent Princesse) thou haddest chastised me as a dame, then

then to haue repproued me with a worde as
 * a woman: but since it is so that thou haste
 such an authority, know thou, that I am as
 wel willinge to obeye, as thou arte hastye
 to commaund. I go to weaue my webbe, which
 thou in thy lyfe shalt neuer breake. Nar-
 ses immediately wente his way, and came
 into Italy, into the cite of Naples (chiefe
 and head of Campagnia) and from thence,
 he sente his imbassadors immediatlye to
 the king of Hungary (where the Lumbard-
 es at that time, had their maiestie place) cou-
 saylinge them to forsake that lande, so euill
 filled, so barren, colde, and litle, & that they
 shoulde come and inhabite Italye, which
 was a plaine countrey, fertile, & ample, tem-
 perate, & very riche, and that now, or neuer
 they shoulde haue occasion to conquere it.
 And Narses thereto not contented (but to
 prouoke his frendes the more, & make the
 more conetous) sente them parte of euerye
 good thing y^e was in Italy, that is to wete,
 light horses, riche armour, swete, pleasaunt,
 and deinty frutes, fine mettayles, & inanye
 kindes of oynementes very odiferous, sil-
 kes and marchandises, of many, and diuerse
 sortes. The embassadors arriued in Panno-
 ny (which now is called Hungary) were
 honozablye receyued, and the Lumbardes
 seeing that there were suche, and so manye
 goodlye thynges in Italye, determyned to
 leaue Pannonia, and goe spoyle and con-
 quere Italy, although it belonged to rome,
 and were at that season frendes with the
 Romaynes, yet notwithstanding they had
 lytle respecte to this. And hereat no man
 oughte to meruaile, for in that place there
 is neuer perfite frendshyppe, where he that
 commaundeth, is constrained to demaund
 helpe of others. The Lumbardes deter-
 myned to passe into Italye, at that tyme
 there was seene of the Italians visyble
 in the ayre, sondrye armyes of fire, the
 one, cruelly kyllinge the other. Whiche
 thynges greately feared the hartes of the
 people. For by this they knewe, that with

in a shorte space, muche of their bloude, and
 of their enemyes also shoulde be shed. For
 it is an olde aunycient custome, that when
 anye greate matter dothe chaunce to anye
 Realme, first the planettes & elementes doe
 declare the same, by secret tokens. The in-
 gratitude of the Emperoure Iustinian, a-
 gainste Narses his caprayne, and the euill
 wordes, whiche Sophia spake vnto hym,
 were the occasiō that the Lumbardes inua-
 ded, and destroyed al Italy, which thing ba-
 liaunt Princes ought wel to note: to keape
 them selues fro ingratitude towardes their
 seruantes, who hath done them great ser-
 uice, For it is a generall rule, that the in-
 gratitude of a greate benefite, maketh the
 seruant eyther to be come a foole: or of a
 faithfull seruante, to become a cruell, and
 mortal enemye. And let not Princes truste
 men, because they be natyfe of their Real-
 mes, brought vp, and nourished in their pa-
 laces, and alwayes haue ben faithfull in
 their seruices, that therefore they wyll not
 of good subiectes, be turned to euil, nor yet
 of faithfull, become disloyal. For suche in-
 gracion is wayne. For the Prince that in
 his doynge is unthankfull, cannot keape
 nor preserue any man longe in his seruice.
 One thinge the noble Iustinian dyd with
 Narses, whereof al noble, and sage princes
 ought to beware, that is to knowe, he did not
 onely geue eare vnto his enemyes, and be-
 leued them: but also befoze them, he did dys-
 honour hym, and shame hym to hys power,
 which thinge made him betterly to dispaire.
 For there is nothing that tormenteth a man
 more, then to haue befoze his enemies, any
 iniury or dishonoure to be done vnto him,
 of his superiour. The emperesse Sophia de-
 serued great reproche, for speakinge suche
 dishonest wordes to Narses, y^e is to wete,
 to send hym to tread the nedels in that oc-
 cupacion, where the damels wrought. For
 it is y^e duty of a noble princeesse, to mitigate
 the ire of princes, whē they are angry. Nar-
 ses the alwaies dowtyng the emperesse So-
 phia

phia, neuer after returned into Naples, where she was, but rather comming from Naples to Rome, a yeare before the Lumbardes came into Italy: & noble Narses received all the sacramentes, & lyke a deuout Christian dyed at Rome. His body was carryed to Alexandria, within a coffine of siluer, all set with precious stones, and there was buried. And a man cannot tell, whether the displeasure were greater that Asia had to see Narses alive, or the pleasure that Sophia had to see him dead. For the impatient harte (especialllye of a woman) hath no rest, until she see her enemy dead.

The.xvii.Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Eemperor Marcus Aurelius, sente to the kynge of Trinacrye, in the vvhich he recordeth the traualles, vvhiche they endured together in their youth, and repro- ueth him of his smal reuerence to vvarde the temples.



M A C V S Aurelius sole Emperour of Rome, bozne in mount Cellio, cauled the old tribune, wissheth health & long life to y^e gozbin, lord and king of Trinacry. As it is the custome of the Romaine Emperoure, the firste yeare of my reigne I wrote generally to al that Rle: the seconde yeare I wrote generally vnto thy courte and palace: & at this present I write moze particularlye to thy parson. And although y^e princes haue great Realmes, yet they ought not therfore to cease, to communicate wth their olde frendes. Since I toke my penne to write vnto y^e, I staied my hãde a great while fro writing, & it was not for that I was slouthful: but because I was a-

shamed, and this is, because through the, al Rome is flattered. I let the to wete (moste excellent prince) that in this I say, I am thy true frend, for in my harte I fele thy trouble: so Euripides said: that, which with the harte is loued, wth the harte is lamed. Because I shew the cause of my writing, I wyl reduce into thy memozy, some thinges past of our youth, and thereby we shal see, what we were then, and what we are now: for no man dothe so muche reioyce of his prosperitie present, as he whiche calleth to minde his myseries past. Thou shalt call to minde (moste excellent Prince) that we two together did learne to reade in Capua, and after we studyed a little in Tharente: & from thence we went to Rhodes, where I redde Rhetorike, and thou hardest philosophie. And afterwarde in the ende of .10. yeares, we went to the watres of Pannonia, where I gaue my selfe to musyke: for the affection of yong men, is so variable, that dayly they would know realmes, and chaunge offices. And in al those iourneis, with the softe of pouth, the swete company, with the pleasant communication of sciẽces, and with a baine hope, we vpd dyssemble our extreme pouerty, which was so great, that many tymes & ofte, we desired not y^e, whiche many had, but y^e, whiche so few abounded. Thou shalt remember, that when we sailed by the goulfe Arpin, to goe into Helesponte, a long & tempestuous tozmet came vppō vs, wherein we were takē of a pirate, & for our raunsome, he made vs rowe about 9. monethes in a gally, whereas I canot tel, whiche was greater, either y^e wante of bread, or the abundaunce of strypes, whiche we alwayes endured. Thou shalt remember, that in the cite of Rhodes, when we were besieged of Bruerdus, puissaunte kynge of Epirotes, for the space of fourtene monethes, we were tenne withoute eatyngs of fische, save onely .2. cattes, the one which we stole, & the other which we bought. Thou shalt remember that thou, and I (being in Tarent) were desired

desired of our hofte, to go to the feaffe of the
 * great goddesse Diana: into the which tem-
 ple none coulde enter that daye, but those
 which were new appareled. And to say the
 trouble, we determinyd not to go thither:
 thou because thy garmentes were tozne,
 and I because my shoes were broken. Thou
 shalt remember, that bethe the tymes we
 were sicke in Capua, they neuer cured vs
 by dyete: for oure dyseases neuer proceded
 but through hunger, debility, and feblenes.
 And ascentymes Retropus the phisician,
 for his pleasour, spake to vs in the vniuer-
 sitie and sayd. Alas chyldren, you dye not
 through sorfeting, and much eatinge. And
 truly he sayd the truth, for the contrey was
 so dere, and our mony so scarfe, that we did
 neuer eate, buttill the time we could endure
 no longer for famine. Thou shalt remeber
 the greates famine that was in Capua, for
 the whiche cause we were in the warre of
 Alexandria, wherein my fleshe dyd trem-
 ble, remembryng the great perilles, whiche
 we passed, in the goulfe of Thebertyne.
 What snowes all Wynter, what extreme
 heate al sommer, what generall famine in
 the fieldes, what outrageous pestilence as-
 mögest the people, & worst of al, what perse-
 cution of straungers, & what euill wyl we
 had of ours. Thou shalt remeber that in the
 cite of Naples, when we made our prayer
 to the profetesse, she told vs what should be-
 come of vs, after we lefte our studies. She
 tolde me that I should be an emperour, and
 said that thou shouldest be a kynge. To the
 which aunswere, we gaue such credite, that
 we toke it not onely for a mocke: but al-
 so for a manifest iniurye. And now I doe
 not merueile, in that then we bothe marue-
 led wonderfull muche. For enuyous for-
 tune practysed her power moze in pluc-
 kinge downe the ryche, then in settinge
 vp the pooze. Beholde (excellente Prince)
 the greates power of the goddes, the whele
 of fortune, and the variety of tymes: who
 should haue thought, when I had my han-

des all rough, and scurny with rowing in
 the galley, that betwene those handes, the
 scepter of the Romayne Empire shoulde
 haue ben put: who woulde haue thoughte,
 when I was so sicke for lacke of meat, that
 I should ener haue surfited by to much eas-
 ting: who wold haue thought at that time,
 when I left going into the temple because
 my shoes were broken, that another tyme
 should come, when I shoulde ryde trium-
 phing in chariotes, and vppō the shoulders
 of other men: who woulde haue thought,
 that that which is my cares I heard of the
 prophetesse in Cāpagnia, I should se here
 with my eyes in rome: O how manye dyd
 hope (at the time we were in Asia) to be go-
 * uernours of Rome, & lordes of Trinacrie,
 whiche not onely sayled of the honoure
 that they desyred, but also obtained & deaith
 whiche they neuer feared: for oftentymes
 it chaunceth to ambitious mē, that in their
 greatestt ruise, and when they thinke their
 honour sponne and wouen, then their es-
 tate, with & webbe of their life, in one mo-
 mente is broken. If at that tyme one had
 * demaunded the Tiraunte Laodicius aspi-
 ryng to the kyngdome of Trinacrie, and
 Ruphus Calvus, who looked to be Empe-
 rour of Rome, what they thought of them-
 selues: assuredly they would haue swozne,
 their hope to haue ben as certayne, as ours
 was dontefull. For it is naturall to proude
 men, to delyghte them selues, and to set
 their hole mynde vppon bayne deuises. It
 is a wonder to see, and worthy memozye:
 that they hauyng the honoure in their eyes,
 and we not thinkyng of it in oure harte,
 that fortune woulde shewe her selfe in this
 case so puissaunte, that she prouyded hope
 for those whiche looked for leasse: and dis-
 payre for others, that hoped for most: which
 thinge greaued them at the very harte. For
 no pacience can endure, to see a man ob-
 tayne that withoute trauayle, whiche he
 coulde neuer compasse by muche labour.
 I cannot tell, if I shoulde saye lyke a sim-
 ple

THE DIAL

ple Romaine, that those thinges consist in fortune: or if I should saye lyke a good philosopher, that al the gods do ordeine them. For in the ende, no fortune nor chaunce can doe any thinge, without the gods assente. Let the proude & enuious trauaile as much as they wyl, and the ambitious take as much care as they can, I saye and affirme, that litle auaileth humaine diligence to attaine to greate estates, if the gods be their enemies. Suppose that euil fortune doe ordeine it, or that the god and gods doe suffer it, I say, those whiche haue their thoughtes highe, oftentimes are but of base estate: and those that haue their thoughtes lowe, oftentimes greate fortune foloweth them. For many oftentimes aryse to be Lordes, the whiche being once repulsed, shew them selues mooste like slaues. The condicion of hono^r is suche, as I neuer reade the like: and therfore such as haue to do with her, ought to take good hede. For her condicions are such, she enquireth for him whom she neuer knew, she speaketh to him that heareth her not, she contracteth wth him whom she neuer sawe, and she renneth after him that flieth from her: she hono^reth him that esteemeth her not, & she demaundeth him, which wil leth her not, she geueth to hym, & requireth her not, & she trusteth him, whome she knoweth not. Finally hono^r hath this custome, to forsake him, that esteemeth her: and to remaine with him, which litle regardeth her. Those which are desirous to go, aske not, which is y^e place, but do demaund what way they must take, to lead them to their desire. I meane that princes & noble men, ought not directely to caste their eyes vpon hono^r: but in the waye of vertue, which endeth in hono^r. For otherwise, we see manye remaine defamed, onely for sekynge hono^r. O myserable worlde, thou knowest I know the well, and that whiche I know of the, is: that thou arte a sepulcher of the deade, a prysen of the lypynge, a shoppe of vices, a hangeman of vertues, an

oblyuion of antiquitye, an enemy of thinges presente, a pitfall to the riche, and a burden to the pooze, a house of pilgrames, and a denne of theues. Finally O worlde, thou arte a sleaunderer of the good, a rancour of the wicked, and a deceuer and abuser of all, and in the O worlde, to speake the truthe, it is almoste impossible to liue contented, and muche lesse to lyne in hono^r. For if thou wilt geue hono^r to the good, they thinke them selues dyshonoured, and esteeme thy hono^r as a thinge of mockery. And if perchaunce they be euil and lyght, thou suffrest them to come to hono^r by way of mockery, meaning infamy and dishonour vnto the. O immortall gods, I am oftentimes troubled in my thought whose case I should moze lament, eith^r the euil man auanced without deferre, or the good man ouerthrowen without cause. And truly in this case, the pytfull man will haue compassion on them bothe. For if the euyl lyue, he is sure to fall: and if the good dye not, we doute whether euer he shal come to hono^r. If all failes were a lyke, all would be healed & cured with one salue: but some fall on their fete, some on their sides, others stumbe and fall not, and other fall do wone ryght, but some doe giue them a hande. I meane, soine there are whyche falle from their estate, and lose no moze but their substance: others fall, and for verve sorrowe lose not onely their goods, but their lyfe with all. Other there are that fall, who neyther lose their life nor goods, but their hono^r onely. So accordynge to the dyscrecyon of fortune, the moze they haue, the moze styll she taketh from them. I greatlye muse of one thyng, whyche the gods neuer remedye, that is, because fortune, when she begynneth to ouerthrowe a pooze man, dothe not onely take all he hath from hym, but all those which may, and wyl succoure hym.

So that the pooze man, is bounde moze to lamente for another mans euyl: then for
for

for his oigne proper. There is a great difference betwen the mishappes of the good, and aduentures of the euill. For he can not sape that he amounteth, but that he descendeth. For in the ende, the true frendes shyppe, and honour dorhe not consiste, in the perfection and dignity that a man hath, but in the good lyfe that he leadeth. It is a dolefull thinge to see bayne men of this world, when they goe aboute to compasse, any greate matter of importance, and to marke theye earely ryling in the morning, their late goynge to bed at nighte, and the looke whiche they caste vpon other men, to note how importunate they are to some, and howe troubleosome they are to others, and afterwarde (notwithstandinge theye longe sute, and greate paine) an other man whiche litle thought thereof, cometh to that honour reioysinge, and without trauayle: whiche he before, by so greate paynes, and to so great expeses of money, hath sought: so that in seekinge honour by trauayle, he cometh to infamy with shame. For I my selfe haue sene sondry thinges losse by negligence, and many moe, by to muche diligence.

The.xviii.Chapter:

The Emperour procedeth in his letter, to admonish princes to be fearefull of their Gods, and of the sentence vvhich the Senate gaue vpo this kinge.



ALL these thynges (moste excellent pryce) I haue told the for none other cause, but to aggrauate this case, and to shewe the peryll thereof. For the good phisitian (to take away the bytternes of h pylle) ministreth some swete suger, to delight the patient withal. The.20 day of the moneth of January (here before h Senate) was presented a long & large information of the, & it was sent by the Consul, whiche wente to visite the Ile of Cicillia, which (as thou knowest) is an olde order of Rome, from.3. monethes to.3. monethes, to visite all the lande and countrey, subiecte to the same. For those princes are vniuste, which haue more care to take by their rentes, then diligence to knowe if their people be well ordered by iustice. Of the information taken of the, & thy personne (of my memory deceyue me not) this was the effect: that thou arte temperate in eatynge, moderate in expenses, pitieful to widowes, father to orphans, gentle to those that serue the, patient with those that offende the, diligente to kepe and mainteyne peace, and faithfull to obserue league, and thou arte accused onely, to be negligent in the seruice of God.

By one lytle gate left open, oftentimes a greate Citie besieged is losse: by one onely treason, the infinite seruices past, are not esteemed. I meane (moste excellent prince) that it litle preuaileth to thinke muche of worldly matters, and to forget all deuine seruices. For the good Prince oughte first to shutte the gates against vices, that they enter not into his subiectes: before he doth fortifye the wall against his enemies. Let euery man be as he wyll, and say what he lyffe, I for my parte thinke it sure, that the man whiche is not a studious seruer of the gods, all his vertues shalbe turned into vices, and esteemed as sclauanders.

g. liii.

For

THE DIAL

For it is a generall rule in hye Philo-
sophy, that a worke is not called vertuous,
because I worke it only, but it is vertuous,
because it is acceptable to the gods.

O excellent prince, doste not thou know,
that ther is no mā so wise, neither so sage,
but erreth moze through ignozaunce, than
he doth good by wisdom: And doste not
thou knowe, that there is no man so iuste,
but wanteth muche to execute true iustice?
And finally I saye, that there is no vertue
so vertuous, but it wanteth moze than it
hath, to be perfyte. Wherefoze al our iustice
ought to be made perfyte, to the deuine ius-
tice: and the vertue, which we lack, ought
to be supplied vnder the greate perfection,
wherewith the gods abounde. Amonges
vs Romaines we haue thys lawe, (whiche
is the chiefe of all the Philosophers) that
here amongeste mortall men, noz of mozt-
tall men, noz wyth mortall men, any thing
is perfyte, vnesse it be by the Gods con-
firmed. Synce men are feeble, and frayle,
it can not be chosen, but they shoulde com-
myt many frayleties. And in suche case,
the sage Princes ought, and shoulde beare
with all the frayleties that men commytte,
those excepted, whiche are not iniurious
to the gods, whom (if it were possyble) vn-
wares, oughte to be punished.

For the Prince shoulde not be called a
Prince, but a Tyrante: that is desyous
to reuenge hys proper iniurye, and in cha-
steninge those, whiche are againste the
gods, sheweth hym selfe negligent.

Let them thinke what they lyffe, and
complayne what they wyll, that Prince,
whiche wyll enlarge hys dominions, and
gine occasion that the seruice of G D be
diminished, suche a man we wyll not call
a kynge that gouerneth, but a Tyrante.
If we call hym a Tyrante, that spoyleth
the people, sleeth the men, persecuteth the
innocente, dishonoureth virgynnes, and
robbereth realmes: Tell me excellent Prin-
ce, what lacketh he of a Tyrant, that pluc-

keth downe Churthes, and lytle esteeme-
the gods? There is no token moze many-
feste that the Prince is a Tyrante, then
when he taketh vpon hym anye thyng,
whiche is contrary to the wyll of the gods.
For he hath small regarde towarde men,
that so lytle feareth the gods, Licurgus,
the famous kynge of the Lacedemoni-
ans sayeth, in one of hys auntyent lawes,
these wordes. We ordeyne and commaun-
de, that no Lacedemonian presume, to
receyue mercey or fauour of the Prince,
whiche wyll not enforce hym selfe, to ser-
ue the gods. For he is not onely euill, but
of all other, moste wicked.

O excellentinge kinge, O glorious world,
O fortunatre realme, wherof those aunty-
entes woulde their Princes shoulde be so
iuste, that the gyftes were not esteemed,
vnesse their lynes were honeste: for they
thoughte that of no value, whiche by the
handes of euill men was geuen.

Thou haste done one thinge very dys-
honeste (moste noble Prince) the whiche to
wyte vnto the, I am ashamed, whiche is:
for to enlarge thy newe palace, thou haste
plucked downe an old Temple, the whych
thinge thou shouldeste neyther haue done,
no: yet haue thoughte.

For in the ende, though the stones of
the Temple be of small importaunce, yet
the gods, to whom they were dedicated,
were of muche value. Wardon me (excel-
lent Prince) though I let the vnderstand,
that thys acte hath bene done in suche sort,
that thereby I was amazed, and all Rome
also offended, the sacred Senate thou haste
greately beryed, and furdere, all iudge the a
dissolute man, & all men procure, that thou
mayste be extremely punished, and hereof
mervayle not. For in Rome they beleue,
that the Prince whiche dare plucke downe
Temples, doth lytle feare the gods. For
that thou arte a noble Prince, and an olde
frend of mine, I haue traualled to bringe
in fauour with the senare, and because thou
hast

haffe no meanes to excuse thy error committed: they doe not determine to forgiue the this fault, befoze they see in the a toke of amendement. And of truth me thinketh they haue reason. For there is nothinge that troubleth poore men moze: than to see that they, and not the riche, for their offences, are chastised and punished. That which the sacred Senate hath ordeyned is, that forthwith thou beginne to builde the Temple a new, and that it shoulde be moze large, hye, beautifull, and rycher, then euer it was. So y thou take as much of thy pallace to enlarge the Temple, as thou toke of the Temple, to beautifie thy pallace. After thou haffe perfourmed this, though now thou thinke thy selfe halfe dishonoured, thou wylte than thinke thy selfe very happie. For not thou of the gods, but the gods of the, shall haue taken thy house to make their Temple. I beleue well it wil be greate soaste, and charges vnto the, befoze thou haffe synished the Temple. wherfoze I send the. 40. thousande sesterces to healte thy buyldinge, and to the ende it shoulde be moze secrete, I sende the them by my Secretary Panuntius, to whom, in all, and for all, thou shalte giue credyte. I sende the lyke wyse a collier of golde, whiche one brought me from the ryuer of Nyle, and because it was to narrowe for me, I suppose it wyl be fyte for the.

One hath brought me moyses out of Spayne, whereof I sende the, 2. Panuntius my secretary bringeth with him a verie good moyle, the whiche he esteemeth muche: So that ther is no man that can ether dye her, or bozowe her. I delighe in her so muche, that I desyre thou cause her eyther to be bought, or stolen, and sent vnto me here in Rome. My wyse Faustine saluteth the, and to the excellent queene thy wyse, of her part and myne, as muche as is possible, doe our commendacions, and these Popingeys, Faustine presenteth vnto her Marcus the Romayne Emperour, wyrteth to

the with his owne hande.

The. xix. Chapter.

Howe the Gentils honoured those vvhich vvere deuout, in the seruice of the gods.



THE auncient Roman hystorographers agree, that at the beginninge there were seuen kynges, whiche gouerned Rome, for the space of. 60. yeres. The seconde wherof, was named Pompilius, who amongst all the other, was moste hyghly esteemed, for none other cause, but for that he was a greate worshipper of the gods, and a sumptuous builder of the Temples.

For the Romayne princes, were asmuche beloued for seruing the gods, as they were honoured, for vanquishing their enemies. This man was of such sorte, that he allotted Rome wholly for the gods, and made a house for him selfe, without the cytie. For it was an auncient law in Rome, that no man shoulde be so bolde to dwell in any house consecrated for the gods. The fyrste kinge of the Romaynes was Torquinius Priscus. And as Torquinius Superbus was bitious, and abhorred of the people: so was this vertuose, and welbeloued of the gods: and was greatly praysed in all hye doynges, because he feared God, and continually visited the Temples, and not contented wth those whiche were synished, but buylte also in the hygh Capitoll, the sacred Temple of Iupiter.

For that no Prince coulde buylde any house in Rome for hym selfe, vnlesse firste he made a T C P P L C for the Gods,

THE DIAL

of the comon wealth. This temple was had in so greate reuerence, that as the Romaynes honoured Iupiter for the god aboue all other gods, so was that temple esteemed aboue all other temples. In the warres betwene the Talisques, and the Carpenates. 2. Romaine captaynes were vanquished, of the which, the one (named Gemetius) dyed: wherupon rose such a great feare amonge them, that many (flyenge from the warres) came backe againe to Rome. For the victorious hath alwaies this priuiledge, & though they be few, yet they are alwaies feared of thē that be overcome. This occasion moued the Romaines, to chosse newe captaynes, and truly they did lōke wisse mē. For oftentimes it happeneth, by altering & captaynes of the warres, fortune likewyse chaungeth her doinges. And the captaine & was elected for the warres, was Marcus Camillus, who though he were stoute and hardy, yet before he went to the warres, he offered great sacrifices to the gods, & made a vow, & if he returned to Rome victorious, he would build a solempne Temple. For it was the custome of Rome, & immediately, whē the Romaine captayne would enterpryse to doe any notable thinge, he shoulde make a vow to build temples. Now whē Camillus returned afterwarde victorious, he did not onely build a Temple, but also furnished it wth al maner of implemētes therunto belonging, which he gotte by spoyle, & vanquishing his enemies. And sith he was for this reprehendid of some, sayeng & the Romaine captaynes shuld offer their hartes to & gods, & deuide the treasours amōg & soul-dours, he answered these wordes, I like a mā, did aske & gods but. 1. triumphe: & they like gods, gaue me many. Therfore considering this, it is but iust, sith I was brieue in promising, & I should be large in performing. For euē as I did thāke thē for & they gaue me double, in respect of that I was demanded: so likewise shal they esteeme &; whilch I do giue, in respect of &, which I promi-

sed. At & time, when & cruel warre was betwixt Rome, & the cite of Neye, & Romaines kept it besieged: 5. yeres togethers, & in & end by policy toke it. For it chaūseth sondry times in warre, & that city in short time by policy is wonne, which by great strength a long time hath bene defended. Marcus Furius dictatour of Rome, & at that time captaine, commaunded a proclamation to be had through his hoste, that incontinently after the Citie was taken, none shoulde be so hardye, as to kyl any of the Citizens, but those, which were found armed. Which thinge the enemies vnderstandinge, vnarmed them selues all, and so escaped. And truly this example was woorthy of notinge. For as the captaynes ought to shewe them selues spere, and cruel at the beginninge: so after the victorie had of their enemies, they should shewe them selues meke, and pitiful. This dictatour Camillus, for another thing he did, was muche sommended aboue the residue. That is to wete, he did not onely not consent to robbe the Temples, nor dishonoure the gods: but he hym selfe, with greate reuerence, toke the sacred vessels of the Temples, and the gods which were therein, (especiallye the goddesse Iuno,) and broughte them all to Rome. For amongst the aunclentes there was a law, that the gods of them, which were vanquished, shoulde not come by lotte, to the Captaynes beinge conquerours. Therefore he made in the mounte Auentino a sumptuous temple, wherein he placed all the gods togethers, with all the other holy reliques which he wanne. For the greater triumphe the Romaines had ouer their enemies, so muche the better they handeled the Gods, of the people vanquished. Also you oughte to knowe, that the Romaines, after manye victories, determined to make a crowne of golde, very great and riche, and to offer it to the God Apollo. But sith the common treasure was poore (because there was but litle siluer, & lesse gold, to make that crow-

ne: the Romayne Patrones defiled theyr Jewelles, and their bagges of gold and silver, to make that crowne withall. For in Rome they neuer wanted money (if it were demanded) for the service of gods, to repair Temples, or to redeme captiues. The Senate esteemed the well wyllinge hartes of these womē, in such sort, that they granted them 3. thinges: that is to wete, to weare on their heades garlandes of flowers, to goe in chariottes to the commō places, and to goe openly to the feastes of the gods. For the auncient Romaines were so honest, that they neuer wore gold on their heades, neyther went they at any time to the feastes vncouerid. A man ought not to maruaile, that the Romaines grantede suche priuiledges vnto the auncient matrones of Rome. For they vsed neuer to be obliuious of any benefyte receyued, but rather gentyll, with thanks and rewardes, to recompense the same. An other notable thinge chaunfed in Rome, which was, that the Romaines sent 2. tribunes, the which were called Caelius and Sergius, into the Ile of Delphos with great presentes, to offere vnto the god Apollo. For as Titus Liusus saith, Rome perely sent a presente vnto the god Apollo, and Apollo gaue vnto the Romaines counsaile. And as the Tribunes went out of the way, they fell into the handes of pirats, and rovers on the sea, which toke the with their treasours, & brought them to the city of Liparye. But the Citizens vnderstanding, that those presentes were consecrated, to the god Apollo: did not onely deliuer the all their treasure againe: but also gaue them much more, and gadded therewith, to conduce the safely (both goynge, and comming) from all peryll and daunger. The Romaines being aduertised of their gentleness, by the messengers (which were come safe & alitue) did so much reioyse, that they ordeined in Rome, that the nobles of Liparie, should be made Senators of Rome, & all the others, should be coeuerate, & of aliace vnto the. And they cau-

fed furder, 2. priuiledges of Lipary, shuld alwaies remain in the temple of Iupiter, which priuiledge was neuer graunted to any other straungers, but to them onely. For the Romaines had to great zeale, and loue to their gods, that in the seruices of the temples they trusted none, but those, which were native, and auncient of Rome, and also were both wise and vertuous. When Quintus Fabius, and Publius Decius, were in the warres against the Samites, & Etruscans, and likewise against the Vmbres, many marueylous and terrible signes, were sene in Rome: which thinges did not onely feare those that sawe the, but also those which hearde of them. Upon the which occasion, the Romaines, and the Romayne matrones (both night and day) offered great sacrifices to the gods. For they saide, if we can once packe the wrath of the gods in Rome, we shall neuer neede to feare our enemies in the felde. The thinge was this, that as the Romayne matrones went visiting the Temples, to appease the ire of the gods, many senators wyues came to the Temple of chastitie, to offer sacrifice. For in the time of the puissant power of the Romaines, the women did sacrifice in the Temples of the gods. At that time came Virginea, the daughter of Aureus Virgineus, the Consul Plebeian, the which was forbidden to doe sacrifice, for that she was none of the senators wyues. For the noble women were had in so great veneration, & so highly esteemed, that all the other seime (in respect of them) but handmaidens, & slaues. The noble Romaine Virginea, seeinge her to be so disdained of the other matrons, made of her owne proper house a Temple, to the goddess of chastitie, and with much deuotion and reuerence honoured her. The which thinge, beinge published abroad throughout Rome, many other women came thither, to doe sacrifice likewise. For fortune is so variable, that oftentimes those, which of pryde haue forbidden to their houses

THE DIAL

houses, come after by humilitie, to serue vs at ours. For this cause, this Virginea the foundresse was so greatly praised, that the Romaines in her lyfe, made her patrice: after her death, caused her image and statue to be made, and set vp in the high Castoll: and aboue this image, were grauen certayne greeke letters, the effecte wherof was this.

*¶ Patrice the great, this Image doth present
That in her lyfe, shyd giue with mynde deuout
The Gods her house, and therefore to them went
When hynety breth, by death was chased out.*

Of all these hystorics aboue named, Titus Livius maketh mencio in his first decade, the seconde booke, and though he declareth them moze at large: yet this shal suffice for my purpose. I haue sought among the gentils these fewe exampls, to reprehend chistian Princes, to the ende, they might see, how studious and seruente our fathers were, in the seruice of their Idolles: and contrarie wylle, how cold and negligent we are, to honour and serue our true, and liuing god. It is a shame to tell, how the auncient Romaines with all their hartes did serue the gods without any vnderstanding, and how those which are christians (for the most part) serue the true God, not in truth, but with hypocrasie, and dissimulation. For the child of this world wyl take no paynes, but for to prouoke the pleasours of the body. Many wondred, for what occasio god did so much for them, and they did nothinge for god. To this may be answered, yf if they had knowe one true god, al the sacrifices they had done to their other gods, they woulde haue done so him onely: and as god is iuste, so he rewarded them in their repositall prosperities, not for that they did well, but for that they desired to doe well. For in our deuine law, god doth not regard what we are, but what we desire to be. Chistian princes maruaile much, what the occasio should be, that they are not so fortunate as the Gentils were,

To this may be answered, yf either they be good or euill. If they be good, trulye God should doe them wrong, if (for the payment of their faithfull seruices) he should recompence them with those worldly vanities.

For withoute doute, one onely louinge countenance of god in the world to come, is moze worth: then al the temporal goods, of this world present. But if these such great Lordes be euill in their personnes, ambitious in gouerning their dominions, not pietyfull to wyldowes, and fatherlesse, not fearefull of god, nor of his threatninges, and mozeouer, neuer to haue mynde to serue him, but onely when they see them selues in some great leopardy, in suche case, God wyl not heare them, and much lesse fauour them. For withoute doute, yf seruice is moze acceptable, whiche of free wyl proceedeth: than that, whiche of necessitie is offered.

The.xx.Chapter.

For fyue causes, princes ought to be better Christians, then their subiectes.



N myne opinion, Princes ought, and are bounde to be vertuous, for 5. causes. I say vertuous, in that they shuld loue, and feare god. For he onely may be called vertuous, whiche in the catholyke faith of the church, and in the feare of god harbe alwaies remained constant. First, Princes should feare, loue, serue, and honour one onely god, whom they worshippe, for that they acknowledge hym onely, and none other to be the heade, both of heauen and earth. For in the end, ther is nothing so puissant, but is subiecte to the diuine power. And truly, the Prince is in great perill of damnation of his soule, if in
bpo

his gouernement, he hath not alwayes before his eyes, the feare & lone of the supreme prince, to whom we must render of all oure doinges an accōpt. For y prince hath great occasion to be vicious, thincking y for the vice he shal not be chastised. I haue redde in diuerse and sondry wrytinges, and I neuer founde one auncient Prince to be contented with one only god, but that they had & serued many gods. Iulius Cesar caried five gods painted in a table, & Scipio the great caried seven portered in metal. And furthermore, they were not contented to haue many: but yet in sacrifices and seruices they offred vnto them al. The christian Princes, whiche keape and haue but one very true and omnipotent god, are so vnthankful, that they thinke it much to serue and giue acceptable seruice vnto him. And though peradventure some saye, that it is more payneful to serue one true god, then all these false gods, to this I aunswere. That to serue them, it is both trauaile, and payne: but to serue our god, it is both ioye, and felicity. For in seruing those, it is costlye, and withoute profyte: and in seruinge god, greate profite ensueth. For those goddes require great and riche sacrifices: and our god demaunderth nothings but pure & cleane hartes. Secundarily princes shoulde be better Christians then others, because they haue more to lose then all. And he that hath more to lose then anye other, oughte aboue al other to serue god. For euen as he alone can giue hym, so lykewyse he alone and none other can take from him. And if a subiecte take any thinge from his neighbour, the Prince whom he serueth, maketh him render it agayne: but if the Prince be iniured with anye other ttraunce, he hath none to complayne vnto, nor to demaunde helpe of, but onelye of hys mercifull god. For in the ende, one that is of power cannot be hurt, but by another that is likewise mightye. Let princes behold, how the man that wyl make anye greate assaulte, firste

cometh reninge as faste of as faste as he can. I meane, that the Prince which wyl haue god mercifull vnto hym, ought to be content with his only god. For he in vaine demaunderth helpe of him, to whome before he neuer dyd seruice. Thirdeleye Princes ought to be better Christians then others, and this shalbe seen, by that they succoure the pooze, prouyde for those that are vnprouided, and visite the temples, hospitalles, and Churches, and endeouour them selues to heare the dyuine seruice, and for all these thinges, they shal not onely receiue rewardes, but also they shal receiue honour. For through their good example, others wyl doe the same. Princes, not fearyng god nor his commaundementes, cause their Realmes and subiectes, to fall into greate miserie. For if the fountayne be infected, it is vnpossible for the streames (that issue thereof) to be pure. We see by experience, that a byrdel mastereth a horse, and a sterne ruleth a shyppe. I meane, y a prince (good or bad) wil leade after him al the hole realme. And if he honour god, al the people do likewyse, if he serue god, the people also serue him, if he praise god, the subiectes also praise him: and if he blaspheme god, they likewyse wyl do the same. For it is vnpossible, that a tree shoulde bringe forth the other leaues or frutes, then those, whiche are agreeable to the humour that are in the rootes. Princes, aboue all other creatures, haue this preeminence, that if they be good Christians, they shal not onely receiue merite for their owne workes, but also for all those whiche others shal doe, because they are occasion, that the people worke well. And for the contrary, they shal not onely be punysshed for the euyl whiche they shal doe: but also for the euil, which by occasion of their euil examles, others shal commit. O ye Princes that nowe be alpye, how greatly doe I wyshe, that ye shoulde speake with some one of those princes, which nowe are deade, especialllye, with those that are

THE D I A L L

addened, to the eternal fire flames: then ye
 shuld se, that the greatest tormentes which
 they suffer, are not for the euilles that they
 did commit, but for þe euils, which through
 ✱ their occasion were done. For ostentymes,
 Princes and prelates sinne moze, because
 they dissemble with others, then for that they
 do commit them selues. O how circumspecte
 ought Princes, and greate lordes, to be, in
 that they speake, and how diligently ought
 they to examine that whiche they doe. For
 they serue not god onely for them selues,
 but they serue hym also ingenerallye for
 their subiectes. And contrariwise, princes
 are not onely punished for their owen of-
 fences: but also for the finnies of their peo-
 ple. For þe sheperd ought greuously to be
 ✱ punished, when by negligence þe rauening
 wolfe, deuoureth the innocent labe. Forth-
 ly, princes ought to be better christians then
 others, because that to god onely they must
 render accompt of their estates, forasmuch
 as we are sure, that god, to whom we must
 render accompt, is iust, so muche the moze
 we shoulde trauaile to be in his fauoure: be-
 cause, whether he finde, or not finde in cure
 life anye faulte, yet for loue and pitties sake,
 he may correcte vs. Men one with another
 make their accomptes in this life, because
 they are men, & in the end, counte they wel
 or euyl, all passeth amonges men, because
 they are men: but what shal the vnhappy
 Princes do, which shal render no accompte
 but to god onely, who wyl not be deceiued
 with wordes, corrupted wth giftes, feared wth
 threathinges, nor answered with excuses.
 Princes haue their realmes ful of cruel iud-
 ges, to punish the feallty of man: they haue
 their courtes full of aduocates, to pleade a-
 gainste them that haue offended, they haue
 their pallaces full of loyterers, and promo-
 ters, that note the offences of other men:
 they haue throughe all their prouinces au-
 ditours, that ouerse the accomptes of their
 rentes: and besides al this, they haue no re-
 membraunce of the day so straight, where-

in they must render accompte of their wla-
 ked lyfe. He thinkes (since all that whiche
 princes receiue, commeth fro the handes of
 god) that the greatest parte of þe time, wth
 they spend, shoulde be in the seruice of god, &
 al their trade in god, and they ought to ren-
 der no accopt of their life, but vnto god: the
 sith they are gods in thauthorite, whiche
 they haue ouer tēporal thinges, they ought
 to shew them selues, to resemble god moze
 then others, by vertues. For that Prince is
 moze to be magnified, whiche refozmeth
 two vices among his people: then he whiche
 cōquereth. 10. realmes of his enemies. But
 we wil desire them from henceforthe they
 presume not anye moze, to be gods on the
 earth: but that they endeavour them selues,
 to be good christians in the cōmon wealch.
 For al the wealch of a Prince is, that he be
 stouite with straungers, and louinge to his
 owne subiectes. Firstely Princes ought to
 be better Christians then others. For the
 prosperytie or aduersitye, that chaunceth
 vnto them, commeth directlye fro the han-
 des of god onely, and none other. I haue
 ✱ seen sondry times, Princes, whiche haue
 put their whole hope and confidence in o-
 ther Princes, to be on a sodaine discomfat-
 ted: and for the contrary, those whiche haue
 litle hope in men, and greate confidence in
 god, haue alwayes prospered. When man
 is in his cheefest bzauery, and trusteth most
 to mens wisedome: then the secreat iudge-
 mente of god sonest discomfozteth hym. I
 meane, that the confederates, and frēdes of
 princes might helpe and succour them, but
 god wil not suffer them to be holpen, nor
 socoured, to thend they shoulde se, that their
 remedye procedeth not by mans diligence,
 but by deuine prouidēce. Apzince that hath
 a realme, dorhe not suffer any thinge to be
 done therein wout his aduise: therfore, sith
 god is of no lesse power in heauē, the prin-
 ces are on the earth: it is reaso, that nothing
 be done wout his cōsentins, he taketh ac-
 count of al mens deades, & as he is pend of

all thinges: so in him, & by him, all thinges haue their beginnyng. O pynces, if you knowe how final a thinge it is, to be hated of men, and how great a comforte, to be beloued of god, I sweare, that you would not speake on woꝝde (although it were in lesse) vnto men, neither would you cease nyghte nor day, to commend your selues vnto god: for god is moze mercifull to succour vs, then we are diligente to cal vppon him. For in conclusion, the fauour which men can giue you, other men can take from you: but the fauoure that god will giue you, no man can resist it. Al those that possesse much, should vse the compaignie of them which can doe muche, and if it be so, I let you Pynces wete, that all men cannot thinke so muche togethers, as god him selfe is able to doe alone. For the crye of a Lion is moze fearefull, then the howlinge of a wolfe. I counsele, that Pynces, and greate lordes make sometimes gayne, and wyne of them selues: but I aske them whose fauoure they haue made of, to preserue and kepe them: we se oftentimes, that in a shorte space manye come to greate authorite, the whiche neither mans wisdom sufficeth to gouerne, nor yet mans force to kepe. For the authorite, whiche the Romaynes in 8. hundred yeaeres gayned, fightinge agaynst the Carthes: in the space of 3. yeaeres they losse. We se daily by experience, that a man for his gouernement of his owne house onely, nebeth the counsaile of his frendes, & neighbours: and doe Pynces and greate lordes thinke, by their owne heades onely, to rule, & gouerne many realmes and dominions.

The .xxi. Chapter.

Of the philosopher Bias, and of the ten lawes vvhiche he gaue, vvorthy to be had in munde.



A MONGE al nations and sortes of men, which auante them selues to haue had with the sage men, the Cretians were the chiefest, which had, & thought it necessary, to haue not onely wyse men, to reade in their scholes: but also, they chose them to be pynces, in their dominions. For as Plato saith, those which gouerned in those daies were philosophers, or els they saide and dyd like philosophers. And Laertius writeth, in his second booke de antiquitatibus Grecoru, that the Cretians auanted them selues much in this, that they haue had of all estates, persons most notable, that is to wete: seven women very sage, seven Quenes very honest, seven kinges very vertuous, seven Captaynes very hardy, seven cities very notable, seven buildinges very sumptuous, and seven philosophers wel learned: which philosophers were these that folow.

The first was Thales Milesius, that inuented the carde to sayle by.

The secōde was Soloninus, & gaue the first lawes to the Athenians.

The thirde was Chilo, who was in the orient for imballadour of the Athenians.

The fourth was Pittacus Quinilesius, who was not onely a philosopher, but also captaine of the Mitelenes.

The fiftie was Cleobolus, that descended from the auncient linage of Hercules.

The sixte was Periander, that longe tyme gouerned the realme of Corinth.

The seuenth was Bias Pireneus, that was Pynce of the Perinenses.

Therfore as touching Bias, you muste vnderstand, when Romulus reigned at Rome, and Ezechias in Iudea, there was greate warres in Grecia betwene the Metinenses, and the Perinenses: and of these Perinenses, Bias the philosopher, was pynce and Captayne, who because he was sage, staid in the vniuersitye, and for that he

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THE DIAL

Was hardye, was cheasteine in the warre,
and because he was wyse, he was made a
Prince, and governed the common wealch.
And of this no man ought to meruaile: for
in those dayes, the philosopher y had know-
ledge but in one thinge, was lytle esteemed
in the common wealch. After manye con-
tentions had betwene the Metinēles, and
the Perinēles, a cruel battaile was fought,
whereof y philosopher Bias was capayne,
and had the victoie: and it was the firste
battaile, that euer anye Philosopher gaue
in Greece. For the whiche victoie Greece
was proude, to see that their Philosophers
were so aduenturous in warres, and hardy
of their handes: as they were proufonde in
their doctrine, and eloquente in their con-
ges. And by chaunce one broughte hym a
number of women, and maidens to sel, or if
he list, to vse them otherwise at his plea-
sure: but this good philosopher dyd not de-
sire them, nor sel them: but caused the to be
appayrled, and safely to be conducted, to
their owne native cuntryes. And let not
this liberality that he dyd, be had in litle e-
stimation, to deliuer the captiues, and not
to deflowre the virgins. For many tymes it
chaunserh, that those whiche are ouercome
with the weapons of the conquerours, are
conquered with y delighes of them, that are
ouercome. This dede amogst the Grekes
was so highly commended, and likewise of
their enemies so praised, that immediatlye
the Metinēles sente ambassadours, to de-
mande peace of the Perinēles. And they con-
cluded perpetual peace, bypon condicion,
that they shuld make for Bias an immortal
statue, sith by his handes, and also by his
vertues, he was thocalyon of the peace
and endynge of the warres betwene them.

And trulye they had reason, for he de-
serueth more prayse, whiche wynerh
the hartes of the enemies in his tentes
by good example: then he whiche getteth
the victoie in the fildes by sheddynge of
bloude. The hartes of men are noble,

and we se daylye, that oftentimes one shall
soner ouercome many by good, then many
ouercome one by euil: and also they saye,
that y emperour Severus spake these wo-
des. By goodnes, the leasse slaue in Rome
shal leade me tyed with a heere whither he
wyl: but by euil, the most puissant men in
the worlde cannot moue me out of Italy.
For my harte had rather be seruaunte to
the good, then lord to the euil. Valerius
Maximus declareth, that when the city of
Perinensis was taken by enemyes, and
put to sacke, the wyfe of Bias was slayne,
his children taken prysonners, his goods
robbed, the citie beate downe, and his house
set on fier, but Bias escaped safe and went
to Athens. In this pyrfull case, the good
philosopher Bias was not onely not sadde,
but also sang as he went by the way, & whē
he perceued y men marvelled at his mirth,
he spake vnto them these wordes. Those
which speake of me for wanting my citye,
my wyfe, and my children, & losynge all that
I had, trulye suche know not what fortune
meaneth, nor vnderstand what philosophis
is. The losse of children & temporall goods
cannot be called losse, if the life be safe, and
the renoune remaine undefiled. Whether
this senten be true or no let vs profoundly
consider, if the iust god suffer, that this citie
should come into the handes of the cruel Ti-
rauntes, then this prouisiō is iust: for there
is nothinge more conforable vnto iustice,
then that those, whiche receiue not the doc-
trine of the sages, shold suffer the cruelties
of the Tirantes. Also though my ene-
myes haue kyled my wyfe, yet I am sure
it was not withoute the determinacon of
the gods, who after they created her bodye,
immediatlye appoynted the ende of her
lyfe. Therefore why shoulde I betwaille
her deathe, sence the gods haue sente her
lyfe, but vntyl this daye: The greates-
timation that we haue of this lyfe, causeth
that deathe seemeth vnto vs todaye, and
that the lyfe vntwares with deathe is oner-
taken

take n: but this is a practise of the chylozen
of vanitie, for that by the wyll of the gods,
* deathe visiterh vs, & agaynst the wylls of
men, life forakerh vs. Also my chyldre were
vertuous philosophers, howbeit now they
be in the handes of straunces, therfore let
vs not cal them captiues, for a man maye
not cal him a captiue, whiche is laden with
* frowns: but hym whiche is ouerwhelmed
with biers. And although h fire haue burnt
my house, yet I know not why I ought to
be sad, for of truth it was now old, and the
wynde vpd blow downe the tyles, the woꝝ-
mes ddo waste the woode, & the waters that
ranne downe, perryshed the walles. And
it was olde and lyke to fall, and perchaunce
would haue done greater displeasure. For
most commonly, enuy, malice, & old houses,
sodainely without any warning, assauleth
men: finally there came the fire which qui-
ted me of many troubles, firste of the trou-
ble that I should haue had in repairing it,
secondarely it saued me money in plucking
it downe, thirddly it preserued me and mine
heyyes from much cost, & many daungers.
* For oftentimes that which a man cosumerh
in repairing an old house, would w aduau-
tage by hym a new: also those which say, h
for the taking away of my goodes, I lacke
the goodes of fortune, such haue no reaso, so
to thinke oꝝ say. For fortune neuer giueth
tempozal goodes for a proper thinge, but to
those who she list, & whē she wil dispose the:
therfore when fortune seeth h those men,
whom she hath appointed as her distribu-
ters, do bound vp the same, to the, & to their
heires: then she take the from them, to
giue it to another. For by reason I should
not complayne, that I haue lost any thing:
for fortune recommendeth vnto another
the tempozall goodes: but I carpe paci-
ence, and philosophye with me, so that
they haue dyscharged me from all other,
and haue no moze charge but for my selfe
alone. Laertius declareth in hys fift
booke of the sayenges of the Grecians,

That this Bias determynd to goe to the
playes of Mounte Olympus, wherevnto
resorted people of al natiōs: and he shewed
him selfe in this place of so highe an vnder-
standinge, that he was counted chiefe, and
wonne the name of a true philosopher. O-
ther philosophers then beinge in the same
playes Olimpicalles, asked hym manye
questions of sondꝝe matters, whereof I
wyl make mencion.

* The questions demaunded of
the philosopher Bias.

THe first question was this, Tel me,
who is h unhappiest man in h woꝝld:
* Bias answered. He is most unhapp,
that is not pacient in aduersities. For men
are not killed w the aduersities they haue:
but with the impacience which they suffer.
The. 2 was, what is most hardest & trouble-
som to iudge: he answered. There is nothig
moze noisom, the to iudge a cōtētiō betwixt
ii. frēdes. For to iudge betwene ii. enemies,
thone remayneth a frēd: but to be iudge be-
twene 2. frendes, thone is made an enemy.

* The third was, what is moste hardest to
measure: wherunto Bias answered. There
is nothing h needeth moze circūspectiō, the
the measuring of time: for h time should be
measured so iustly, h by reaso no time shuld
want to do wel: noꝝ any time shuld abound
to do euil. The fourth was, what thinge is
that, h nederh no excuse in h accomplishment
therof: Bias answered. The thing h is pmi-
sed: for wher ther are noble hartes & shame-
fast cōtēnaūces, al h which is pmiſed, must
of necessity be perfoꝝmed. For othertwise, he
that doth lose h creadite of his woꝝd, shoulde
lose moze: the he h shoulde lose h pmiſe to him
made. The. 5. was, what thinge h is, wherin
the mē aswel good as euil shoulde take care:
Bias answered. mē ought not in any thing
to take so great care, as in seking cōsail, &
* and counsaillours: for the prosperous times
cannot be mainteined, noꝝ the multitude of
enemies resisted, if it be not by wise men, &
h.iii. graus

THE DIAL

graue counsailes. The sixte was, what thing that is, wherein men are praised to be negligent: he answered: in one thing onely men haue licence to be negligente, and that is in chosing of frendes. Slowly ought thy frendes to be chosen, and they neuer after for any thing ought to be forsaken. The seuenth, what is that whiche the afflicted man doth most desire: Bias answered. It is the chaunge of fortune: and the thinge which the prosperous man doth moste abhorre, is to thinke that fortune is mutable. For the vnfortunate man hopeth for euery change of fortune to be made better, & the wealthy mā feareth through euery change to be depriued of his house. These were the questiōs which the philosophers demaunded of Bias, in the plaies of h̄ mount Olympus, in the 60. Olimpiad. The philosopher Bias liued 95. yerres, & as he dyed nere his death: the Perinenses (shewing them selues to be maruelous sorrowful for the losse of such a famous mā) desired him earnestly to ordeine some lawes, wherby they might know how to chole captaines or some p̄ince, which after him might gouerne h̄ realme. The philosopher Bias vnderstanding their honest requestes, gaue thē certaine lawes in few wordes which follow. Of h̄ which, h̄ deuine Plato maketh mētion in his booke de legibus, and likewise Aristotle in the boke of Oeconomices.

✽ The lawes vvhich Bias gaue to the Perinenses.

✽ **W**E ordeine & comaūd; that no mā be exalted to be p̄ince amōg h̄ people, vnles he be (at least) 40. yeres of age. For gouernours ought to be of such age, & nether youth nor smal experience shuld cause thē to erre in their affaires: nor weakenes through ouermuch age shuld hinder thē frō taking paines. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ none be chosen amōgest the Perinēses gouernour, if he be not wel learned in h̄ greke letters. For ther is no greater plague in the

publik weale, thē for him to lack wisdom, which gouerneth h̄ same. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ ther be none amōgest the Perinēses chosen gouerneure, vnles he haue ben brought vp in h̄ warres. 10. yerres at h̄ least. For he alone dorthe know how precious a thing peace is, which by experience hath felt the extreme miseries of warre. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ if any haue be noted to be cruel that he be not chose for gouernour of h̄ people. For h̄ mā that is cruel, is likely to be a tirant. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ if the gouernour of h̄ Perinēses be so hardy or dare presume to breake h̄ aunciente lawes of the people, & in suche case, he be depriued from thoffice of h̄ gouernour, & lykewise exiled frō the people. For ther is nothing h̄ distreter soner a publik weale, thē to ordeine new & fond lawes, & to breake h̄ good, & aunciente customes. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ the gouernour of h̄ Perinēses do worship & honore the gods, & that he be a louer of h̄ sacred temples. For otherwise, he h̄ honoreth not god, wil neuer minister equal iustice vnto men. We ordeine & comaūd, that h̄ p̄ince of Perinēses be cōtēted w̄ the warres, which his auncetours left him, & that he do not forge new matters, to innade any other straunge cōtreis: & if perchaunce he wuld, that no mā in this case be bound, nether w̄ money nor in persō, to follow, or serue him. For h̄ god Apollo told me, h̄ that mā, which wyl take another mā's goods frō him by force: shall lose his owne by iustice. We ordeine & comaūd, h̄ the gouernour of the Perinēses goe to praye & worship h̄ gods twise in h̄ weke, & likewise to visite thē in the temples, & if he do h̄ cōtrary, he shal not only frō the gouernēt be depriued: but also after his death, he shal not be buried. For the p̄ince, who honoreth not god in time of his life: deserueth not to be had in mind after his death.

The.xxii.Chapier.

✽ Howv god from the beginning punished euil men by his iustice.



Then the eternall creator (who measureth the thynges by his omnipotēcy, & wateth them by his effectual wisdom) created al thynges, as wel celestial, as terrestrial, blis-
sible, as inuisible, coꝛporate, as incoꝛporate, nor only pꝛiſed reward to the good, which ſerued him: but also thꝛeatened the euyl wth plagues, which offēded him. For h^e iustice & mercy of god go alwayes together, to thin-
kēt the one shoulde encourage the good, & the other thꝛeatē the euyl. This thyng seemeth to be true, for h^e we haue but one god, whiche hath created but on world, wherein he made but one gardeine, in the which gardē there was but on fountaine, by h^e which he appoint-
ed but on mā, who had wth him only on wth mā, wth whom there was on ſerpēt, & by that ſerpēt, there was on tre only forbiddē, whiche is a thyg meruelous to ſpeake, & no leſſe feareful to ſe: how god did put into h^e terres-
triall paradise (the ſame day h^e the creatiō of the world was finiſhed) both a ſwoꝝd, & a gyl-
bet. The gylbet was h^e tree forbiddē, whereof they did eate: wherfoꝛe our fāthers were cō-
demned. And h^e ſwoꝝd was the punyſhmēt: wherwth we al (as miſerable childꝛē) at this day are beheaded. For trulye they did eate the bytternes of their fault: & we do ſele the greſe of h^e paine. I meane not to ſhew how our god by his power both raiſe by h^e which is beate downe, how wth his wiſedōe he guideth thoſe which are blind, how by his wil he diſſembleth wth the euyl doers, neiether wil I tel, how he thꝛough his clemency perdoneth the offēces, & thꝛough his light lightneth h^e darknes, nor how thꝛough his rightcouſnes he amēdeth h^e which is broke, & thꝛough his liberality pateth moze thē we deſerue: but I wil here declare at large, how our omni-
potent god thꝛough his iustice chaſtiſſeth thoſe which walke not in his pathes. O lord god, how ſure may thy faithful ſeruautes be, for their ſmal ſeruices, to receiue great rewar-
des: & cōtrary, the euyl ought alwayes to liue in as great feare, leſt for their heynous offē-

ces h^e ſhouldest giue thē cruel punyſhmētes. For though god of his boūty wil not leaue any ſeruice unrewarded, nor of hys iustice wil omitte any euyl unpunished: yet for al h^e we ought to know, h^e aboue al, & moze then al, he will rigorouſly chaſtiſe thoſe, whiche maliciously diſpiſe the holy catholike faith. For chꝛiſt thinketh him ſelfe as much inu-
ried of thoſe, which perſecute his church: as of thoſe h^e layde hādes on his perſon, to put him to death. The rede h^e in times paſt god ſhelved ſōdꝛy greuous & cruel punyſhmētes, to diuerſe high loꝛdes & pꝛintes, beſides o-
ther ſamous & renowmed men: But rigour had neuer ſuch potwer in his hād, as it had againſt thoſe, which honoured the infamed idols, & violated h^e ſacred tēples. For to god this is the moſt heynous offēce, to ſoꝛſake h^e holy catholik faith in his life: & to diſpatre in his mercy, at the houre of his death. Wth olde to god we had ſo much grace, to acknowle-
ge our offēces: as god hath reaſō to puniſhe our ſines. For if it were ſo, thē we woulde amēd in time to come, & god woulde graunt vs a general pardō, for al h^e is paſt. I ſee one thyng, wherein (as I thik) I am not deceiued, which is this: that the frailenes & miſertes which we cōmyt, we think thē natural, & in h^e ſatiffactiō & amēdment of h^e ſame, we ſay they are ſtraūge: ſo h^e we admyr the fault, & redempne h^e paine, whiche therby we do de-
ſerue. The ſecret iudgemētes of god do ſuf-
fer it, & our offēces do deſerue it: I do not deny, but that the euyl may hold & poſſeſſe this life at theſt pleaſour: but I ſweare vnto thē, when they ſhal leſt think of it, they ſhal loſe theſt life, to theſt great diſpleaſour: for h^e pleaſures of this life are ſo vnconſtaunt, h^e we ſcarſe begin to taſt thē, when they bade out of our ſight. It is a rule fallible, which both of h^e good & euyl haue bene pzoued: h^e al naturallꝝ deſire rather to abōꝛd, than to want: & al that which greatly is deſired, wth great diligence is ſerched, & thꝛough great trauayle is obtayned: and that thyng whiche by trauayle is attained, with loue is poſſeſ-
ſed

THE DIAL

fed, & that which by lone is possessed, with much sorrow is lost, bewailed, and lamented. For in the end, we can not deny, but that the watry eyes do manifestly shewe, the sorrowful hartes. To þe fine wittes, & stout hartes, this is a continual torment, an endlesse paine, & a worne that alwaye gnaweth: to call to mind, þe he must loose the ioyfull life, which so entirely he loued, & tast the fearful death, which so greatly he abhorred.

¶ Therefore to proue this matter, which I haue spoken of before, it is but reason: þe princes know, if they doe not know, that euen as the deuyne prouidence exalteth them to high estates, they not deseruing the: so likewise his rigorous iustice will bringe them to nought, if they be vnthankful for his benefittes: For þe ingratitude of benefittes receiued, maketh þe mā not worthy to receiue any moe. The more a mā through benefittes is bound, & more greuous punishment (if he be vnthankfull) he deserueth. All wise men shuld finde if they apply their mindes therunto, & in chastising, god calleth those offenders first to his mind, which are furthest fro þe thoughtes of me. For before the tribunal of god, our secret faulkes are alwayes calling out bloud, to the end he shuld execute of our parsons open iustice. And further I saye, þe in this case, I doe not see, þe the prince is exempted more, though he liue in great felicitie: thā the poore labourer, who liueth in extreme misery. And also we see it eschones by experience, þe the sodaine lightning, tēpestes, & the terrible thonder, forsaketh the small & low cotages, & battereth forthwith þe greate & sumptuous buildings. Gods will & determination is, þe for asmuch as he hath exalted the aboue al others, somuch the more they should acknowledge him, for lord aboue al others: For god did neuer create high estates because they should worke wickednes: but he placed them in þe degre, to thed they shuld thereby haue more occasiō to doe him seruice. Euery prince þe is not a good Christian, a forment louer of the catholike faith,

nor wyl haue any respect to þe deuine seruice: let him be assured, that in this worlde he shall loose his renoume, & in the other he shall hazarde his soule. For that al euill Christians, are the parishioners of hell.

The.xxiii. Chapter.

¶ The auctour proueth by .12. examples that princes are sharply punished, vwhen they vsurpe boldly vpon the churches, and violate the Temples.

¶ Why the children of Aaron were punished,



¶ Tis now time, that we leaue to perswade wō wordes and reasons: & to begin to proue þe which we haue saide, by some excellent histories, and notable exāples. For in the end, þe hartes of men are stirred more, through som litle exāples: then wō a great multitude of wordes. In the first booke of þe Leviticke, ch. 10. chapter, is declared, how in þe time of the sōne in lawe of Iethro priest, ther was a pīce who was of Madian, chiefe of all the linage of Seph, to whom þe brother of Marye the lepre had charge of þe high Priesthode. For among al plawes wher god at any time put his hādes vnto, he prouided alwayes þe some had þe gouernement of ciuile affaires: & others thād ministratiō of þe diuile misteries. This high priest had the .2. childrē, whose names were Nadab, & Abiu, which .2. were yonge and beautiful, stout, & sage, & during their infancy, serued their father, & halped him to doe sacrifice. For in þe old lawe they suffred, that priestes shuld not onely haue wiues & chylde: but also þe their children shuld succede them in their Temples, and inherite their benefices. Ther came a great mischaunce, for the .2. chylde beinge apparayled in whighte, their bodie bound wō stokes, their handes naked, in one hād holdyng a torch

and

And in the other the senter, being negligent to light the new fyre, & contrary to that the law had ordeined, and taking coles whiche were prohibited, a mirueilous thinge was seene in the sight of the people, which was, that sodainely these .i. childzen fell flat on y^e earth deade, and all their sacrifice burned. Truly the sentence was marueilous, but it was iuste inoughe. For they well deserued to loose their lyues, sithen they durst sacrifice the coles of an other. This thinge seemed to be true, for those yong childzen saued their soules, and made satisfaction of the faulte wth their liues: but other wicked men god permitteyth to liue a shorte time, because they shall loose their soules for euer.

The cause vwhy the Azotes vvere punished.



HE Realme of Palestyne, being destitute of a King, at that time an honourable old man gouerned the Realme, which was farther to .i. knyghtes, named Albino, and Phinides, for at that tyme, the children of Israell were not gouerned by kinges, that bld moleste them by iniuries: but by sage men, whiche vpd mainteine the by iustice. It chanced y^e the Azotes made warre agaynst the Palestines, & were a kind of the Arabians, stout, & warrellike: the which sought so contragiously, that the Palestines, & Hebrewes were constrained, to bringe their Arke into the myds of the battail: which was a releyke, (as a man should haue put the holy sacrament to deuide a great multitude of people. But fortune shewed her countenance vnto the so crowningly, y^e they were not onely overcome: but also were spoyled of y^e Arke, whiche was their chiefe rellike, & besides y^e ther were .400. Palestines slaine. The Azotes caried away the Arke, ful of rellikes, vnto their temple, in the citie of Nazote, & set it by Dagō, their cursed Idol. The true

god which will not suffer any to be coequal with him in cōparison, or in any thing y^e he representeth, caused this Idoll to be shakē, shroven downe, and broken in peeces, no man touchinge it: For our god is of such power, that to execute his iustice, he needeth no worldly healpe. God nbt contented thus (though y^e Idoll was broke in peeces) caused those to be punished likewise, whiche worshipped it, in such sorte, that al the people of Azote, Alcalon, Geth, Acharon and of Gaza (which were .5. auncient & renowned citties) were plagued, both man & woman inwardly, wth the dis ease of the Emerodes, so that they could not eate sitting, nor ride by the waies on horse backe. To the ende y^e all men might see, that their offices were greuous (for the punishment they receiued by the deuine iustice) he replenished their houses, places, gardeyns, seedes, & fieldes full of rattes: Because they had erred in honouring the false Idoll, & forsaken the true god, who because he would chastice them in .2. of ther plagues, sente them the emerodes to torment their bodies, & the rats to destroye their goodes. For to him, whiche willingly offereth to the deuyl his soule, it is but a small matter, that god agaynst his will, destroye him of his goodes. Thys then beinge thus, I would now gladly know, whether of them committed most offence, eyther the Azotes which set the Arke in the temple, which (as they thought) was the most holiest: or the Christians, which (withoute the feare of god) robbe and pylle the Churchs goodes, to their owne priuate commoditie in this world. Truly y^e lawe of the Azotes differed as muche frō the Christians, as the offence of the one, differeth from the other. For the Azotes erred not, beleynge that thys Arke was the figure of the true God, but we beleue it, and confesse it, and wth our same commytte agaynst it, in synners bices. By this so sodeyne punishmente, it seemeth that Princes and greate Lordes should not onely therfore acknowledge the true

THE DIAL

True god, but also reuerence and honour those thinges, which to him are dedicated. For mans lawes (speaking of the reuerence of a prince) do no lesse condēne him to dye, that robbeth his house: then him which violently lapeth handes vpon his personne.

The cause vwhy Prince Oza vvas punished.

IN the booke which the sonne of Helcana wrote, that is the 2. booke of the kynges, & the xviij. Chapter, he saith: that the arke of Israel, the which was somewhat moyste, stode in the house of Aminadab, which was the next neyghbour to the city of Gabaa, the sonne Elsaye (who at that time was king of the Israelites) determined to transpose the relickes into his citie and house, for it semed to him a greaue infamy, that to him which was a mortall prince, a house should abound for his pleasures: and to the immortall god, ther shuld wante a temple for his relickes. The daye therfore appointed, when they should carie the relicke of Gabaa to Bethleem, there mette 30. thousand Israelites, w a greaue nombre of noble mē, whych came with the king, besydes a greater nombre of straungers. For in such a case, those are moe which come of their owne pleasour: then those which are commaundid. Besides al the people, they say that al the nobilitie of the realme was there, to thend the relicke shoulde be moze honoured, & his parson better accompanied. It chaunced that as the lordes, and people went singing, and the kinge in person dauncing, the whele of the charpot began to fall, and goe out of the waye: the which prince Oza seinge, bychaunce set to his hand & his shoulde against it, because the Arche (where the relicke was) shulde not fall nor breake: yet notwithstandinge that, suddenly, & before the all, he fel doone deade. Therfore let this punishment be no

ted, for truly it was fearefull, and ye ought to thinke, that since god (for puttinge his hand to the charpot to hold it vp) stroke him with death, that a prince shoulde not hope (sekinge the distruction and decaye of the church) that god wpll prolonge his lyfe. O princes, greaue lordes, & prelates, sith Oza with suche diligence lost his life, what doe ye hope or looke for, sith with suche negligence, ye distroye and suffer the church to fall? Yet once againe I doe retourne to exclaime vpon you, O Princes, and greaue lordes, sith prince Oza deservede suche punishment, because withoute reuerence he aduanced him selfe to stape the Ark which he fel: what punishment ought ye to haue, which throughe malice healep the church to fall.

VWhy kynge Balthasar vvas punished.

Darius king of the Perles and Medes besieged the ancient citie of Babilon, in Chaldea, wherof Balthasar sone of Nabuchodonosor the great, was king & lord, who was so wicked a child, that his father beinge dead, he caused him to be cut in 300. pieces, and gaue him so. 300. hanches to be eaten, because he shoulde not reuinde againe, to take the goodes and riches from hym, which he had left hym. I knowe not what father is so foliſhe, that letteth his sone liue in pleasures, and afterwarde the intrelles of the hache wherewith the sone hauked, shoulde be the woofull graue of the father, which so many men lamented. This Balthasar then beinge so besieged, determined one night to make a great feast and banquet to the Lordes of his realme that came to ayde him, and in this he did like a balsant and foute Prince, to the ende the Perles and Medes mighte see, that he loste esteemed their power. The noble and hygh barres doe ble whiche they are entrained w many traunples, to seeke occasiōs to make pleasures.

pleasures: because to their men they maye
 giue greater courage, and to their enemies
 greater feare. He declareth of Pirrus king
 of the Epirotes, whē he was besieged very
 streightly in the cite of Tharenta, of the
 Romaine capitaine Quintus Dentatus, y
 thē he spake vnto his capitaines in this sort.
 Lordes and frendes be ye nothing at all a-
 bashed (since I neuer here before sawe ye
 afrayde) though the Romaines haue com-
 passed our bodyes, yet we haue besieged
 their hartes. For I let you to wete, that I
 am of suche a complexion, that the streigh-
 ter they kepe my body, the more my hart is
 at large. And further I saye, though the
 Romaines beate downe the walles: yet
 our hartes shall remaīne invincible. And
 though there be no wall betwene vs: yet
 we will make them knowe, that the
 hartes of greekes are harder to overcome:
 thē the stones of Tarentine are to be beate
 downe. The banquet then being ended & the
 greatest part of the night spent, Balthasar
 the king being very wel pleased, y the ban-
 ket was made to his contentation (though
 he was not the sobrest in dymcking wyne)
 commaunded al the cuppes of gold & siluer to
 the treasure he had, to be brought & set on y
 table: because all the hydden gestes shoulde
 dymke therein. King Balthasar did this, to y
 end the princes and lordes, with al his cap-
 taines, shoulde manfully heape him to de-
 fend the seige, and also to shewe that he had
 much treasure, to pay thē for their paynes.
 For to say the truth, there is nothinge that
 enconrageth mē of warre more, than to see
 their rewarde before their eyes. As they
 were dymking merrily (at the banquet) of these
 cups, whiche Nabuchodonosor had rob-
 bed fro the temple of Jerusalem, suddenly by
 the power of god, & the deserte of his offen-
 ces, ther appeared a hand in the wall, with-
 out a body or arme, whiche to his syngers
 toot these wordes. Mane, Thecel, Phares,
 which signifyeth. O kinge Balthasar, god
 hath sene thy lyfe, & kindey that thy malice

is now accomplished. He hath commaun-
 ded that thou and thy Realme shoulde be
 wayed, and hath found that there lacketh a
 greate deale of iustice weight, wherefore he
 commaundeth, that thy life, for thine offen-
 ces, be taken from the: and that thy realme
 be put into the handes of the Perles & Me-
 des, which are thine enemies. The vision
 was not frustrate, for the same night with-
 out any longer delaye, the execution of the
 sentence, was put in effect by the enemies.
 Thē king Balthasar dyed, the realme was
 losse, the treasures were robbed, the noble
 men taken, & al the Chaldeans captiues.
 I wolde nowe knowe, why Balthasar was
 so extremely punished only for geuing his
 concubynes and frendes dymke in the sa-
 cred cuppes, what paine deserueth princes,
 and prelates then, whiche robbe the Chur-
 ches, for prophane thinges: How wicked
 so euer Balthasar was, yet he neuer chaun-
 ged, golde, sold, nor engaged the treasures
 of the Synagoge: but what shall we say and
 speake of prelates, which without any sha-
 me, wast, chaunge, sell, and spend the chur-
 che goodes. I take it to be a lesser offence,
 to geue dymke in a chalyce as kynge
 Balthasar did to one of hys concubynes:
 then to enter into the churche by symony,
 as many doe nowe a dayes. This Tpyunt
 was overcome more by folie, than by coue-
 tousnes: but these others are banquished,
 with folpe, couetousnes, and simony. What
 meaneth this also, that for the offence of Na-
 buchodonosor in Jerusalem, his sonne
 Balthasar shoulde come, & be punished. For
 this truly, me think it not a thing consonant
 to reaso, nor agreable to māslaw: y the fa-
 ther shuld comit the theft, & the sone shoulde
 requite it to seuē double. To this I ca aun-
 swere: y the good child is bound to restore al
 the good, y his father hath lest him euil gat-
 ten. For he y enioyeth the theft, deserueth
 no lesse punishment: then he y comiteth the
 theft. so: in y end both are theues, & deserue
 to be hāged on y galowes of y diuine iustice.

Why

THE DIAL

Why kynge Achab was punished.

IN the firste booke of Malachie, that is to wete, in the 3. booke of kinges, the 8. chapter, it is declared that Oza beinge kynge of Iudea, and prophecpenge in Hierusalem, that at that tyme Henry was kynge of Israel, and after him succeeded Achab his sonne, beinge of the age of 22. yeres. This Achab was not onely ponge, but to pong: not onely euyl, but to euyl: for the scriptures vse to call the by names infamed, whose lyues deserued no memory. The vices of this king Achab were sondry and diuerse, wherof I will declare some as here after foloweth. Firste of all I will touche the lyfe of the kynge Ihes roboam, who was the first that entised the chyldren of Israel, to committe Idolatrie: whiche thinge turned to his greate reproche and infamie. For the Prince erreth not in immitting the pathes of the good: but offendeth in folowing the wayes of the euyl. Secodarily, king Achab married y doughter of the kynge of the Idumeans, whose name was Iesabell, whiche was of the stocke of the Gentylls, & he of the Hebrues. And for a trouch the marriage was vnadvisedly considered. For sage Princes shoulde take a wyfe conforlable to their lawe, and condicion: vnlesse they will repent the felities afterwarde. Thirdly, he built againe the citie of Hierico: whiche by the commaundement of god was destroyed, & commaunded that vpon greuous paines it shoulde not be built againe: because the offences that were therein committed, were so great, that the inhabitantes did not onely deserue to lose their lyues: but also that in Ierico there shoulde not one stone remaine vpon an other. Fourthly, king Achab built a sumptuous Temple, to the Idoll Baall, in the citie of Samerye, and cōsecrate a wood

unto him which he had very pleasaunt, and set in the temple his image of fyne golde: so that in the reigne of this cursed king Baal, the wicked Idoll was so hyghly esteemed, that not onely secretly, but also openly, they blasphemed the true and lyuing god. The case was such. That one day Achab goinge againste the kynge of Sirea, to take hym, & his citie called Ramothoalaath, beinge in battayle, was shot into the breste with an arrowe, wherewith he not onely losse his life: but also the dogges did lappe his blood that fell to the yerthe. O Princes & greate Lordes, if you will giue credite vnto me, you shall not praysse your selues of any thinge, but in that you are good christians. Syr ye see, that as this prince in his lyfe did serue straunge Idols: so it was reason that after his death, his blood shoulde be buried in the intrelles, of rauenous dogges.

Why the kyng Manasses was punished.

THE kynge Manasses was the sonne of Ezechias, and father of Amon, which were kinges. And truly they differed so muche in maners, that a man coulde scarcelye iudge, whether the vertues and prowesses of the father were more to be desired: or the vice and wickednes of the chyldren to be abhorred. This Manasses was a wicked Prince, for as muche as he built new Temples to Baall, and in the Cities made hermitages for the Idols, and in the mountaynes repayred all the altiers, that heretofore were consecrated to the deuyl. He consecrated many forrestes, and woodes to the Idols, he honoured the starres as the gods, and did sacrifice to the planettes and elementes. For the man that is abandoned by the hand of god, there is no wyckednes that his obstinate harte dothe not enterpryse. So that he had in his Palace all maner of false prophetes,

as southsayers, prophesiers, witches, sozcerers, enchaunters, and coniuers, the which
 * dayly he caused to giue sacrifice to the idoles: and gaue such credite to sozcerers, and enchaunters, that his seruantes were all the most parte sozcerers, and in them, was his chiefe delight, and pleasure. And lykewise he was skilful in all kind of mischiefe, and ignoraunte in all vertues. He was so
 * cruel, that he as lytle esteemed the bloud of an innocent man, as he did the water of the renning riuer. For if al the bodies of them that he slewe had ben together, their carcases would haue ben therewith couered, and the liuyng likewyse might haue ben drowned. Yet he not contented with that I haue spoken of, let in the temple of our lord, an old idol, that stode in the woode, for the punishment of whiche facte, god suffered his seruantes to kil his eldest sonne. Afterward god would not suffer these suche sondrye myscheues of mans malice, but of hys deusine iustice caused these wordes to be proclaimed in Hierusalē. With the kinge Massalles hath ben so bold to comit thoffences of al, I wil chastice him alone wth the same
 * correctio, that he hath shewed vnto others.

By these words let princes note here, how the deusine vengeance extendeth no further, then our offences deserue: so that, if our fault be litle, the punishment which he giueth vs, is very tēperate, but if the prince be stubburne and obstinate in his wickednes, let hym be sure that the punishmente shalbe extreme.

¶ VVhy Iulius Pōpeius, Xerxes, Catilina, Germanicus, and Brennus vvere punysshed.



WHEN Pompeius the great passed into the Orient, with al the hoste of the Romayne people, and after he had subdued all Sirie, Mesopotamia, Damasco, and

Arabia: he passed into the realme of Palestina, whiche otherwyse was called Iudea, where he committed diuerse and sondry euilles, so that manye of the Romaynes and Hebrues died there. Finally by force of armes, he toke the puissaunt citie of Hierusalē, which as Plinie saith, was the best of al Asia. And Strabo saith of the situacion of the world, that rome was the chiefe of al Italy: and of Affrike, the principall was Carthage: of Fraunce, Paris: of Spayne, Numantia: of Germanie, Argentine: of Caldea Babilone: of Egipte, Thebes: of Grece, Athēs: of Phenice, Tira: of Capadocea, Cesarea: of Thrace, Constānople: and of Palestine, Hierusalē. Pompeius therefore not contented to kyl al the auncientes in that warre, to impyson the youth, to behead the elders, to soze the mothers, to defile the virgines, to teare in peces the childre, to beate downe buildinges, and to robbe the treasours: but encreasing euil bypon euil, and puttyng all the people to destruction, he made of the temple, a stable for his hoxses: whiche befoze god was so
 * abhomynable, that where alwayes heretofore he had ben a conqueroure, and had triumphed ouer .12. kynges, euer after he was vnluckye, and ouercome in battayle. The famous rebell Catilina (as Saluste affirmeth) had neuer ben ouercome, if it had not ben for the robbynge and destroyng of the Temples, whiche were consecrated to the gods. The noble Marcus Marcellus (to whome no Romayne is to be compared in vertues) the same daye that he caused the temple of the goddesse Februa to be burnt, was hym selfe slayne. The Romayne capytayne Drusius Germanicus that was so wel wylled and beloued, because he gaue a calse meate to eate, whiche was the god of the Caldeans (beinge prohibyted and
 * forbydden) withyn a moneth after dyed, whose deathe was greately lamented in Rome.

Suetonius sayeth, that after Iulius Cesar

THE DIAL

far had robbed the Temple of the Galles, the gods allwayes made hym afraide in the nyght. And Xerxes, whych was the sonne of King Darius, when he passed into Italy, to wage battayle, befoze all other thynges he sente fower thousande hoysenmen to Delphos (where the Temple of God Apollo was) to beate it downe: for the pryde of Xerxes was so greate, that he woulde not onely subdue men, but also conquere the gods. It chaunced, that even as they approached nere the temple to beate it downe, a sodayne tempest fell vppon them, so that wryth stones and thunder boltes they were all kyled in the fyeldes, and so dyed.

Brennus was one of the renowned Captaynes of the Gothes, who sicke he had conquered and subdued the Greeces, determined also to robbe the treasoures of the Temples, sayenge, that gods shoulde gyue vnto men, and not men vnto gods, and that it was greate honour to the goddes, that with their goodes men shoulde be made ryche. But as they beganne to robbe the firste Temple, there fell suche a multitude of arrowes, that the Captayne Brennus dyed there, and all hys men with hym, not one leste alyue. After that Sextus Pompeius was vanquyshe in the battayle by sea, neare vnto Scicyle, by Octavius Augustus, he wente to the Arke of the goddesse Iuno, where there was a Temple, full of greate and ryche treasours.

It chaunced one daye, that as hys souldyers came to aske hym money (sicke he had none to giue them) he commaunded them to beate downe the Temple of the Goddesse Iuno, and that with her treasour, they shoulde paye them selues. The hystoryographers saye, that within a whyle after, it chaunced Sextus Pompeius to be taken of the knightes of Marcus Antonius, and when he was broughte befoze Titus, generall Captayne of the armye, he spake vnto hym these wordes.

I wyl thou knowe Sextus Pompeius,

I doe not condemne the to dye for thoffences thou hasse committed againste my lord Octavius: But because thou hasse robbed and beaten downe the Temple of the Goddesse Iuno.

For thou knowest, that the good Captaynes oughte to forgytte the offences agaynst men: and to reuenge the iniuries done vnto the goddes.

The.xxiiii. Chapter.

How Valentine the emperour because he vvas an euyl Christian, loste in one daye both the Empire and his lyfe, and vvas burned aliue in a shepecote.



WHEN Iulian the apostata reigned, this cursed emperour sent to conquere the realme of Panonia, whiche now is Hungary. And the conquest was for none other thing, but to conquere the realme, to enlarge the Romaine empire. Men see daily, that tyrannous Rynces take great paynes, to winne other countries by cruelty: and litle regard to mayntayne their owne by iustyce. The emperour Iulian full of ambicion, had in that warres a mighty and puissant army, which did wonderful much harme throughout al the countries where they came. For the fruite of warre is, to bereue the enemies of lyfe: and to spoylle the men of their goods. It chaunced one daye, as .x. knightes went out of the campe to make a rode, they found a yonge man that caried a halter in hys hande, and as they woulde haue taken it

it awayne from him, to haue tryed their hoz-
ses to let them fede, he was so hardy and so
fourt, that he defended him selfe from them
all: so that he had moze strength alone, then
they. s. altogethers. The romaine knightes
amazed, to see this yong man defende hym
selfe from them all so skoutelye, verpe in-
stauntly desyred him to go to the Romaine
campe with them, and they promysed hym
he shoulde haue greate enterteynment.

* For the Romaynes were so dilygente, that
they would omit no good thinge for wante
of money, so that it were, for the publyke
weale. This yonge man was called Gra-
cian, and was borne and brought vp in the
countrey of Pannonia, in a place they cal-
led Csbat: hys lynage was not of the lo-
west sorte of the people, nor yet of the most
esteemed Citizens, but were men that liued
by the swette of their browes, and in lone
of the common people. And trulve it is no
small benefite, that God had made hym of
* a meane estate: for to be of base linage, ma-
keth men to be despyed, and not regar-
ded: and to come of a noble bloude and high
linage, maketh men to be proude and lofty.
This yonge man being come into the Ro-
maines campe, the same was immediately
spredde, how that he alone had vanquished
foue knyghtes. And hys strengthe and
courage was so highely esteemed, that with-
in a whyle after he was made Pretour of
* the armie. For the Romaynes, not accor-
dyng to fauoure, but accor dyng to the ha-
blytpe of men, deuyded the offices and de-
grees of honoure in warres.

Lyne therefore was hys nature,
and manye estates beyng decayed, after
this yonge Gracian was made Pretour of
the armie, and that he was sufficiently
tryed in the warres, soytaine tyme in fewe
yeares hys age was so past, that in thore
space whiche mans maled canidit, in ma-
nye yeares.

The Cretian came to commaunde in
the Romaine Emperre, and trulye come ho-

wer of good successe is moze wo:the: then
all wo:ldelpe fauoure.

This Gracian was not onelye singuler
in strengthe, couragious in battayle, and
fortunate in al his affaires: but also he was
luckye of chyldzen, that is to wete, he had
two sonnes, whiche were Emperours of
Rome, the one was called Valentyne, the
other Valentinian. In this case, the chil-
dzen might glo:pe to haue a father so fount:
but the glo:pe of the father is greater, to
haue sonnes of suche noblytpe: for there
is no greater pfermente in this wo:ld,
then durynge hys lyfe, to come to honour,
and ryches: and after hys deathe, to leaue
good chyldzen to gouerne them, and hono-
rablye so spende them.

The eldeste of the two sonnes was the
Emperoure Valentine, who ruled in the
Oyente for the space of .4. yeares, and was
the .39. Emperoure of Rome, from Iulius
Cesar: though some doe begynne at the
tyme of Octavian, sayenge, that he was
vertuous, and that Iulius Cesar vsurped
the Empire lyke a tyraunte.

This Valentine was beautiful of per-
son, but pooze of vertues: so that he was
moze beaufull then vertuous, moze cou-
ragious then mercifull, moze ryche then
charitable, moze cruell then ppytful.

For there are manye Prynces, that are
berpe experte, to deuyse newe orders, in a
common wealthe: but there are fewe, that
haue skoute hartes, to put the same in ere-
cution. In those dayes the secte of Arrian
the cursed heretyke florished, and the Em-
peroure Valentine was greatlye blinded
therein: in so muche, that he dyd not onely
fauoure the Arrians, but also he persecut-
ted the Christians, whiche was shewed, for
so muche as he kyled, and caused to be
kyled: for that occasion manye laye men,
and rooke manye clerkes, and banished
manye Bpishoppes, ouerthrowe manye
Churches, robbed the goods of the Chri-
stians, and dyd infinite other myschyues in

THE DIAL

* the common wealthe. For the prince whiche is infected with heresy, and liueth without feare of the Church, there is neither mischief nor treason, but he will commit. In the desertes of Egypte and the citles of Alexandrie, there was a great multitude of fryers, and relygious men, amongest whome were manye wyse men, and pure of lyfe, constaunte in the defence of the Church, and pacyente in persecutions.

* For he is a true relygious man, that in tyme of peace is charytable to teache the ignoraunte: and holde in the tyme of Scismes, to confounde the heretyques.

The Emperoure Valentine was not onely not a frende to the Arrians, and an enemye to the Christians, but also he was a persecutour of the deuoute and relygious fryers. For he commaunded proclamacions to be had throughe al his realmes, and domynions, that all the religious, that were yonge in yeres, hole of their bodies, and sounde of their tymmes, shoulde immediatly caste of their cowles, and hoodes, leauege their monasterye, and take souldyers wages in the campe. For he sayde Monasteryes were innented for nothyng els, but to mayneteyne those that were deformed, blynde, lame, and maimed, and vpon this occasyon, he shewed greate tyrannye. For manye monasteryes were lesse naked, many notable constructions were broke, many hermites were martyred, many friers whipped, many notable barons banished, and manye good men robbed of their goods. For manye notable men despyred rather the bytter lyfe of the monasterye: then the swete and pleasaunt deathe of the worlde.

* The Emperoure yet not contented with these thinges, as by chaunce his wife commended vnto hym the beaute of a Romaine called Iustina, withoute anye more delaye he married her, not forsakyng his firste wyfe, and immediatly made a law throughe oute all his Empire, that with

oute incurringe anye daunger, eche churche shoulde haue two wyues, and marie with them by the lawe of matrimonye.

For the tyrannous Princes (to cloake their vyces) make and enstablish the lawes of vyces. The same was lytle, that the Emperoure Valentine (agaynst the commaundement of the Church) would marie a wyfe to two women: but the lesse shame he had, the greater was his iniquitye, to put it into execution, and to cause it to be published throughe his realme as a lawe. For a particular vice, corrupteth but one alone: but a generall lawe, dyffroeth all.

At that time the puissant Gothes were in the parties of the orient, the which were in scates of armes verye valyaunte and couragious: but in thinges of faith, they were iuel broughte by, although the greatest parte of them were baptysed. For then the Church was verye poore of prelates, howbeit those that they had were notable men. After the Gothes were baptysed, and the furie of the warres somewhat appeased, they sente their Embassadors to the Emperoure Valentine, despynging hym that immediatly, and forthwith, he would sende them holy and catholyke Bysshoppes, by whose doctrine they myghte be instructed, and broughte to the Christian faith. For it was thought that the Emperour of Rome coulde haue with them no byssoppes, vnles they were virtuous.

This wicked Emperoure, sythe he was now entangled with heresy, and that he had perueried the customes of the good emperours (that is for hauege aboute hym euyl Bysshoppes) as he was enuyronned with all enilles and myscheues, he sente to the Gothes a Bysshope called Exodorus, the whiche was a ranke Arrian, and broughte with hym manye Bysshoppes, whiche were heretyques, by the which the Kynges and Prynces of the Gothes were Arrians, for the space of 30 yeres.

The catholyke Prynces ought to take great

greate care to watche, and in watchynge, to be ware and circumspecte, that they, their Realmes, neyther their subiectes, shoulde in their tyme be despyled with heresy. For the plague of heretykes and heresy is not of lyghte occasyon bannyshed the place, where ons it hath reigned.

We haue declared of the small sayde that this Emperoure had in Ihesus Christ, and of the greate myscheues he dyd to the Church. Let vs now see what was the ende of his miserable lyfe. For the man of wycked lyfe, selde come to good ende.

The mater was this, that as the Gothes were dyspyned oute of the Realme by some of the Hunnes, they came immediatly to the Realme of Thracia, which then was subiecte to the Romaynes.

And the Emperour Valentine withoute anye couenante, receyued them into his lande, wherein he commytted greate folys, and dyed lytle wyse dome. For it is a generall rule, where rebelles, bacabondes, and strangers come to inhabyte, there alwayes the realme & domynion is destroyed.

The Gothes remayned certayne yeres amonge them, withoute anye dyscention, or quarrellynge agaynst the Romaynes: but afterwarde, throughte the greate courtesies of Maximilian, Captayn of the Romaynes, that denyed the Gothes of their promysion, whiche so longe tyme remayned frendes; arose betwene them so cruell warres, that it was the occasyon of the losse and utter vndowinge, both of Rome and of all Italye. For truely there is no example both so muche hurte, as that of frendes, when they faule once at discorde.

The warre now beyng kyndled, the Gothes were scattered throughte the Realme of Thracia, and they leste no tyme but they battered, they came to no villages nor ciyties but they sacked; they toke no women but they forced; they entred into no houses but they robbed. Finally the Gothes shewed the payson that they had agaynst the

Romaynes, and let no man sturvell, that the Gothes commytted so manye cruel and heynous factes; sith we that are Christians doe commytte dailye greater offences. For amonge rebelles it is a common error, that that whiche they robbe in the warres, they saye they are not bound to restore in peace.

The Emperour Valentine was then in the cite of Antioche, and sith he had assembled there a greate armye, and had greate ayde oute of Italye, he determyned hym selfe in person to goe into the campe of the Romaynes, and to geue thonsels agaynst the Gothes, wherein he shewed hym selfe more bolde, then wyse. For a Prince in battayle can doe no more then one man, nor fight more then one way, and if he die, he is the occasyon of the deathe and destruction of them all. When bothe the hostes of the Romaynes and the Gothes toynd, there was betwene them a cruel and mortal fight: so that in the first bruite the Gothes shewed them selues so valyaunte, that they put to flight the Romaynes hostemen, leauinge their souldiers alone in great jeopardy, the which in shorte space after were discomfited, and slaine, not one lefte aliue. For the barbarous sware, that that day the Gothes shoulde all dye, oz els utterly they woulde destroye the name of the Romaynes. After the Emperour was mortallye wounded and the battayle lost, he determyned to flye, and save hym selfe. But when fortune begynne to persecute any man, she leaueh him not, vnles she see him dead or beaten downe withoute recover: therefore as this wycked Emperour (thynking to save hym selfe) came into a shepe cote, the enemyes seing hym, in the ende set fire on the shepe cote, and burnt him alque. So in one daye he losse his person, his lyfe, his honour, and his Empire. It is mete that Princes and greate Lordes shoulde lyfte by their eyes, to consyder wel this history of Valentine, who kyled his selfe.

religious men, and beate downe churches;
and monasteries; for it is a rule infallible,
that the prince which is not a good christi-
an, shall fall into the hands of his cruel enemies.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of the emperor Valentinian
and the emperor Gracian his
sonne, which because they were
good christians, were alwayes
fortunate, and that god geueth
victories vnto princes, more tho-
roughlye then the teares of them that
pray, then through the weapons
of those that fight.



Valentinian and Valeri-
an were brethren, and
the eldest of them was
Valentinian, who suc-
ceeded in the Empire af-
ter the death of his fa-
ther to be pretor of the armie. For among
the Romanes there was a law in bre,
that if the father died in the service of the
people, of right the sonne, without any o-
ther demand was heire. This Iustinian
was a lusty young man, of a sanguine com-
plexion, and of his body wel shaped, and a-
bove al, he was a good christi-
an, and of all
the people generally welbeloued: for vnto a
man that is noble, and of a good behauiour,
there is nothinge to be compared. At that
time when the emperor Iulian persecuted
the christians, Iustinian was pretor of the
armie, and as Iulian was aduertised that
Iustinia was a christi-
an, he sent vnto him,
and bad hym do sacrifice to the idols of the
Romaine Emperour, or els to forsake the
office of his pretorship. Iulian would gladly
haue killed Iustinian, but he durst not, for

it was a law inuoluntarie and ges forborne
that no citize should be put to death,
without decree of the Senate. This Empe-
rour Iustinia being aduertised that Iulian
had sent vnto him to desyre his office, he did
not ouerly forsake it, nor his wyfe: but also he
for gaue them al that money they might haue,
and because he would liue wth a more quiet
conscience, he wente from rome into a cloyster,
where he banished him selfe for 12 yeares
and a halfe, and for this he was highly este-
med, & commended. For it is a good sygne
that that man is a good christi-
an, the which
of hym owne volun-
tarie wyl renou-
n-
ceth worldly goods. It happened that Iulian the
emperour wente to conquer the realme of the
Perles, and as soon as he was wounded in
the battaile, he fel downe dead in the pre-
sent place: for to the mishappes of fortune,
the Emperour lost al his estate, and plea-
sours, is as muche subiecte, as is the poore
man that lieth in the streets. When he newes
came to rome that Iulian was dead, by the
consent of all, the emperor Valentinian
was elected, so that he being banished for
christes sake, was called againe, & crowned
prince of the romaine empire. Let no man care
to lose all that he possesseth, let no man haue
to se him selfe dispised for christes sake: for
in the end, no man can in a thousand yeares
somuche abate his as god in one houre can
exalte vs. In the yeare of the foundacion of
Rome, which was the 1119, in a citie called
Atrobata, it rained very fine wyl, so that
al the citie became rich. In the same yeare,
in the citie of Constantinople, it hailed such
great stones, that they killed manye men,
and kille no herdes in the felde alow. At
the same tyme, there came an earthquake
throughoute Italye, and so likewise in Sci-
cille, that manye houses fel, and flew downe
dye parsons, and above all, the sea rose, in
suche sorte, that it drowned manye Cyrenes
nighe thereunto. Paulus Diaconus, in
the 11. booke De gestibus Romanorum,
saith, that this Emperour Valentinian
was

was of a subtil witte, of countenance graue,
 very distinct & pleasant in his speache, how
 beit he spake little of vaine pleasures, stout
 in his affayres, & diligēt in his busines, in
 aduentures patient, and a great enemye of
 the vicious, temperate in eating & drinking,
 & a frende of religious personnes: so y they
 saide he resembled y^e emperour Aurelius.
 After that Marcus Aureli⁹ the emperour
 dyed, with whom the felicitie of y^e Romaine
 empyre ended, the custome was in Rome,
 that al yong p^rinces were alwaies copared
 to some of the auncientes, y^e is to wete, if he
 were couragious, he resembled Iulius Ces
 sar, if he were vertuous, they saide he was
 an other Octavian, if he were pore & to
 led, it was Tiberius, if he were rather they
 saide he was Caligula, if he were cruell,
 they compared him to Nero, if he were
 mercifull, they saide he was lyke Antonis
 us Pius, if he were idle, they compared him
 to Domitian, if he were temperate, they
 likened him to Adrian, if he were beauti
 ful, they saide he resembled Titus, if he were
 patient, they called him Vespasius, final
 ly he that was sage and vertuous, they com
 pared him to the good Marcus Aurelius.
 This emperour Valentinian was a good
 Christian, and in all his affayres touching
 the Empyre very wise and circumspecte, &
 of one thing he was noted, & he deserved it:
 that is to wete, he trusted and favoured so
 muche his seruantes, that throughe this
 occasion, and also for behauinge hym selfe
 euill in the Empyre, there arose many dy
 sentions amonges the people. Seneca sayd
 once to the Emperour Nero, I wyl that
 thou vnderstand (Lord) that there is no pa
 tience can suffice, that 2. or 3. absolutely com
 maunde all, not for that they are most ver
 tuous: but for that they are most in fauour.
 O Princes and greate lordes, yf you were
 as I am, I knowe not what you would do:
 but if I were as you be, I would behaue my
 selfe in such sorte to them of my house, that
 they shoulde be seruantes to serue & obeye

me, and not best them selues to be in my
 fauour to commaunde me: For that p^rince
 is not sage, that for to content one, giveth
 the hate of all. This emperour Valentinian
 died in the 55. yere of his byrthe and
 11. yere of his Empyre, of so longe spee
 ches, that the baynes of his body were dried
 vp in suche sorte, that they could not drawe
 one droppe of bloude out of his body. And
 the day of his buriall, saint Ambrose made
 an excellent sermon, for in those daies, whē
 any Prince departed that favoured muche
 the Church, all the holy Bishoppes mette
 at his buryall. The 2. hundred beinge emperours, that is
 to wete, Valentinian and Valentin, throughe
 the desire of y^e faith in law of Gra
 cian, that was father to his wife, and desir
 ous to haue 1. of his daughters chylde,
 chose Valentinian to brynge vp, who had a
 sonne named Gracian, whiche was created
 emperour so yonge, that as yet he had no
 berde. And truly the Senate wold not haue
 suffered it, if the father had not bene vertu
 ous, and the childe sage. But the Senate
 wold haue done this, & moze also for Val
 entinian, because he dyd deserue it well of
 the Romaine people: For it is reason in by
 tributing of the offices, that Princes haue
 moze respect to the desertes of the fathers,
 then to the tender age of the children. This
 yonge Gracian began to be so temperate,
 and was so good a christian in fauouringe
 the Church, that it was muche quyet,
 and great pleasure to the Romaine people
 to haue chosen hym, and greater ioye to the
 father (beinge alyue) to haue begotten hym,
 so that he liue for hym after his deathe, an
 immortall memo^ry of his lyfe. For the
 childe that is vertuous, is alwaies the me
 mo^ry of the father after his death.

In the yere of the schindacion of Rome a
 thousand & hundred thirte & two, y^e said Gra
 cian the yonger was created sole hepye of the
 whole empyre, his uncle Valentin & his
 father beinge departed the world. After
 Gra-

THE DIAL

Gracian came to the empyre, many byshop-
 pes, which were banished in the time of his
 dunckle Valentine, were restored to the
 Church againe, and banished all the sect of
 the Arryens out of his region. Truly he
 shewed him selfe to be a very religious and
 catholyke Prynce. For there is no better
 Justice to confound humayne malice, then
 to establishe the good in their estate. In the
 firste yeare of the regne of Gracian Em-
 perour, all the Germanes and Gothes re-
 belled againste the Romaine Empyre, for
 they would not onely obey him, but also
 they prepared an huge army to enuade his
 Empyre, Imagyninge that sythe Gracian
 was yonge, he neyther had the wyl nor yet
 the boldnes to resyste them: For where the
 prince is yonge, there oftentimes the people
 suffreth much wrong, and the realme great
 misery. Betwix come to Rome, howe the
 Gaules and Germanes were by, the em-
 perour Gracian wrote to all the catholyke
 Bishoppes, that they shoulde offer in theyr
 Churches greate sacrifices, with prayers
 vnto god, and in Rome lykewise it was or-
 depned, that generall processions shoulde be
 had, to the ende almighty god shoulde mo-
 derate his ire against his people. For good
 christians firste pacifie God with prayers,
 before they resist their enemies with wea-
 pons. This good prince shewed him selfe to
 be no lesse warlike in his outwarde affay-
 res, then a good Christian in his religion.
 For god giueth victories vnto princes, moze
 through teares, then through weapons.
 These thinges thus finished, and his affay-
 res vnto god recommended, the noble em-
 perour Gracian determined to marche on,
 and him selfe in person to giue the bataille.
 And truly as at first he shewed him selfe
 to be a good christian: so now he declared
 him to be a valiaunt emperor. For it were
 a greate infamy & dishonour, if a prince by
 negligence or cowardnes should lose that,
 which his predecessours by force of Armes
 had gotten. The army of the enemies exca-

ded farre the Romaine army in number, &
 when they mette together in a place called
 Argentaria, the Romaines beinge inferi-
 our to their enemies in number, were as-
 fraide: For in the warres, & great multitu-
 de of enemies, and their puissant power,
 maketh oft times the desired victorie to be
 doubtfull. This thinge seene of the Romaines,
 and by them considered, importunately they
 besought the Emperour not to charge the
 battayle: for they saide he had not men suf-
 ficient. And herein they had reason: for the
 sage prince shoulde not rashely hazarde his
 person in the warre, nor yet shoulde lightly
 put his life in the handes of fortune. The
 Emperour Gracian not chaunging coun-
 tenaunce, nor stoppinge in his wordes, to
 all his knightes which were aboute hym
 answered in this wise.

The.xxvi. Chapter.

Of the godly Oration, vvhiche
 the emperor Gracian made to
 his souldiours, before he gaue
 the battayle.



Aliaunt knightes, and com-
 pagnions in warre, moste
 thankfully I accept your ser-
 uice, in that you haue sold your
 goodes, & do offre your liues
 here to accompany me in this warres, & herein
 you shew your duties: for of right you oughte
 to lose your goodes, & to venture your liues,
 for the defence & suretie of your countrey.
 But if I giue you some thanks for your com-
 pany, know you that I geue you muche moze
 for your good counsel, which presently you gi-
 ue me: for in great conflicts wisdom is found
 together both good counsel & stout hertes. If
 I haue enterprised this battaille in hope of
 manes power, then you had had reason, & we
 shuld not giue this battaille seeing such great mul-
 titude that they haue, and the small num-
 ber that we are, for as you say, the weighty
 affayres of the publicke weale shoulde not
 be aduisedly

vnadvisedly be committed, to the incertaintie of fortune. I haue taken vpon me this dangerous and perillous warres, firste trustinge that on my parte Justice remaineth, and sith god is the same onely iustice, I trust assuredly he wyl giue me the victory in this peryllous conflikt: For iustice auayleth princes more, than they haue the men of warre do, whiche they leade.

¶ Wherfore sith my cause is iust, and that I haue god the onely iudge thereof on my side: me thinketh, if for any worldelys feare I shuld cease to giue the battaile, I shuld both shew my selfe to be a prince of small sayth, and also blaspheme god, sayenge they were of small iustice: for god sheweth moste hye power there, where the feylenes of man hath the leste hope. Then sith I begiune the warre, and that by me the warre is procured, and for me you are come to the warre, I haue determined to enter into this battaile, and if I perishe therein, I shalbe sure it shalbe for the memory of my personne, and the saluacion of my soule: for to dye through Justice is not to dye: but to chaunge death for life. And thus doing if I lose my life, yet therefore I lose not my honour, & all this considered, I do that which for the comon wealth I am bound. for to a prince it were great infamy and dishonour, that the quarrel beinge his owne, should by the bloud of others be reuenged. I wyl proue this day in battaile, whether I was thosē empetour by the diuine wil, or not: for if god this day causeth my life to be taken from me, it is a manifest token he hath a better in store for me: and if through his mercye I be preserved, it signifieth that for some other better thinge he graunterh me life: for in the end, the sword of the enemye, is but the scourge of our offences. The best that I see therefore in this matter to be done, is that til .3. daies be passed, the battaile be not giuen, & that we confesse our selues this night, and in the morninge prepare our selues to receyue our redeemer, and besides this, that enery

man pardon his christia brother, if he haue had any wronge, or iniury done him. For oftentimes though the demaund of the warre be iust, yet many mishappes be fall therein, though the offences of those, which presume and followe the same. After the .3. dayes are passe, & eche thing according to my sayenges befoze accomplished, in every poynt as behoueth: then let god dispose thinges as he shall see good, for now I am fully determined to aduenture my life in battaile.

¶ Wherfore my valiaunt & stoute warriors, doute not at all, for this day I muste eyther vāquish mine enemies, or els suffer death: and if I dye, I do that which nedes I must. ¶ Wherfore I wyl now cease to exorte you any more, desirying you to consider, & wherunto youre duetye leade you, remembryng that you are come as knightes, and in the defence of your countrey you wage battaile: for now we are come to that pynche, & nedes must more auaille vs then wordes. For peace ought to be mainteyned by the tong: but warres ought to be atcheued by the sword. ¶ Al these wordes then ended, and the .3. daies passe, the Emperour Gracian in personne gaue the battaile, where the conflikt and slaughter on bothe sides was marueylous terrible: yet in the ende, the emperour Gracian had the victory over his enemies, and there died in that conflikt .30. thousand Gothes, and Almaines, and of the Romaynes there were not slaine, but .5. thousande. For that army onely is preserved, whiche to the diuine wyl is conformable. ¶ Let all other princes take example by this noble prince: let them consider how much it auaileth them to be good christians, and that in great warres and conflicts, they neede not feare the greate nombze of their enemyes: but they oughte greatly to see, that the wrath of god be pacified: for the hart is more dismayde with the secrete sinnes, then it is feared with the open enemyes.

THE DIALL

The.xxvii.Chapter.

That the Captaine Theodosius, vvhiche vvas father of the great Emperour Theodosius, dyed a good Christian. And of the kinge Ismarus, and the byshop Siluanus, and the holye lawes vvhich they made and establi- shed.



THe.2. brethren beinge Emperours, that is to wete, Valentinian & Valentin, in the costes of A fryke, and the Realme of Mauritania, a ty- raunt vsurped the place of a kinge, against the Romaines: who was named Tyrmus, a man hardy in trauayles, & in daungers fronte: For the aduēturous hertes oftentimes do corrupt many tyrannies. This tyranne Tyrmus, by much crueltie, came possessed of this realme, & not contented therewith, but also by tyranny possessed a great part of Afrike, & prepared (as Hanniball did) an huge army to passe into Italy, to dye in cha- lenging the empyre of Rome. This was a renowned Tyrante that neuer toke plea- sure in any other thing so much: as to spoile & robbe others of their goodes. The Ro- maines that in al their doynges were very sage, & of the tyrany of tirauntes sufficiently monished: immediatly prepared a great ar- my to passe into A fryk, & to spoile the real- me, & to destroy the tyranne, by the comma- dement & decre of the Senate, and that for no pacte or couenaunt the tyrane shuld live. And without doute this commaundement was iust. For to him that is a destroyer of the comon wealthe, it is not punishmente, trowghe to take away his life. At that tyme there was a knyghte in Rome, whose name was Theodosius, a man well stryken in

yerres, & yet better approued in warres, but he was not the richest: howbeit he vaunted him selfe (as truth was) to be of the blood of Traian the great emperour, vpon whych occasion, he was greatly honoured & feared in Rome: for h comons were so noble & gra- cious towarde their pynces, that al those, which fro h good & vertuous emperour des- scended, were of h whole comon wealthe great- ly esteemed. Withe this noble Theodosius was of yeres so auncient, & so honoured in his old age, so noble of linage, and so approu- ed in warres: he was by the auctoritie of h emperour Valentinian, by the cōset of all the Senate, and by the good willes of the whole people, chose to go to the conquest of A frike, & truly their reason was good. For Theodosius desired much to fight against that tiraunt Thirmus, & al the people were glad that suche a captaine led the army.

Theodosius departed from Rome, & in few daies arriued at Bona, which was a Citie greatly replenished with people, situated in a haven of the sea in Afrike. And as he, & his army laded, the tyrane Thirmus forth- with withdrew his army into the field, & so al being planted in the plaine, the one to as- saulte, & the others to defend, Immediatly the.2. armies ioyned, & the one assaulkinge the other fiercely, on both sides was greate slaughter. So that those which to day were conquered, to morow did conquere: & those which yesterday were conquerours after- ward remained conquerid. For in lōg war- res, fortune chaungeth. In the prouince of Mauritania ther was a strong citie called Obelysta, and as the captaine Theodosi⁹ by his force occupied al the field, the tirane Thirm⁹ fortified him self in h citie, h which valiantly being assaunted of the captayne Theodosius, & al most w his men entring into the same, the tiranne Thirmus (be- cause he would not corrupt him selfe w the faith of other mē) set w him self w his proper handes. For the properrie of proude and disdainfull hertes, is rather to dye in ly- bertie

bertie, then to lyue in captiuitie. At that tyme the Emperour Valentine, by the Arte of of Nigromancy, wrought secretly to know what lucke should succede in the Romaine Emppye. And by chaunce a woman being an enchauntresse, had aunswer of the deuill, that the name whiche wryth these letters should be wrytten, should be successour to the Emppye, & the letters were these. T.E.O.D.E.S.C. The Emperour Valentine, diligently enquired of all the names, whiche with these letters coulde be named, & they found, that Theodores, the Theodores, and the Theodoses, and al other which were wrytten with these names immediately suffred death by the sword. And the cause why they slew them was, for that the Emperour Valentine was wicked, & thought that they woulde haue taken the Emppye from hym beyng alyue: For the tyrannous Prynce, lyueth alwayes in suspicion. The excellent Captayne Theodosius (the tyranne Thyrmus beinge deade, and hauing subdued al Affryke to the Romaine empire) was bouredened, that he was a secret traytour to the Emppye, and that he compassed to winne the same by tyranny, for this cause therefore the Emperour Valentine gaue sentence, he should be beheaded: And this was done, he neuer hearinge of it, and much lesse therof culpable: for all princes that be wilfull in their doynge, are very absolute of their sentence. This come to the eares of Theodosius, & seinge that he was condemned to be beheaded: he sent incontinent for the byshoppe of Carthage to whom he demaunded the water of the holy Baptisme, and so being baptised, and in the faith of Chyriste instructed, was by the hangeman put to execution. Of this so greuous, oultragious, and detestable facte euery mā iudged this Theodosius, to suffer as an innocent, & that the emperour Valentine had iudged euill & like a tyrant. For the innocency of the good, is the greates enemye of the euill. At the same

time when Theodosius demaunded baptisme (according to the sayenge of Prosper in his cronicle) he said vnto the byshop, whiche should baptise him, these wordes. O byshop sainte Roger, I do conure the, by the creature which made vs, & do desire the, for the passion of Iesu chyrist, who redeemed vs, to giue me the water of Baptisme: for I haue made a vow to become chrystia, if god graunted me victorie. Wherefore I wil accomplish my vow, for those thynges which necessitie causeth vs to promyse, our owne free wyll ought to accomplishe, I am sorry to all my hearte, that being a chrystian, I can liue no longer, & sith it is so, I offer my lyfe for his sake, & into his mercysfull handes I comend my soule. I leaue a sone of mine, who is called Theodosius, & if the fatherly loue begyle me no, I think he wil be a vertuous and stout yong man, & besides that, he will be wise, & sith by thy handes he hath bene baptised, I require the holy father, y thou thorough thy wysedome wilt bring him vp, in the true faith: for if he be a good chrystia, I trust in god he wil be a great man in the emppye. This Theodosius was the father of the great emperour Theodosius, so that the father was a chrystian, & the sone a chrystia. Not long after the emperour Valentine had caused Theodosius (which was father to the great emperour Theodosius) to be executed, Valentine by the commaundement of god, was by the Gothes persecuted, & in the end put to death, & truly this was the iust iudgement of god: for he of right shuld suffer death himselfe, which vniustly procureth the death of others. Rufinus in the second booke of his histories saith, that after the tyrant Thyrmus was put to death, by the captaine Theodosius, & that the Emperour Valentine had caused this Theodosius to be put to death. The Romaynes created a kinge in Affrike, whose name was Ismarus, called for a right Chrystian in that time, whyche was from the buyldynge of Rome, 377. There was in the Citie of Carthage a holy

THE DIAL

a holy byshoppe called Siluanus, a man in humayne and deuynne letters excellentlye well learned, and for the kyng was so iuste, and the byshoppe so holly: bothe the sayth encreased, and also the affayres of the common wealth prospered. For commonly the warres begynne rather throughe the pryde of the higheste, then throughe disobedience in the lowest. Therefore this holy byshoppe and good Christian kyng, beinge desirous in their tyme to geue good example to the subiectes, and for the tyme to come to leaue good preceptes, they celebrated in the Citie of Bona a counsaile, with all the byshoppes of Affryke, in the whiche, king Ismarus was in parson. For in auncient counselles the kynges were not onely there in parsons: but also all the Lordes and hye estates of their Realmes. Amongest many excellent thinges, whiche Rufinus mentioneth that were ordeyned in this place: it semed good vnto me to remember here, to the end that those whiche are now present, shoulde see what deuoute christians those were which liued in times past.

✱ A collection or Purport of the counsell of Hyponense.



These were the thinges whiche in the sacred counsaile of Hyponense were ordeyned, where there was in parson, the catholyke kyng Ismarus, and the religious byshoppe Syluanus, and in that which was ordeined, the kyng spake in some of them, and dothe counsaile in other some: because in suche semblable affayres, it is both mete and requisite, that the royall prehemynens be reuerenced: and the auctoritie of the church not diminished. We ordeine that from .2. yerres, to .2. yerres, all the Byshoppes, Abbottes, and prelates of our realme, do assemble, and celebrate a prouincial counsaile, and that in this coun-

saile, there be no temporal matters spoken of, but of the disorders and misgouernance of Churches, for the church is not lost for the lacke of scarcitie of money: but for the to greate aboundance of ryches. We ordeine, and all prelates whiche are nowe and shalbe here after we desire, that when they wyll cal any counsaile in our realmes, that before the celebracion of the same, they certifye vs, lest that vnder the couler or cloke of a holy counsaile, there shoulde some suspicious assembly be had. We ordeine, that from henceforth the princes and great lordes be bound to repaire to the sacred counsaile, with al the company of the holy Byshoppes: for it were moze mete they shoulde come to destroye false heretickes, in winninge their soules: then to fyghte agaynst their enemies, in losing their liues. We ordeine that the Prince, whiche come not to the counsailes throughe negligence, that vnto him the sacrament of the body of christ be not ministred, vntyll the next counsell be celebrated. And if perchance he refuse not to come throughe negligence, but throughe malice, we wyll that then they procede agaynst him as a suspect parson in the sayth of christ. For the Christian Prince, that of malice onely committeth an offence, is not partyt in the holy catholyke sayth. We ordeine that at the first assembly of the counsaile, all the prelates togethers openly, and afterwarde eche one by him self pryncially, shall say the Crede, the whiche thinge finished, the kyng him selfe alone, shal say the crede lyke wyse: for if the prince be suspected of the holy catholyke sayth, it is impossible that his people shoulde be good Christians. We ordeine, that in this counsaile, the prelates haue libertie and auctoritie to say vnto the kyng what they wyll, and the kyng lyke wyse to saye in the counsaile what he thinke beste: so that the prelates mighte tell the kyng of his saynt herte and negligence, which he peradventure hath in destroyinge of heretikes, and bringinge to nought they

their herespes: and likewise the king might tel the pzelares theyr neglygence, that they vse in the charge of their flocke. For the ende and intencion of counsayles oughte
 * not to be any otherwyle, then a scourge for offences passe, and a refozmacion of the euilles to come.

The ordeyne, that all the princes of A. E. frike, immediatly befoze they do any other thing in the moyning, do openly & diligently here masse: and we wil also that there be pzelar, their sampliare counsellours, which with theim oughte to enter into counsayle. For that creature can not gyue any good counsaile, who hath not reconsiled him self vnto god befoze.

The ordeyne, that the Archebyschoppes, Byschoppes, and Abbottes, continuallye during the tyme of the counsayle, do euery daye confesse them selues, and saye masse openly, and that one of them doe preache to the people gods worde. For if euery pzelate be bound to giue good ex ample alone, then beinge altogether they shall gyue it muche better.

The ordeine, that princes (as much as lyeth in them) doe gyue vnto their subiectes good examples, and especialy, that euery holly day they confesse them selues, and receiue the Sacramente, and be at the diuine seruises. For it would be a greate flaunet to princes, whiche of their faulces ought to rezeheind others, that a man should neuer see them confessed, nor receiue the Sacramente them selues.

The ordeyne, that at Easter cheafely Princes doe go to the churches Metropolitanes, and if ther be no let, that the archebyschoppe doe saye masse: and the gospel beinge sayde, the Prince hym selfe shall be bound to saye with a loude voyce, the crede confyrmyd in the sacred counsayle of Nicene. For the good princes, ought not onely in their hartes to be faithful vnto Ihesu chryst, but are also bound openly with theyr mouthes, to confesse it befoze the people.

The ordeyne, that princes be not so hardye to haue in their courtte aboute two byschoppes, the one to heare hym confessed, and the other to preache vnto him the word of god. And those we wil that the counsellors entertayne wel, and that the counsellors be bounde to fynde two parsones, of the moste annycpente and bertuous, which shall remayne in the Courte no more but two yeares, and that afterwarde others be placed there in their steades. For there is no thinge more monstrous, then to see the Churche without pzelattes.

The.xxviii.Chapter.

* VVhat a goodly thinge it is to haue but one prince to rule the publyke vveale: for there is no greater enemye to the common vveale, then he vvhiche procureth many to commaund therein, as by reasons folowynge it shall be proued.



FTE times vwith my selfe alone I consider, that sith the deuine prouidēce, whiche dothe all thinges by weight and measure, and that of her, and by none other, al creatures are gouerned, and that furthermoze with God there is no acceptiō of parsons (for he maketh the one ryche, and the other poore, the one sage, and the other simple, the one hole, and the other sycke, the one fortunat, and the other vnluckye, the one seruante, and the other maister) let no man meruaile, though I muse thereat: for the varryete of tyme, is the begynner of dyssentions amonge the people. In mans iudgemente it semeth,
 i. i. that

THE DIAL

that it were better all were a lyke in apparel, all equall in commaundyng, none greater then others in possessions, all to content them selues with one kynde of meate, and that the names of commaundyng and obeyinge, were bitterlye abolysshed and brought to nought: so if the myseryes of the one, & prosperities of the other were put out, from that daye forwarde, I protest there shoulde be no enuy in the world, layeng aside mans oppnyon, whiche oughte not to be compared to the deuyne myserye. I demaunde now, what reason sufficed to thinke, that of two brethren (that is to wete, Iacob, and Esau, bothe chyldren of holpe and deuoute personnes) the deuyne prouydence would the one shoulde be chosen, and the other dyspyssed, that the one should commaund, and the other obeye, the one to be dysherited beinge the eldest, and the other to inheryte beinge the yonger: That whiche chaunced to Iacob, with Esau, the same chaunced to the chyldren of Iacob and Ioseph: who beinge patriarches and chosen, God prouyded and ordeyned, that to Ioseph beinge the yonger, his brotherne shoulde serue, and obeye hym. This thinge was repyned at, of all the eleuenth brotherne, howe be it their intencions auayled not: for it is vnpossyble for mans malice, to dysorder that, with the deuyne prouydence hath appointed: we see daylye nothyng els, but that whiche man decreeth in a longe tyme, god dysposeth otherwise in one momente. Trulye it is not euell done, but well ordeyned: for in the ende, sithe man is man, in seauē thinges he can be eyther certayne or assured: and sithe God, is God, it is vnpossyble that in anye thinge he shoulde erre.

It is a greates benefyte of the creator, to be wyllynge to reforme and correcte the woorkes of the creatures. For if God would suffer vs to doe after oure owne myndes, we shoulde be quyte contrarye to his pleasure. God withoute a greates myserye, dyd not ordeyne, that in one sample there shuld

be but one father, amonge one people there shoulde be but one citezen that shoulde commaunde, in one prouynce there shoulde be but one gouernour alone, and also that one kinge alone shoulde gouerne a proude realme, and lyketowse, that by one onelye capytayne a puissaunte armye shoulde be led. And furthermoze, and aboue all, he willethe that there be but one Monarchyall kyng, and lord of the world. Trulye all these thinges are suche, that we with oure eyes doe see them, and knowe them not, we heare them with our eares, and vnderstand them not, we speake them with our tonges, and knowe not what we saye. For trulye mans vnderstandynge is so dull, that withoute doubt he is ignorant of moze then he knoweth. Appolonius Thianeus, compassyng the moste parte of Asia, Affricke, and Europe, that is to say, from the bydge of Nilus, where Alexander was, vnto Gades, where the pillers of Hercules were, he beinge one daye in Ephese, in the temple of Diana: the prestes asked hym what thinge he wondered at most in all the world: for it is a general rule, that men which haue seen muche, alwayes do note one thinge a bove another. Althoughe the Philosopher Appolonius greatlyer esteemed the woorkes, then the speaking of them that demaunded this question: yet forthwith he made them this aunswere. I let you know prestes of Diana, that I haue bene thorough out Fraunce, England, Spayne, Germany, throughte the Iaces, and Lidians, Hebrues, & Grekes, Parthes, and Medes, Phrygiens, and Corinthians, and so with the Perses, and aboue all, in the greates realme of India: for that alone is moze worthe, then all these realmes togyther: I wyl you vnderstande that all these Realmes in manye and sondrye thinges doe dyffer, as in languages, persones, beastes, mettals, waters, fleshe, customes, lawes, landes, buyldynges, in apparel, and footes, and aboue all, dyffers in their Gods, and Temples. For the language

language of the one dyffereth not somuch from the language of the other: as the Gods of Europe, dyffere from the Gods of Asia, and the temples and gods of Asia and Europe, dyffer from them of Affrike. Amonges al thinges whiche I haue seen, of two onelye I dyd meruaile, whiche is, that in all the partes of the world, wherein I haue trauailed, I haue seen quyet men troubled by scdyuous parsones, the humble subiecte to the proude, the iust obediente to the tyrante, I haue seen the cruel commaundynge the mercyfull, the cowardlye the hardy, the ignoraunte teachinge the wyse, and aboue all, I sawe that the most thoues, hunge the innocēt on the galloves. The other thing wherewith I meruailed was this, that in all the places, and circuyte wher I haue bene, I know not, neyther coulde I fynde anye man that was euerlastynge, but that all are mortall, and in the ende, bothe hyghe and lowe haue an end: for many enter h same night into their graue, whiche h same daye ensuiing, thought to be aliae. Leane aside h deuine iudgemēt, & in that he spake he sayd highly, and lyke a Philosopher, for it semeth to be a pleasaunt thing, to see how men gouerne the world.

Therefore now to the matter, it is but reason we knowe the cause of this so auntyent a noueltye, whiche is: that God wylleth, and ordeynethe, that one onelye commaunde all: and that all together obey one. For there is nothyng that God dothe (thoughe the cause thereof to vs be vnkno-
 * ween) that wanteth reason in hys eternall wyse dome. In this case, speakynge lyke a Christian I saye, that if oure father Adam had obeyed one onelye commaundemente of God, whiche was forbydden hym in the terrestyall paradyse, we had remained in lyberty, bypon the pearthe, and shoulde haue ben Lordes and maysters ouer al.

But sythe he woulde not then obeye the Lorde, we are nowe become the slaues of so manye Lordes, & byched synne, cur-

sed be thou, sythe by the onelye, the worlde is broughte into suche a bondage: without teares I cannot speake, that whiche I woulde, that throughe oure firste fathers, whiche submytted them selues to sinne, we their chyldren haue losse the sygnorve of the worlde. For sythe they were prysoners to synne in their hartes: lytle auaylethe the lybertye of their bodyes.

There was greate dyuersytye, betwixte the oppynyons of Pythagoras, and the oppynyons of Socrates, for somuche as those of Socrates scoole sayde, that it were better all thinges shoulde be comen, and all men equal, Thother of Pythagoras scoole sayd the contrarpe, and that the comen wealth were better, wherein eche one had hys owne proper, and al shoulde obey one: so that the one of them dyd admytte and graunte the name of seruantes, and thothers dyd despyse the name of Lordes. As Laertius in his first booke of h lyfe of Philosopher sayeth, that the panime democritus, was a Philosopher Carhegozike, but he was also of the same oppynyon, that to the ende the people shoulde be wel gouerned, he woulde two names shoulde be vicerlye abholyshed, and taken awaye: that is to wete, Lordes and subiectes, masters and seruantes: for the one desirous to rule by tyranes, and thothers not wylling to obeye by tyrany, woulde shed the bloude of the innocēte, and woulde be vyolence againste the pooer: they woulde destroye the renowned and famous people, and strannes woulde ware stoute, the whiche thynges shoulde be taken awaye, if there weare no sygnorve, nor scrupitude in the worlde.

But notwithstandinge these thinges, the Philosopher in hys firste booke of hys polittiques saythe, that by folow naturall reasons we may proue it to be very necessa-
 * rye, that Princes doe commaunde, and the people obeye.

The firste reason is, of the partes of the Elementes symple, and mixte: for we see

THE DIAL

by experyence, that the Clamentes doe suffer (to thende they woulde be soryned together) the one to haue moze power then all: the whiche is shewed by experyence, foras-
 muche as the Clamente of the syer, the clamente of the ayer, and the Clamente of the water doe obey, and the Clament of the yearth dothe commaunde. For agaynst their nature, he byngeth them all to the yearth. But if all the noble and cheafest Clamentes were obedyent to the most vile Clamente, onelye to sozme a bodye myrre: it is a greater reason that all obeye to one vertuous person, that the common wealth myghte thereby the better be gouerned.

The seconde reason is, of the bodye and the soule, in the armonye wherof, the soule is the mystrisse whiche commaundeth, and the bodye the seruauente whiche obeyeth: for the bodye neither seeth, heareth, nor vnderstandeth withoute the soule: but the soule heareth, seeth, knoweth, and vnderstandeth withoute the bodye. The sage philosopher by this wyl infer, that the sage men should naturallie be Lordes ouer others: For in the world there is nothinge moze monstrous: then that fooles should commaunde, and wyse men obeye.

The thirde reason taketh hys grounde one beastes: for we see by experyence, that dyuers beastes by thonelye knowledge of men are gouerned, therefore it is but mete, that many men whiche are moze lyker beastes then the beastes them selues, vnder suffer them selues to be gouerned and ruled by wyse men. For the common weale is moze profited by a wyse beaste: then it is by a wyllesse man.

The fourth reason pyceradeth of women: for we see, that they beinge created to the image of god, god commaundeth and ordeyneth, that they shuld be subiecte to man, pyceradeth their knowledge not to be so greate, as the knowledge of men.

Therefore if this thinge be thus, why coulde not dyuerse mortalles, who without

comparyson knowe lesse then women, take them selues for happy, that one alone shuld commaunde and gouerne them: so that such one were a sage and vertuous person. For the man is naturallie polypstike, whiche is to be a frende of companye, the companye engendyeth enuie, and afterwarde by force dothe warre, and water byngeth in tyranye; and tyranye bestroperh the common wealth, and the common wealth beinge losse, all men thincke they liues in perill. Therefore it is verie necessary, that in the common wealth manye be gouerned by one alone, for to conclud, there is no common wealth wel gouerned, but by one alone. The greates trouayles, and inconuenyences, whiche the auncientes founde in tymes paste, were the occasion that it was ordeyned in the publike weale, that all shoulde obeye one. As in a campe one onelye Captayne is obeyed, and in the sea one Pilot folowed, in the monasterie al obeye one prelate, and in the Church all obeye one byshoppe, and syn in a hyue of bees, one bee onelye leadeh all the rest: it were not reason, that men shoulde be withoute one kynge, nor the common wealth withoute a gouernour. Those men that wyl not haue a kynge in a common wealth, are lyke vnto drones, and wasps, which withoute trouayle eate the swette of others. And in the opinio in this case shoulde be, that euerye man that wyl not be commaunded, as an abiecte of the comon wealth, shoulde be expelled and cast out therof. For in a comon wealth there can be no greater enemy: then he that desireth y many shoulde rule therein. In that publike weale, where one onely hath care for al, and al obeye the commaundement of on onely, there god shalbe serued, y people shal profite, the good shalbe esteemed, and the euill despyed, and besydes that, strannes shalbe suppressed. For a gouernance of many is not profitable, onlesse they reserue them selues to the iudgement of a fewe, and to the arbitraments of one alone.

lane. Oh how many people, and Realmes
 (because they would not obey their princes
 by iustice) haue sence, by cruel tirānes bene
 gouerned, with tyrannye. For it is euen a
 * iust plage, that they which despise the scrip-
 tures of righteous Princes, shoulde feale
 and proue the scourge of cruel tirantes. Al-
 wayes it was, is, & shalbe, that in h world
 there was one to commande, and another
 to obey, one to gouerne, and another to be
 gouerned. In this case, let no man saye, I
 am excepted, for vntyl this daye there hath
 no prince bene leue, neyther knight percel-
 ned, but hath traueyled vnder this yoke.
 I warne, pray, and importunately require
 you all, that you be loyal, and saythful ser-
 uantes, to the ende you maye deserue to
 * haue louinge lordes. For generallye, the
 prince that is wycked, causeth his subiecte
 to rebel, and the sedicious subiecte, maketh
 his lord to become a tyrante. It is a great
 thinge to the people, that their Princes
 be good or euil. For there are no Princes
 so stable, nor so temperate, that alwayes wyl
 dyssemble the euil: nor there is no gouer-
 nor so very a tyrante, but sometymes wyl
 acknowledge the goode. Sometymes god suf-
 fereth, that there be emperours in the Em-
 pire, kinges in realmes, and gouernors in
 the prouinces, lordes in the cities, and pre-
 lates in the churches, not all onelye as the
 common wealthe desireth, nor as the good
 gouernement requireth: but as the offence
 of h multitude deserueth. For now a daies,
 * we se manye, that haue the charge of soules
 in the churche, whiche deserue not to keape
 the sheepe in the felde.

That to be true, playnelye it dosse ap-
 peare: for suche doe not gouerne, but disor-
 der, they doe not defende, but offende: they
 doe not resist the enemyes, but ingage,
 and sel the innocent: they are no iudges,
 but tyrannes: they are not gentyl pastores,
 but cruel hangemen: they are not increa-
 sers of the common wealthe, but destroyers
 of iustice: they are not ordeynors of lawes,

but intentors of trybutes: their hartes
 wake not to good, but to inuent and worke
 al myschefe: and finallye, God sendeth vs
 suche prelates, and gouernors, not for that
 they shoulde be mynisters of hys lawes, but
 for that they shoulde be scourges for ours
 offences.

The.xxix.Chapter.

* That in a publike vveale their is
 no greater destruction: then
 vwhere princes dayly consent to
 newe orders, and chaunge old
 customes.



In the booke of the
 kynges, the.19. chapter,
 of the holpe and sacred
 scripture, is sayde, that
 Samuel (when he was
 olde) in his shead, placed
 his two sonnes, to gouerne h people, whose
 names were Iohel, and Abia: for that na-
 turally the fathers are desirous to aduance
 theyr chyldren to honoz. The sonnes of Sa-
 * muel were resydente and helde the iudges-
 ment in the cite of Bersabie, whiche was
 the forthest parte of Iudea, and the old Sa-
 muel went to dwel in the citie Ramatha.
 The honozable & most auncient men (among
 the people of Ierusalē) assembled togither,
 and decreed to sende ambassadors to Samuel,
 whiche shoulde be the wyfist men of all the
 Synagoge. For the auncientes in those
 dayes were so circumspect, that they neuer
 * commytted anye affayres of the common
 wealthe, into the handes of yonge men.

The auncientes then bepng arryued at
 Ramatha: spake these wordes vnto Sa-
 muel. Samuel thou arte now olde, and for

THE DIAL

thy peares thou canst not gouerne the people, therefore thou lyke a pytfull father hast committed the gouernemente of the people into the handes of thy chyldren.

Therefore we let the know in this case, that thy chyldren are couetous. Firste they doe receyue bybes of the suters. And Secondly they doe greate iniurye to the people. Therefore we are come to require the to geue vnto vs a kynge, that maye gouerne vs, and that might leade vs in battayle. For we wyl no moze iudges to iudge vs, but kynges for to gouerne vs. The aged Samuel hearynge the imballage, was ashamed of that the auncientes of Iudea had tolde hym. Firste seing his chyldren to be fust. Secondly bycause they would take their offices from them: and trulye herein Samuel had but iust occasyon, bothe to be ashamed, and also to be sorre. For the vices and wyckednes of the yonge chyldren, are swerdes that passe throughte the hartes of the olde and auncient fathers. Samuel seing that the Hebryues were determyned to depriue them of their office, and gouernement of the people, had none other remedy, but etien to make his mone to God of his greife, and god hearynge his complaintes, sayde vnto him. Samuel, be not sad, nor lament not, for their demaunding a kynge (as they do) they do not myslike thy parsoe, but they dyspaysse my prouydence, and maruel not thoghe they forsake thy chyldren, for they are somewhat to yong, sithe they haue forsaken me their god, and worshippe false idolles. Sythe they demaunde a kynge, I haue determyned to geue them one, but firste tell thou them the condycions of the kynge, whyche are these.

The kynge whome I wyl geue you, shal take your chyldren, with your charriottes, and beastes, and shal send them loden with burdens. And yet therewith not contented, he shal make youre chyldren posses by the wayes, tribunes, and ceturions in his battayles, and shal make them labozers & gar-

dyners in his gardins, he shal make them sowe his seedes, and passe his bycabe: and surbyse his harnes, and armour. You shal haue besides delycate and tender donghters, the which you shal lytle enioye: for the king that I wyl geue you, shal command them to keape and attend those that are wounded in the warres, he shal make them cookes in his pallace, and caters of his expences.

The kynge that I wyl geue you, if he han- del your sonnes and daughters euyl, much worse he wyl handle your goods. For on the beastes & fertile felbes that you haue, his herde shal fede, he shal gather the best grapes of your vignes, he shal chose of your olyue trees, the best olyues, and oyles, and if anye frute afterwarde remayne in your felbes, he wyl they shalbe gathered not by you, but of his workemen, and afterwar- des the kynge that I wil geue you, shal op- presse you muche moze. For of euery pecke of corne, you shal geue hym one, of tenne shepe, you muste heades geue hym one, so that of all thynges whiche you shal gather, agaynst youre wylls, you shal geue the tenth: of youre slaues, the kynge shalbe ser- ued soner then you, and he shal take al your dren that laboure, and trauallye in youre owne possessions, and shal bynge them to ploughe in his owne grounde, and tene- ments. So that you shal paye trybutes, and the kynge shal take his owne profyte, for the wealth and commoditie of his pal- lace. And al this which I haue rehered be- fore, the king shal haue whome I wil geue you. The hystoie which here I haue decla- red, is not Ouide, neither yet the Eglog- ges of Virgil, ne yet the sayninge of Ho- mer, but it is the sentence, and the verie woide of God. O mortal ignorance, that we demaunde, and knowe not whye, nor wherefore, to whome, nor where, neyther whē we demaund, which is the cause & cau- seth vs to fal into so many errors. The Hebry- ues asked (as they thinke) the better, and god geue them the worse: they ask to gouerne them

them, and god giueth them a Tyrant: they aske one that should mainteine them in justice, and he threatneth them with tyranny: they require one that should geue them, and he getteth them one whiche robbeth them: they require one to deliuer them from bondage, and he ordeineth one to keepe them as slaues. And finally, the Hebrues trusting to be deliuered of their iudges, whiche ruled not accordinge to their appetites, God shall giue them a kinge that shall take their gooddes from them by force. ¶ How many times ought we to pray vnto God, to geue vs Princes in our common wealthe, and prelattes in our Churches, which do know howe to gouerne vs, and minstre vnto vs not accordinge to the waight of our soules: but accordinge to the measure of his mercy. Plato saith in the first booke of lawes, that one of the moste excellent lawes which the Sicomenes had in the prouince, was to kepe their Cities, that they shoulde not chaunge nor alter any thinge therein.

Truly those Barbarous were sage in so boyng, and Plato was very discrete to commend them therein. For nothinge destroyeth a common wealthe soner, then to suffer chaunges oftentimes therein. All these thynges seemed to be true in the Hebrues, the whiche in their gouernement were verie rashe, and indiscrete. For first they gouerned them selues by Patriarches, as Abraham was. After they were gouerned by prophettes, as Moyses, by capitaines, as Iosue: by iudges, as Gedeo: by kynges, as David: and after they gouerned themselves by Byshoppes, as Abdias was: and in the end, the Hebrues not contented with all these, God suffered that they shoulde fall into the handes of Antiochus Prolemeus, and Herodes tyrantes.

This punishment fell (accordinge to the iust iudgement of God) vpon them, for their offences: for it was eue mete, that they that woulde not enioye the pleasaunte libertie of Iudea, shoulde taste the cruel ser-

uitude of Babylone. The condition whiche chaunced in the gouernement to the vncoustant Hebrues: the same happened vnto the proude Romaines. The whiche in the beginninge of their Emperie, were gouerned by kynges, afterwardes by tenne men, then by the Consulles, so by the Dictators, by the Censours, and afterwardes by the Tribunes, and Senatours: and in the end, they came to be gouerned by Emperours, and tyrannous princes. The Romaines inuented all these alterations in their gouernements, for some other cause, but to see, whether they coulde be deliuered from the commaundment of an other.

For the Romaines in this case were so proude harted, that they had rather dye in libertie, then liue in captiuitie. God had so ordeyned it, and their twofull case did so promise it, when they were aboue all other kynges, and Realmes of the earth, that the slaue shoulde be obedient to his prionnes, and the subiect shoulde acknowledge the homage to his master.

And though the subiectes do moue warres, though kynges also do winne Realmes, and Emperours conquere Emperies: yet (wylle they or nylle they) bothe greate and small shoulde acknowledge them selues for seruantes.

For duringe the time of our fleshelike life, we can neuer withdraw our selues from the yoke of seruitude. And say not, you prynces, for that you are puissant princes, that you are excepted from seruitude of me. For wote dout, it is a thinge more vntollerable, to haue their hartes burdened with thoughtes, then their neckes loden with yrons. If a slaue be good, they take from him some yrons: but to you that are princes, the greater you are, the greater cares you haue. For prince that for his comon wealthe taketh care, hath not one moment of an houre quyet. A slaue hopeth to be deliuered in his life, but you can not looke to be deliuered, tyll after your death.

They

THE DIALL

They laye pions on the flane by weight,
but thoughtes burde you without mesure.
* For the woful hert is moze burdened with
one houre of care: then the body is pressed,
with twenty pound of pion. A flane or pris-
soner, if he be alone, many times spleth
of his pions: but you Princes that are al-
* lone, are moze greuouly tormented woth
thoughtes: for solitary places are arbores, &
gardens, to wofull and heauy hertes. A
flane hath nothing to care for, but him selfe
alone: but you that be Princes, haue to sa-
tisfye, & please al men. For the prince shuld
haue a time for him self, and also for those,
whiche are aboute him. The diuine Plato
saide well, that he that shoulde haue the lest
part of a prince, and belonging to a prince,
ought to be the prince him selfe. For to the
end the Prince shoulde be all his owne, he
ought to haue no parte in him selfe.
Though a flane worke, and trauaile in the
day: yet he slepeth withoute care, in the
nights: but you Princes passe the daies in
hearing importunate suites, & the nights
in fetchinge innumerable sighes. Finallye
I saie, that in a flane (be it well, or be it es-
upl) all his paine is finished in one yeare,
or is ended at his death: but what shall a
woful prince do, when he dyeth: if he were
good, there is but a shorte memoire of his
goodnes: and if he hath bene euill, his infam-
y shal neuer haue end. I haue spokē these
things, to y end, that great, and smal, loz-
des, and seruantes, shuld confesse, and ac-
knowledge the true signoie, to be onelp
vnto him, who for to make vs lozdes aboue,
became a seruant here beneth.

The xxx. Chapter.

* VVhen the tyrannes began to
reigne, and vpon vwhat occasiō
cōmaunding, and obeying first
began, And howv the auctority,
vvhich the prince hath, is by the
ordinaunce of God.



EASINGE to

speake anye arther of
the poetrall histories, &
auncient saynges, and
speakinge the truth, ac-
cording to the diuine hi-
stories, the first that did loue in this world,
was our father Adam: who did eate of the
frute forbydden, and that, not so muche for
to trespasse the commaundement of one, as
for not to displease his wife Eve.

For manye now a daies, had rather suffer
their conscience a longe time to be infected:
then one onely daye, to see their wiues dis-
pleased.

The first homicide of y world was Caym.
The first that died in the world, was Abel
The first that was blind in the world, was
Lamech.

The first Citie of the worlde, was
by Enoche builde in the felde of Eden.
The first musician, was Thubalcain. The
first which sayled in the world, was Noe.
The first Tyrante, was Nembrod, The
first priest, was Melchisedech. The first
kinge of the worlde was Auraphaell. The
first duke, was Moyses. The first whiche
was called Emperour in the worlde, was
Iulius Cesar.

For vntyll that time, they which gover-
ned, were called Consulles, Censois and
Dictatois. And fro Iulius Cesar hitherto,
they haue bene called Emperours.

The first battayle that was giuen in the
worlde, (as we rede) was in the wyld be-
leys, which now they call, the dead and sale
sea.

For a great parte of that, that then was
the mayne lande, is now the deade sea.

The holy scriptures can not deceyue vs,
for it is full of all truthe, and by them it is
declared, that a thousande and eyght hun-
dred yeares after the worlde beganne, there
was no battayle assembled, nor compaigne
that mette to fyghte in the felde: for at
that

that time, when they had no ambition nor covetousnes, they knewe not what battayle was. It is reason therfore, that in this wyseinge we declare the cause, why the fyrste battayle was foughte in the worlde: yea the ende princes may therof be aduertised: and the curious reader remayne therein satisfied. The matter was thus, that Bara kinge of Sodome, Bersa kinge of Gomorrhe, Senaah kinge of Adamee, Semebar kinge of Schoime, and Valen kinge of Segor, were all 5. tributaries to Chordorlaomor kinge of the Elamites, whiche conspired againste him; because they woulde paye him no tribute, and because they wold acknowledge no homage vnto him. For the Realmes payeng tribute, haue alwayes rebelled, and sowed seditions.

This rebellion was in the 13. yere of the reigne of Chordorlaomor, kinge of the Elamites, and immediatly the yere followinge, Amraphel kinge of Sennaar, Arioch kinge of Ponte, and Thadal kinge of the Gentiles, toynd with Chordorlaomor. The whiche all together beganne to make warres, to destroye cities, and countreys, vpon their enemies.

For the olde malice of the warre is, that forasmuche as they can not haue their enemies, whiche are in the faulte: they put to sacke and destroy those, which are innocent and guiltlesse. The one assaillinge, and the other defendinge, in the ende, all come into the fildes, they gaue battayle as 2. enemies, and the greatest part was overcome of the fewelste, and the fewelste remayned victor:ous over the greatest: which thing C D D would suffre in the first battaile of the worlde, to the ende princes mighte take example, that all the mishappes of the warres come not: but because in peace they wyll obserue no Justice. If Chordorlaomor had helde him selfe contented, as his predecessours did, & that he had not conquered Realmes, in making them subiect, and had not caused them to pay tribute: neither they vnto him,

would haue denied reason: nor he with them would haue waged battayle. For through the covetousnes of the one, and the ambition of the other, enmities grew betwene the people. This considered whiche we haue spoken of before, and of those which came into contentions for signories, Let vs now see, from whence the first original of ferulitude came, and the names of the ferulites and lordes, which were in the old time, and whether ferulitude was by the discorde of vertuous men, in the broughte into the worlde: or els inuented, by the ambition of Tyrantes. For when the one commaunder, and the other obeyeth, it is one of the nouelties of the worlde, as the holy scripture declareth vnto vs in this maner. The patriarche Noe had 3. sonnes, which were called, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, and the seconde sonne (whiche was Cham) begotte Chus, and this Chus begotte Nemrod.

Nemrod made hym selfe a hunter of wyld beasts, in the woodes and mountaynes, he was the first that beganne to play the tyrante amongest men, in forcyng their personnes, and takinge their goodes, and the scriptures called him Oppressor hominum, whiche is to saye, an oppressor of men. For he of euyl life, alwaies committe muche euyl in a common wealth. He taughte the Chaldeans to honour the fyre, he was the first that presumed to be an absolute lord, and the first that euer required of men, homage and seruite.

This cursed Tyrante ended his lyfe, in the golden worlde, wherein al thynges were in comon, with the common wealth. For the auncientes vled their goodes in comon: but their wylls onely they reserved to the selfes. They ought not to thinke it a light matter, for his person to haue bene a Tyrant: but they ought to thinke it a greater matter, to haue bene a rebel in a comon wealth. And much moze y thought to take & effeme it as an euil matter in him, whiche hath bene (as he was) a disturber of the good customes of his

THE DIAL

his countrey: but the moſte vniuerſe of al is, to leaue behinde hym any euill cuſtome, brought into the common wealth. For if he deſerue great infamy, which worketh euill in his lyfe: truly he deſerueth muche more, whiche trauaileth to bring that euill in vze, after his death. Euſebius ſeemeth to affirme, & after this Nembroth had deſtroyed & re-almes by his plagues, he came to dwell in Italye, w. 8. ſonnes, & builde the cite of Camela, which afterwards in Saturnes time, was called Valence, & in the time of Romulus, it was called, and yet is Rome.

And ſythe this thinge was thus, a man ought not to maruaile, that Rome in aun-ſcient tyme was with tyrantes poſſeſſed, and with tyrantes beaten downe, ſynce by ſo famous and renowned tyrantes it was founded. For euen as Ieruſalem was the doughter of the pacient, and the manſion of the quyet kings in Aſya: ſo was Rome the mother of proude princes in Europe.

The hystories of the gentylles (whiche knewe not the holie ſcriptures) declare in an other ſorte, the beginninge of Signorye and ſeruitude, and when they came into the worlde: for the Idolaters, not onelye dyd not knowe the creatoure of the worlde: but alſo they were ignorant of many thinges, whiche beganne in the worlde. They therfore ſay, that the Tyranne Nembroth (as moſt of the others) had a ſone called Belus, & that this Belus was the firſt, & reigned in y^e lād of Syria, and that he was the firſt, that inuented warres on the yearth, and that he ſet vp the firſte hierarchie, and in the ende he dyed, (after he had reigned. 60. and. 5. yerres) in Aſia. The firſte monarchie of the worlde, was that of the Aſſirians, and continued. 133. yerres. The firſte kynge was Belus, and the laſte king was Sardanapalus, whom (at that tyme, when he was ſlayne) they founde ſpinning with women, hauing a diſtaffe in his hande, wherewith they uſe to ſpinne: and truly this vyle death, was to good for ſuche a cowardely kynge, For the

prince ought not to defende that, with the diſtaffe: which his pcedecſours had wōne, by the ſword. As we haue ſaid, Nembroth begat Belus, who had to wiſe Semyramis, whiche was the mother of Ninus, whiche Ninus ſucceded his father in tyranny, and in the empyre alſo: and bothe the mother & the ſonne, not contented to be Tyrantes, inuented ſtarnes of newe gods. For mans malice pourſueth rather the euill, whiche the wicked do inuent: then the good, whiche vertuous men beginne. We woulde haue ſhewed you how the graundfather, and the father, the mother, and the ſonne, were Idolaters and warlike, to the end princes and greate lordes might ſee, that they beganne their Empyres, more for that they were ambitious perſonnes, then for y^e they were good, pacient, or vertuous men. Albeit that Nembroth was the firſte, that euer committed any tyranny, and whether it be true or not, that Belus was the firſt, that inuented warres, & that Chordorlaormor was the firſte that inuented battaylles, and that ther be others, wherof the wytynges make no mention: euery man taking for him ſelf, and afterwards all togethers, thoſe were occaſions of euill enough in the worlde, to agree vnto thoſe thinges. Dure inclination is greatly to be blamed, for thoſe which haue credyt for their euil are many: and thoſe whiche haue power to do well, are verye fewe.

The. xxxi. Chapter.

Of the goldē age in times paſt, and vworldly miſery vvhich vve haue at this preſent.



In the first age and golden woꝛlde, all lyued in peace, eche man tooke care for his owne landes, every one planted and sowd they trees and corne, everye one gathered hys frutes & cut his vsgnes, knod their breade and brought vp their children, and synallye, all lyued by theyr owne proper swette and traunple, so that they all lyued wythout the prejudice or hurt of any other.

¶ Woꝛloly malice, ¶ cursed and wyched woꝛlde, that thou neuer sufferest thynges to remayne in one estate, and though I call the cursed, marueyle not thereat: for when we are in moſte prosperitie, then thou with death persecutest vs moſt cruelly. Without reares, I saye not, that I wyll saye, that thre hundred yeres of the woꝛlde were passe, before we knewe what the woꝛlde mente: god sufferinge it, and woꝛldely malice inuentinge it, ploughes were tourned to weapons, oren & hoxses, were tourned to carpe, and serue in the warres, munitions thereunto agreable, whyppes, to arrows, sponges to crossebowes, symplycitye into malice, traunple into Idolens, rest to paine, peace to warre, love to hatred, charitte to cruelte, Justice to tyrannye, proſpyte to domage, almes to thefte, and aboue all, saythe into Idolatre: and finallye, the swette they had to proſpyte in their owne gooddes, they tourned to bloude shedding, to the domage of the common wealth.

And herein, the woꝛlde sheweth it selfe to be a woꝛlde, herein, woꝛldely malice sheweth it selfe to be malycious, in so muche as the one reioyceth, and the other lamenteth: the one reioyceth to stromble, to the ende the other maye fall, and breake his necke, the one reioyceth to be poore, to the ende the other maye not be ryche: the one reioyceth to be dysprayed, to the ende the

other maye not be honored: the one delyghesth to be sad, to the ende the other shoulde not be merve, and to conclude we are so wyched, that we banyshe the good from oure owne house, to the ende that the euill myghte entre in at the gates of an other man.

¶ When the Creator created the whole woꝛlde, he gaue to eche thyng immediatlye hys place: that is to wete, he placed intelligence, in the vppermoste heauen: he placed the starres, in the firmament: the planettes, in the orbes: the byrdes in the ayre: the pearthe, on the centre: the fysshes, in the water: the serpentes, in the holes: the beastes, in the mountaynes: and to all ingenerallye, he gaue place, to rest them selues in.

¶ Nowe let not Princes and greate Lordes be bayne glozyous, sayenge, that they are Lordes of the pearthe, for truelye of all that is created, **G D D** onelye is the true Lorde thereof. For the myserable man for hys parte, hath but the vse of the frute, for if we thynke it reasonable, that we shoulde enioye the proſpyte of that whyche is created: then were it moze conueniente, we shoulde acknowledge **G D D**, to be the Lorde thereof.

I do not denye, but confesse, that God created all thynges, to the ende they shoulde serue man, vpon condicion, that man shuld serue **G D** lyke wyse, but when the creature ryls againste **G D D**, immediatlye the creato: resyls againste man: for it is but reason, that he be disobeyd, who onelye commaundment wyll not obey. ¶ What euill fortune hath the creature, onely for disobeyinge the commaundment of his creatoꝛ. For if man had kepte his commaundment in Paradise, god had conserued to the woꝛld the signozp: but the creatures whom he created for his seruice, are occasion to him, of greate troubles: for the ingratitude of benefyte, beareth great sorow, to the discrete harte. It is greate pille to be

folde

THE DIALL

holde the man that was in paradys, and that mighte haue bene in heauen: and now to see him in the worlde, and after to become wormes meate. For in terrestyall paradys he was innocent, and in heauen he had bene blessed: but now he is in the worlde, enuyronned with cares: and afterwards he shalbe throwen into hys graue, and gnawen of the wormes. Let vs now see the disobedience we had in the commaundement of God, and what frute we haue gathered in the worlde: For he is very simple, that dare commyt any vyce, takinge no delighte nor pleasure thereof in his body. In my opinion, through the synnes whiche oure forefathers committed in Paradys, the seruitude remaineth in vs their chyldren, whiche are on the yearth: forsomuche as if I entre into the water I drowne, if I touche the fyre I burne, if I come neare a dogge he byteth me, if I threaten a horse he casteth me, if I resyste the wynde it bloweth me downe, if I persecute the serpent he poysoneth me, if I smyte the beare he destroyeth me, and to be bypse I say, that the man that without pitie eateth men in his life: the wormes shall eate hys intrayles in the graue after his death. ¶ Princes and greate Lordes, lode your selues with cloth of gold, heape vp your great treasures, assemble many armies, inuente Justes & Coyneys, seke your pastimes, reuenge your selues of youre enemies, serue your selues with your subiectes, marrye your chyldren to myghty kinges, & set them in great estate, cause your selues to be feared of your enemies, imploie your bodys to all pleasures, leaue greate possessions to your heires, raise sumptuous buildinges to leaue memory of your parsons, I sweare by him that shall iudge me, yf I haue moze compassion to see your synfull soules, then I haue enye to see your vitions lyues: for in the ende, all pastimes will vanishe away, and they shall leaue you for a gage to the hungrye wormes of the yearth. ¶ If Prin-

ces byd consider (thoughe they haue bene bozne Princes, created and noryshed in greate estates) that the day they are bozne, death immediatly commeth to seke the ende of their lyfe, and taketh them here & there when they are hole, & when they are sycke, now tomlinge, then rysinge, he neuer leaue them one houre, vntyl their woful buryall. Therefore syth it is true (as in dede it is) that that whiche princes possesse in thys lyfe is but small, and that whiche they hope in the other is so greate: truly I meruayle why princes (the whiche shall lye so streight in the graue) dare liue in such, and so great largenes, in their life. To be riche, to be lordes, and to haue great estates, men shoulde not thereof at all be proude, sence they see howe fragile mans condicion is: for in the end, life is but lone, but death is enheritance. Death is a patrimony and heritage, which successiue ly is inherited: but life is a ryght, which dayly is surrendred. For death counteth vs somuche his owne, that ofte tymes vnwares he cometh to assaule vs: and life taketh vs suche straungers, that oftentimes we not doutinge therof, it vanissheth awaye. Of this thinge then be true, why will princes & great lordes presume, to commaunde in a strange house. Which is this life: as in their owne house, whiche is the graue. Leauing a syde the said opinions, I say that for sinne onely, seruitude came to dwell in vs, and entered into the worlde: for if there had bene no sinners, we oughte to beleue there had bene no Lordes, nor seruautes. For asmuche as seruitude generally entred into the worlde through synne, I saye that the signorye of Princes, is by the diuine commaundement, for he saythe: by me the kinge doth gouerne, and by me the prince doth minstre iustice. I conclude in this sort, by this reason, that since it is true princes are sente by the handes of god for to gouerne vs, we are bound in all, & for all, to obey the: for ther is no greater plage in a publike weale, then to be disobedient to the prince.

The

The.xxxii. Chapter.

* Hovv king Alexāder the great after he had ouercome kynge Darius in asia,vvent to cōquere the greate India, and of that vvhicke happened vnto hym, vvith the garamantes, and hovv the good life hath more povver then any force of vvarre.



* **I**N the yeare of the creation of the woꝛld. 4. 9. 70. in the firste age of the woꝛld, Tado being highe pꝛeeste in Iherusalem, Dacius, and Mamillus, at rome consules, in the thirde yeare of the monarchie of the Grekes, Alexander the greate (sonne to Philippe of Macedonia king) gaue the last battayle to Darius king of Persia, wherin, kinge Alexander escaped verpe soꝛe wounded, and Darius sleine, so that the whole empire of ꝑ Perses, came vnder the gouernaūce of the Grekes. ꝑꝛ The vnfortunat Princes, doe not onely lose ꝑ liues of them, with whome they were brought bp: but also the realmes which they did inherite. After that Darius was deade, and Alexander saw hym selfe lord of the felde, and that the Perses & Medes were become subiectes to the Gretiās: though many kinges & lordes died in those cruel battalles, yet it semed to Alexander a trifle, to be gouernour of all Asia, wher soꝛe hym selfe in persone he determyned to go conquere the greate India. ꝑꝛ For proude and stout hartes, obteining that which they desyre, immediatlye beginne to esteeme it as litle. Al his armie repaired, & placinge gouernours in al the realmes of Asia, Alexander departed to cōquer ꝑ great India: soꝛ he had promised, & swoꝛne to his Gods,

that thꝛoughe all the woꝛlde, there shoulde be but one empire, & that that shuld be his, and moze ouer, that he would neauer passe thꝛough any straunge realme oꝛ country, but it shoulde geue obediēce vnto him, oꝛ els soꝛthwith he would destroye it. ꝑꝛ For tirannous hartes, haue neuer any regard to the domage of another, vntyl they haue obtayned their wicked desiers. Alexander then going to cōquere realmes, and destroye prouinces, bychaunce one sayd vnto him, that on the other side of ꝑ mountaynes Riphei (towardes the partes of India) was a barbarous natiō, which were called Garamantes, as yet neuer conquered, neither by the Perses, Medes, Romaines, noꝛ Grekes, neither anye of them euer triumphed ouer them: soꝛ they had no weapōs, noꝛ esteemed them not, sicke they had no riches. King Alexander (who soꝛ to subdue realmes, and straung countries, was very diligente, and hardye, & to se new thinges very desirous) determined not onely to send to se that countrey: but also to go him selfe in persone, and in ꝑ place, to leaue of hym some memoꝛye, which thing soꝛthwith he accōplished. ꝑꝛ For he leste them Alters, as Hercules leste in Gades pillars: soꝛ mans harte is so fronte, that it trauayleth not onely to cōpare with many: but also to excel al. The inbassadors of Alexander were sent to ꝑ Garamantes, to aduertise them of the comming of kyng Alexander the greate, and of the terrible & cruel battayles, whiche he in warres had ouercome, & to declare vnto them, howe the puissaunt kinge Darius was slayne, and that all Asia was vnder hys subiection, and howe euerye Citie dyd yelde them selues, agaynst whome, he neyther lysted spere noꝛ swoꝛde, because all yelded to hys commaundement. With these, and such oꝛther like thinges, they woulde haue feared them, soꝛ woꝛdes oftymes maketh mē moze affrased, speciallye when they are spoken of stout mē: then do the swoꝛdes of cowardes. Lucius Bolco saith, in his thirde booke of li. the

THE DIALL

the antiquities of the Grettās (of whom the original of this historie is drawn) that after the imbastatours of Alexander had spoken to the Garamantes, they were nothing at all troubled for the message, neither did they flye from Alexander, nor they prepared any warre, neither toke they in hande any weapons, nor yet they did resist him. Yea and the cheafest of al was, that no mā of al the countrey euer departed out of hys house, and finally, they neither answered the imbastatours (of Alexander) to their message, nor yet spake one worde vnto the. And truly the Garamātes had reason therein, and did in that, right wisely: for it is as muche as a man can doe to perswade those men with wordes, whiche enterpryse any thing of will. It is a merueylous matter, to here tel of the histories of those Garamātes (that is to say) that al their houses were of equal heighr, all men were appareled alike, the one had no more auchoisye then another, in feeding they were no gluttons, in drinking wine they were temperate, of pleasures and debates they were ignorant, they would suffer no idle man to lyne amonge them, they had no weapons, because they had no ennemyes, and generally, they spake fewe wordes, but that which they spake, was alwayes true. King Alexander beinge somewhat informed of those Garamantes, and their life, determined to send for them, and called them before hys presence and instantly desired them, if they had any wise men amonge them, to bringe them vnto him, and by writing, or by word of mouthe, to speake somewhat vnto hym. For Alexander was suche a friend to sage men, that all the realmes whiche he ouercame, immediately he gaue to his men, exceptinge the sages, whiche he kepte for his owne person. Quintus Curtius, by kynge Alexander sayeth, that a prince doeth wel spende hys treasours to conquere manye Realmes, onelye to haue the conuersation of one wise man. And trulye he had rea-

son, for to princes it is more profite, in their lyfe to be accompagned with sages: then after their deathe, to leaue great treasures to their heires. Certaine of those garamātes then beinge come before the presence, of Alexander the greates, one amonge them (as they thought the most auncientest) him selfe alone (the residue keapinge silence) in the name of them al, spake these wordes.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

Of an oration, vvhich one of the sages of Garamantia made vnto king Alexander. A goodly lesson for al ambitious men.

IT is a custome king Alexander, amongest vs Garamantes, to speake seldome one to another, & scarcely neuer to speake with strangers, especially, if they be busy & vniquiet men: for the tonge of an euil man is no other, but a plaine demonstration of hys enuious harte. When they told vs of thy cominge into this countrey, immediately we determined not to go out to receiue the, nor to prepare our selues to resist the, neither to lifte vp our eyes to behold the, nor to open our mouthes to salute the, neither to moue our handes to trouble the, ne yet to make warre to offend the: for greater is the hate that we beare to riches and honours, which thou louest: then the loue is, which thou hast, to destroy men, & subdue countreies, which we abhorre. It hath pleased the, we should see the, not desiring to see the, & we haue obeyed the, not willyng to obey the, and yet we should salute the, not desirous to salute the, wherewith we are content, vpon condition, that thou be pacif to here vs. For that which we will say vnto the, shall red more vnto the amendmēt of thy life: then to diswade the from conqueriing of our countrey. For

it

It is reason that princes, whiche shal come hereafter, do knowe, why we lyuinge, so lytel censure that, which is our owne: & why thou dyeng, takest suche paynes to possesse that, which is an other mans. ¶ Alexander, I aske the one thing, & I dout whether thou canste aunswere me thereunto or no: for those hartes whiche are proude, are also moste commonly blynded. Tell me whether thou goest from whence thou comest: what thou meatest: what thou thinkest: what thou desirest: what thou sekest: what thou demaundest: what thou searcest: and what thou procurest: and further to what realmes and prouinces thy dysordynate appetyte extendeth: without a cause I do not demaunde the this questyon, what is that thou demaundest, and what it is that thou sekest: for I thinke thou thy selfe knowest not what thou wouldest. For proude and ambitious hartes, knowe not what wyl satisfie them. With thou art ambitious, honoure deceiueth the, sithe thou arte proude, conuersion begileth the, sithe thou art pong, ignoraunce abuseth the, and sithe thou arte proude, all the world laugheth the to scozne, in suche sorte, that thou followest men, and not reason, thou followest thine owne opinion, and not the counsell of another, thou embracest flatterers, & repulcest vertuous men: for princes, and noble men, had rather be comendyd with lyes, then to be rejoyced with truthe. I cannot tel to what ende you princes lyue so dysceined, & abused, to haue and heape in youre pallaces mo flatterers, iuglers, and fooles: then wyl, and sage me. For in a Princes pallace, if there be anye whiche extollethe their doenges, there are

tenne thousand, which abhorre their tyrannies. I perceiue by these dedes (Alexander) that the gods wyl soner ende thy lyfe, then thou wylte ende thy warres.

The man that is brought vp in debates, dyscentions, and strife, al his felicity consisteth in burning, destroyeng, and bloodshedding. I see the defended with weapons,

I see the accompanied with tyrantes, I see the robbe the Temples, I see the without profite waste the treasours, I see the murder the innocente, and trouble the penitente, I see the euyl wylled of all, and beloned of none, which is the greatest euyl of all euylles. Therefore howe were it possible for the, to endure suche, and so greate trouayles, vnlesse thou arte a foole, or elles because God hath apoynted it to chastise the. The God, suffer ostrymes, that men beinge quyet, shoulde haue some weyghty affaires, and that is not, for that they shoulde be honored, at this presente, but to the end they shoulde be punished, for that whiche is passe. Tell me I praye the, peraduenture it is no greate follye to empouerye manye, to make thy selfe alone ryche: it is not (peraduenture) follye, that one shoulde commaunde by tyrannye, and that all the reste lose the possession of theyre signorye: It is not follye perchaunce, to leue (to the damnacyon of oure soules) manye memories in the world of oure bodye: It is not follye perchaunce that the Gods approue thy dysordynate appetyte alone, and condemne the wyl and oppynion of all the world besyde: peraduenture it is not follye, to wyne (with the teares of the poore, and comfortlesse wydowes) so greate and bloudye victoryes: Peraduenture it is no follye, wyllyngelye to wette the earth with the bloude of innocentes, onelye to haue a wayne glorye in this world: Thou thinkest it not follye peraduenture, God hauynge deuided the world into so manye people, that thou shouldest vsurpe them to the alone?

¶ Alexander, Alexander, truly such woakes proccade not from a creature, nor rysshed amonge men on the earth: but rather of one that hath bene broughte vp, amonge the infernall furies of hell.

For we are not bounde to iudge men by the good nature they haue: but by the good, and euyl woakes, whiche they doe.

THE D I A L L

The mā is curſed, if he haue not bene curſed, he ſhalbe curſed, that lyueth to the pꝛe-
iudice of all other in this woꝛlde pꝛeſente:
* onelye to be counted couragious, ſtoute,
and hardye in tyme to come. foz the gods
ſeldome ſuffereth them to enioye that gul-
etlye in peace, whiche they haue gotten vn-
juſtly in the warres. I would aſke þ, what
inſolence moued the, to rebel againſte thy
loꝛde (kinge Darius) after whoſe death thou
haſt ſoughte to conquere al the woꝛlde, and
this thou doeſt not as a kyng that is an in-
heritor: but as a tiraunte that is an op-
* pꝛeſſor. foz hym pꝛoperly we cal a tiraunt,
that without iuſtice and reaſo forceth that,
whiche is another mans. Either thou ſear-
cheſt iuſtice, oꝛ thou ſearcheſt peace, oꝛ els
thou ſearcheſt ritches, and our honoꝛ, thou
ſearcheſt reſt, oꝛ els thou ſearcheſt ſauoure
of thy frendes, oꝛ thou ſearcheſt vengeaunce
of thine ennemys. But I ſweare vnto the
(Alexander) that thou ſhalte not ſynde
anye of all theſe thinges if thou ſeakeſt by
this meanes, as thou haſt begonne: foz the
ſwete ſuger, is not of the nature of the byt-
* ter gumbe. How ſhal we beleue thou ſear-
cheſt iuſtice, ſithe againſt reaſo and iuſtice,
by tyꝛannye, thou ruleſt all the pearth: how
ſhall we beleue thou ſearcheſt peace, ſithe
thou cauſeſt them to paye tribute, which re-
ceyueſt the: and thoſe whiche reſiſte the,
thou handeſteſt them lyke ennemys: howe
can we beleue that thou ſearcheſt reſt, ſithe
thou troubleſt all the woꝛlde: How can we
beleue thou ſearcheſt gentlenes, ſythe thou
arte the ſkourge and ſwoꝛde of humayne
fraylnes: howe can we beleue that thou
ſearcheſt ritches, ſythe thine owne trea-
ſoure ſuffyſeth the not, neyther that which
by the vanquyſhed cometh vnto thy han-
des, no: that whiche the conquerours offer
the: how ſhal we beleue thou ſearcheſt pꝛo-
ſyte to thy frendes, ſythe that of thine olde
frendes thou haſte made newe ennemys:
I let the vnderſtande Alexander, that
the greateſt oughte to teache the leaſte,

and the leaſte oughte to obeye the greateſt,
and that frendſhyppye is onelye amongeſt
equalles: But thou, ſythe thou ſuffereſt
none in the woꝛlde to be equall, and lyke
vnto the, loke not thou to haue anye frende
in the woꝛlde. foz Pꝛynces oftymes by
their ingracytude, looſe faythfull frendes:
and by ambition, wyinne moꝛtall ennemys.
Howe ſhall we beleue thou ſearcheſt re-
ueygemente of thy ennemys, ſythe thou
takeſt moze vengeaunce of thy ſelfe beinge
alyue: then thyne ennemys woulde take of
the, if they toke the pꝛyſoner: though per-
chance in tymes paſte they vſed thy father
Phylpe euyl, and haue now dyſobeyed the
hys ſonne.

It were better counſell foz the, to make
them thy frendes by gentlenes: then to con-
ſpyꝛme them ennemys by crueltye.

foz the noble and pityfull hartes, when
they are reuenged of any, make of them ſel-
ues a bouchery. We cannot with troth ſay,
that thy trauaylles are wel imployed to
wyinne ſuche honoꝛ, ſith thy conuerſation
and lyfe is ſo vnconſtaunte. foz trulye, ho-
* nour conſiſteth not in that flatterers ſaye,
but in that which Loꝛdes do. foz the great
ſamplarytpe of the wicked, cauſeth the liſte
to be ſuſpected: honoꝛ is not gotten by ly-
berall geupnge of treaſoures at hys death,
but by ſpendynge it wel in hys lyfe. foz it
is a ſuffyciente pꝛoſe, that the man whiche
eaſtemethe renowme, dothe lyttel regarde
monye: & it is an appaunte token, þ that
man, who lyttel eaſtemethe monye, greate-
lye regardeth hys renowme.

A man wynneth not honoꝛ by murde-
* ryng innocentes, but by deſtroying tiraun-
tes: foz all the armonye of the good gover-
nement of Pꝛynces is, in the chaſtiſeng of
the euyl, and rewardinge the good. Honoꝛ
is not wonne in takynge and ſnatching the
goods of another, but in getynge and ſpen-
dyng hys owne: foz there is nothyng that
beautifyeth the maieſties of a pꝛince moze,
then to ſhewe hys noblenes, in extendynge
mercye

mercy and fauoure to his subiectes: and geuynge gyftes and rewarde, to the vertuous. And to conclude, I wyl let the knowe who he is, that wynneth bothe honoure in this lyfe, and also a perpetuall memozy after his deathe: and that is not he, whiche leade the his lyfe in warres, but he whiche taketh his deathe in peace.

* **A**lexander, I see thou arte poyge, and that thou desyrest honoure, wherefoze I let the vnderstande, that there is no man farther from honoure, then he whiche procureth and desyret the same. For the ambitious men, not obteynynge that whiche they desyer, remaine alwayes defamed: and in wyynnynge and gettynge that which they searche, honoure (notwithstandyng) will not followe them. Welcme me in one thinge Alexander, that the true honoure, oughte thowghe woorthy deades to be deserued, and by no meanes to be procured: for al the honoure that by tyrannye is wonne, in the ende by infamy is losse.

* I am sorre for the Alexander, for I see thou wantest iustice, since thou louest tyranny. I see thou lackest peace, because thou louest warre. I see thou arte not ryche, because thou haste made all the worlde poore. I see thou lackest rest, because thou seakest contencion, and debate. I see thou haste no honoure, because that thou winnest is by infamy. I see thou wantest frendes, because thou hast made them thine ennemyes. Finally, I se thou doest not reuenge thy selfe of thy ennemyes, because thou art (as they would be) the scourge to thy selfe. The since it is so, why arte thou a lyue in this worlde, sicke thou lackest vertues, for the whiche lyfe oughte to be desired.

* For trulye that man, whiche withoute his owne profyte, and to the damage of another leadyth his lyfe: by iustye, oughte for the worth to lose his breathe: for there is nothing that soner destroyeth the weale publyke, then to permyt vnprofytable men therein to lyue, Therefore speakynge the

trouthe, you Lordes and Prynces are but verpe poore. I beleue thou conquerest the worlde because thou knowest not thy superiour therein, and besydes that, thou wylte take lyfe from so many, to the ende, that by their deathe, thou mayest winne renowne. If cruel and warlike prynces (as thou arte) shoulde inherite the lyues of them whome they slay (to augmente and prolonge their liues) as they doe inherite their goods to mainetayne their pryde, althoughe it were vnmeate then warre were tollerable: but what profiteth the seruante to lose his life this day, and his masters deathe to be differred but vntyl the morowe? **A**lexander, to be desirous to commaunde muche, hatynge respice to lyue but lytle: me thinketh it were a greatesolpe, and lacke of wyse doine. Presumptuous and arrogante men measure their hartes, not to the selue daies they haue to lyue, but to the greatesolpe they haue to commaunde: they leade their lyfe in trauayle, and take their deathe with solow. And the remedye hereof is, that if the wyse man cannot obtayne that, whiche he would, he shoulde content him selfe with that, which he may. I let the knowe Alexander, that the perfection of men is not to se much, to heare much, to know much, to procure much, to come to much, to trauayle much, to possesse much, and to be able to do much: but it is, to be in the fauoure of the gods. Finally I tel the, that that man is perfecte, who in his owne oppinion, deserveth not that he hath, and in the opinyon of another, deserveth much more then that he possesseth. We are of this opinyon amonge vs, that he is, vnwoorthy to haue honoure who by suche infamous meanes searchoth for it. And therefore thou Alexander, deservest to be slaue to many, because thou thinkest to deserue the signorye ouer all. By the immortal gods I sweare, I cannot imagine the great mischeafe, which entred into thy breast, so vnrighteously to kill king Darius (whose vassale a frende thou wert

l.iii. onely)

THE DIAL

* onely because thou wouldest possesse the
Empire of the whole worlde: for truly, ser-
nitude in peace is moze swete, then signo-
rye in warre. And he that shall speake a-
gainste it, I say he is sicke, and hath losse
by his talke.

The. xxxiiii. Chapter.

* Amonge other notable matters
he maketh mention of seuen
lawes, vvhich they obserued.



* Thou wilt not de-
nye me Alexander, that
thou were moze helthful
when thou wast kynge
of Macedonia, then thou
arte now being lord of
al the earth: for the excessive trauaile, byn-
geth men out of al order. Thou wilt not de-
nye me (Alexander) that y moze thou get-
test, y moze thou desirest: for the hart which
* with couetousnes is set on fier, canot with
wood and bolues of riches, but w the earth
of the graue, be satisfied & quenched. Thou
wilt not deny me (Alexander) but the abou-
daunce that thou thy selfe hast, semeth vnto
the lytle, and the litle whiche another man
posselleth, semeth vnto the muche: for the
* gods, to the ambitious, and couetous har-
tes, gaue this for penytence, that neyther
with ynough, nor with to much, they should
contente them selues. Thou wilt not deny
me (Alexander) if in dede thy harte be
couetous, that firste the pleasures of lyfe
shal end, before thy couetousnes: for where
vices haue had power longe tyme in the
harte, there deathe onely and none other
hath the authorite to plucke vp the rootes.
* Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) that
though thou hast moze then al, yet thou en-
ioyest least of anye: for the prince whiche

posselleth muche, is alwaies occupied in des-
sendynge it: but the prince that posselleth
lytle, hath tyme and leasure, in quiet to en-
ioye it. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander)
though thou callest thy selfe lord of all, yet
thou hast but onely the name thereof, and
others thy seruantes and subiectes haue
al the profites: for the greedy and couetous
hartes doe trauaile and toyle to get, and in
wastynge that whiche they haue gotten,
they pyne away. And finally (Alexander) *
thou wilt not deny me, that all that
whiche thou hast in this longe conquest
gotten is lytel, and that which of thy wise-
dome and quernes thou hast lost is much:
* for the Realmes whiche thou hast gotten
are innumerable, but the cares, sighes, and
thoughtes, whiche thou hast heaped vpon
thy harte, are insynpre. I let the knowe one
thing, that you princes are poozer, then the
pooze subiectes: for he is not riche that hath
moze then he deserueth, but he that desireth
to haue lesse, then that he posselleth. And *
therefore princes, you haue nothinge, for
thoughe you abounde in greate treasures:
yet you are pooze of good desires. Now A-
lexander, let vs come to the poynte, & caste
accompse, and let vs see to what ende the
conquest wyll come, whether thou arte a
man, or a G^{OD}, and if thou be anye of the
gods, commaunde or cause that we be im-
mortal: and if thou cast do any such thinge,
then take vs, and oure goods w^{it} hall. For
perpetuetye of the lyfe, by no ryches can be
boughte.

* Alexander, I let the vnderstand, that
therefore we seake not to make warre with
the: for we see, that bothe from the, and also
from vs, deathe wyl shortly take away the
lyfe. For he is a verie symple man, that
thinketh alway to remaine in another mas
house, as in his owne. If thou Alexander
couldst gyue vs, as G^{OD}, euerlastynge
lyfe, eche man woulde trauaile to defende
his owne house: but sithe we knowe we
shall dye shortly, we care lyttel, whether
to

to the, or to any other, our goodes & riches remaine. For if it be follye to dwell in an other mans house, as in his owne, it is a greater follye to him & to let his life, in asking thought & lamenting for his goodes. I suppose if thou art not God, but a man, I confide the then by the immortal gods, & do requite the, that thou lyue as a man, be haue thy selfe as a man, content thy selfe as a man, & couet no more then an other man, neyther desyre more nor lesse then a man: for in the end, thou shalt dye as a man, and shalbe buried as a man, and thy bodye into the graue, and then ther shalbe no more memorye of the, but as a man. I told the before, that it grieved me to see the so hardye and couragious, so apte and so poinge, and notable greueth me, to see the so decepted with the world, and that which I perceiue of the is, that then thou shalt know thy follye, when for it thou shalt not be able to fynd any remedy. For the proude poing man before he feleth the wound, hath al redy the oymmet, For whiche are Grecians, cald vs Barbarous, because we inhabite the mountaines: but as touching this I say, that we reioyce to be Barbarous in our speache, and Grekes in our doinges; and not as you whiche haue the Grecians tonge, & do Barbarous woordes. For he that doth wel, and speaketh rudely, is no barbarous man: but he which hath the tonge good, and the life euyl. Syth I haue begonne to that ende nothinge remaine vnspoken, I wyll aduertise the of our lawes and lyfe, and meruayle not to here it, but desyre to obserue and kepe it: for infynite are they whiche extolle vertuous woordes, but few are they which obserue the same. I let the wete (Alexander) that we haue short life, we are few people, we haue litle landes, we haue litle goodes, we haue no conetousnes, we haue fewe lawes, we haue few houses, we haue few frendes, and above all, we haue no enemies: for a wyse man ought to be frende to one, and enemye to none. Besides al this, we haue amongst

vs great friendshipes, good peace, greates loue, much rest, & above al, we hold our selues contented. For it is better to enioy the quietnes of the grate, then to lyue a discontented life. Our lawes are fewe, but in our opinions they are good, and are in two: bes onely included, as here foloweth.

We ordaine, that our chyldren make no mo lawes, then we their fathers do leane vnto the: for new lawes oftentimes, make them forget old customes.

We ordaine, that our successors shall haue no mo gods then 2. of the which, the god shalbe for the life, and the other for the death: for god well serued, is more woorth, then many not regarded.

We ordaine, that all be appareled with one cloth, and hosed of one sort, and that the one haue no more apparell then the other: for the diuersyte of garments, engendreth follye amongst the people.

We ordaine, & whan any woman which is married hath had 3. chyldren, that then she be separated fro her husband: for the abundance of chyldren, causeth men to haue contentious hartes, And if any woman had brought forth any mo chyldre, the they shuld be sacrificed vnto the gods before her eyes.

We ordaine, that al men & womē speake the truth in all thinges, & if any be taken in a lye, comitting no other faulte, that immediately he be put to deathe for the same. For one lye is able to vndo a hole multitude.

We ordaine that no woman liue above 40. yeres, and that the man lyue vntyll 50. & if they dye not before that tyme, & the they be sacrificed to the gods: for it is a great occasion for men to be bycions, to thinke that they shall lyue many yeres.

The xxxv. Chapter.

That princes ought to consider, for what cause they were made Princes.

THE DIAL



Tis a comen and an olde sayenge (whiche manye times by Aristotle the noble pryncce hath bene repeted) that in the ende, all thynges are done to some purpose: for ther is no woꝝke (nether good noꝝ euill) but he that doth it, meaneth it to to some ende. If thou demaundest the gardener to what ende he watereth so ofte his plantes, he wyll aunswere the, it is to get some monye for his herbes.

If thou demaundest why the ryuer runneth so swifte, a man wyll aunswere the, that his ende is to the sea, from whence it came. If thou demaundest why the trees budde in the springe tyme, they wyll aunswere, to the end they may beare frute in harueste. If we see trauaylers passe the mountaynes in the snowe, the rivers with peryll, the woodes in feare, to walke in extreame heates in somer, to wander in the nighte tyme in the colde winter, and yf bechaunce a man dorthe aske one of them sayinge: frende, whether goest thou? wherfore takest thou suche paynes? and he aunswered, truly sy? I knowe no moze then you to what ende, neither can I tell, why I take so muche paynes. I aske the now, what woulde a wyse man aunswere to this innocent trauayler? Truly (hearing no moze) he woulde iudge him to be a foole: for he is muche infortunat, that for all his trauayle loketh for no rewarde. Therefore to our matter, a pryncce whiche is begotten as an other man, boꝝne as an other man, lyueth as an other man, dyeth as an other man, and besides all this, commaundeth al men, if of suche one we shoulde demaunde why god gaue him suche signoz, and that he shoulde aunswere he knoweth not, but yf he was boꝝne vnto it, in such case let euery man iudge, how vntwoꝝthyliche a kinge is to haue such auctorite. For it is vnpossible for a man to minister iustice, vnlesse he knoweth before what iustice meaneth. Let prynces and noble men heare this woꝝde, &

let them impꝛynt it in their memory, which is, that when the lyving god determined to make kinges and lordes in this woꝝlde, he did not ordeyne them to eate moze then others, to drinke moze then others, to slepe moze then others, to speake moze then others, nor to reioyce moze then others: but he created them vpon condicion, that siþe he had made them to commaunde moze then others, they shoulde be moze iust in their liues then others: It is a thinge moste vnjuste, and in the common wealthe very sleaunders, to see with what auctoritie a pꝛiuaunte man commaundeth those that be vertuous: and with how muche shame, he is bound to al his ces. I know not what lord he is, that dare punish his subiect for one onely offence committed: seinge him selfe to deserue, for euery ry deede to be chastised. For it is a monstrous thing, that he that is utterly blind wyl take vꝑ him, to resourne & deade of hym that hath one eye. They demaunded greate Cato the Censor, what a kinge oughte to do, that he shoulde be beloued, feared, and not despyssed, he aunswered. The good pryncce shoulde be compared to him that maketh the triacle, who (if his euyl condicions were not) might sell it righte well. I meane therby, that the punishment is take in good parte of þe people, which is not ministered by the vicious man: for he that maketh the triacle shal neuer be credited, vnlesse þe pꝛoofe of his triacle be openly knowen and tryed. I meane, that the good lye is none other, then a fyne triacle, to cure the common wealthe. And to whom is he moze like whiche with his tonge blaseth vertues, & employeth his deades to all byces: then vnto the man, who in þe one hand holdeth popson to take away life, and in the other triacle to respyt deathe? To the end that a lord be wholy obeyed, it is necessary that his parson had executed that, which vnto others he commaundeth: for no lord can, nor may, withdꝛawe him selfe frō vertuous woꝝkes. This was þe aunswere þe Cato þe censor gaue, which (in mine opinio) was

was spoken more lyke a christian, then like any Romaine. When the true GOD came into the worlde: he employed thirtie yeares onely in workes, and spent but two yeres

✱ and a halfe in teachinge: for mans hart is perswaded more, wth the worke he seeketh, then with the worde whiche he heareth.

Those therfore whiche are lordes, let them learne and knowe of him which is the true Lord, and also let Princes learne why they are princes: for he is not a pylot which neuer sayled on the seas. In mine opinion, if a prince wyll knowe why he is a prince, I would saye, to gouerne well his people, to commaunde well, and to mainteyne all in

✱ Justice, this shoulde not be wyth wordes, whiche shoulde make them asfayde, neither by workes which shoulde offende them: but by swete wordes, whiche should encourage them, and by the good workes, that should edifye them. For the noble and gentle hart can not respyce him; that with a lounge countenance commaunderh.

Those whiche wyll rule and tame fierce, disdainfull, and wyld beastes, the whiche (though a hundred times are threatened, yet they are taken but once) if they kepe them tyed, they shewe them sondry pleasures, so that the wyldenes of the beaste is taken away, onely by the gentyll and pleasaunt vsage of the man. Therefore sith we haue this experience of brute and sauage beastes (that is to wete) that by their well doinge, and by the gentyll handlinge of them, they voluntarily suffer them selues to be gouerned, muche more experience we reasonable men ought to haue, that is to knowe, that beinge right and well gouerned, we should humblye and willinglye obey our soueraine lordes: for there is no man so hard harted, but by gentyl vsage wyl humble him selfe. Princes and noble men, I wyll tell you in one worde what the Lord ought to do, in the gouernement of his comon wealthe. Every pynce that hath his mouth full of crouth, his handes open to giue rewardes,

and his eares slopte to lyes, and his hert open to mercy, suche a one is happye, and the Realme whiche hath him, maye wel be called prosperous, and the people may call them selues fortunare.

For whereas truth, liberalitie, and clemencye, ruleth in the hart of a prince, there wronges, Injuries, and oppressions, do not reygne: and contrarywise, where the Prince hath his hert fleshed in crueltie, his mouth full of tyrannies, his handes defyled with bloude, and enclyneth his eares to heare lyes, suche a prince is unhappy, and muche more the people, the whiche by such one is gouerned.

For it is vnpossible that there be peace and iustice in the common wealthe, yf he whiche gouerneth it, be a louer of lyes, and flatterers. In the yere. 540. before the incarnation of Christe, whiche was in the yere. 254. of the foundacion of Rome, Darius the fourth, beinge kynge of Persia, and Brutus and Lucius at Rome Consules, Thales the greate Phylosopher stoyshed in Grece, who was Prince of the seuen renoumed sages, by the whiche occasion, all the Realme of Grece had and recovered renowne. For Grece boasted more of the seuen sages whiche they had, then Rome did of all the valyaunte capraynes whiche she nourished.

There was at that tyme muche contention, betwene the Romaines and the Grekes, forsomuche as the Grekes sayde, they were better, because they had no sages, and the Romaines saide the contrarie, that they were better, because they had alwayes mo armies. The Grekes replied agayne, y the Romaines knewe not to make any lawes, but in the Greke tonge: and the Romaines to thys answered, that though they were made in Grece: yet they were obserued at Rome. The Grekes sayd, that they had great vniuersities to make wise men, & the Romaines said they had many greatesples to worship their gods in, for y in the end,

THE DIAL

ende, they oughte to effeme moze one seruice done to the immortall goddes: then all the other commodities that myghte come vnto me. A Thebaine knight was demaunded, what he thoughte of Rome and Grece: and he answered: me thinke it is harde to iudge, there is a hard choyle. For the Grekes boast in their tonges, and the Romaynes referre it to the poynt of the sword: but we referre them into vertuous woikes.

* For one good woike is moze worth, then eyther the Romaines sharpe sword, or the Grekes eloquente tong. Therfore touching my matter, this Philosopher Thales was the firste, that founde the pole, called the north starre to sayle by, and the firste, that founde the deuision of the yeres, the quantitie of the sonne and the moone, and the first, that said soules were immortall, & that the world had a soule, & aboute all, he would neuer mary: for the care to content his wyfe, and the thought to bringe vp his children, doth muche dull the wyttes of wyse men.

* This philosopher Thales was very pooze, wherfore some disdayninge him for his pouertie, to declare & shewe that he was moze riche then all they: he bought the next yere all the olyues he coulde get: for by Astronomy he knewe, that in the thirde yere, there would be a greate wante and skarste, thorough oute all the countrey, wherfore all were compelled to come to him for olyues, which at his owne price he sold, and in this sorte, he shewed them that mocked him, that he willingly despyled ryches, and louinglye embraced pouertie. For he that willingly in this worlde is pooze, ought not to be called pooze. This philosopher Thales was a myroze amongest the sages of Grece, and was greatlye reuerenced of all the kynges of Asia, and hyghly renowned in Rome.

And further he was so wise, that to all so daue questions he was demaunded, forthwith he answered: whiche thinge declared him to be of a marueylous wytte, & trulye it was a greate matter: for the moste parte

of mortall men can not tel how to aunswere, nor what to demaunde. Many and diuerse questions were asked him, as Laertius affirmeth, in the aunsweringe wherof, he shewed greate wisdom, treasure of memozye, and subtiltie of vnderstandinge.

First he was asked what god was, Thales answered: of all the moste antiquities, God is the moste auncient thinge. For all the auncientes past, neiether salve him take beginnyng, nor those whiche shall come, shall see him haue endinge.

Secondarily he was asked, what thinge was moste beautiful, he answered: a world because no artycifall painting could make the lyke.

Thirde he was asked, what was the greatest thinge, to that he answered: place wherein all thinges do stande, for the place which conteyneth all, of necessitie muste be greater then all.

Forthlye they asked him, who knoweth moste, he answered: that no man was wiser then time, because time alwaies onelye inuented new thinges, and is he, which reuenueth the olde.

Fiftelye they asked him, what was the lyghtest thinge, he answered: the wytte of man, because that without trauaile & dangers it passeth the sea, to discouer and compass all the whole yearth.

Sixtelye they asked him, what was the strongest thinge, he saide: the man that is in necessitie, for necessitie reuyneth the vnderstanding of the rude, & causeth the coward to be hardy in peryll.

Seuenthye they asked him, what was the hardest thinge to know, he answered: for man to knowe him selfe, for ther shoulde be no contencions in a world, if man knew him selfe.

Eygthlye they asked him, what thinge was sweetest to obtayne, he answered: desire, for the man reioyceth to remembre the paines passe, and to obtayne to that whyche he despyeth present.

Synthely

Synthely they asked him, when the enuyous man is quyet, he aunswered: when he seeth his enemy dead or bitterly vndone.

* For truly the prosperitie of a frende, is a sharpe knyfe to the enuyous hart.

Tenthely he was asked, what man shuld do to lyue vpyghtly, he aunswered: to take that counsell to him selfe, which he geneth to an other. For the vnbpyng of all men is, that they haue plenty of counsell for others, and want for them selues.

The eleuenth question was, they asked him what profyt he hath that is not contentious, whereunto he aunswered: that suche a one is deliuered from the tormētes of his desyre, and besydes that, he recouereth fre des for his parson, for ryches torment hym, because he spendeth them not.

* The. xii. they asked him what the pynce should do to gouerne others, he aunswered: he ought firste to gouerne him selfe, & then afterwarde to gouerne others: for it is vnpowable the rodde shoulde be righte, where the shadowe is crooked: by the occasion of this lasse aunswere, I did byinge in here al these questions, to the end pynces and rulers might see, how that euery one of them is at the rod of iustice, and that the common wealth is none other, but a shadowe of the, which in all, and for all, ought to be righte: for immediatly it is perceiued in y shadowe of the common wealth, if the iustice, or lyfe of him which gouerneth, be oute of hys order. Therfore cōcluding all that I haue spoken before, if a Pynce woulde aske me why he is a pynce, I woulde tell him in one word onely, that he, which is the high pynce hath made you Pynces in this worlde, to the ende you shoulde be a destroyer of heretikes, a father of orphans, a frende of saiges, a tryar of malicious, a scourge of rāntes, a rewarder of good, a defender of Churches, a plague of the wycked, a onely louer and frende of the cōmon wealth, and aboue al, you ought to be an vpyght mynistre of iustice: beginninge firste with your

parson and pallace, for in al thinges amendment is suffered, except in iustice, which ought to be equall betwene the pynce and the common wealth.

The. xxxvi. Chapter.

* VVhat Plutarche the Philosopher vvas. And how the good Prince is the heade of the publike vveale. And if it be iuste to lyue vnder a iuste lawe, it is muche better to lyue vnder a good Prince.



In the tyme of Traian the Emperour, there flourished in his court a Philosopher named Plutarche, a man verypure, and of good lyfe, wyse in science, and well esteemed in Rome.

For Traian the Emperour desired greately to haue wyse men in hys company, and to make notable and sumptuous buildinges in euery place where he came. It is he which wrote the lyues (whem they call Plutarche) that is to wete, of manys Grekes and Romaines, and aboue all, he made a booke, entituled the doctrine of Pynces, which he offered to the Emperour Traian, in the which he sheweth hys vertues, the zeale which he had to the common wealth, the hyghenes of hys eloquence, & the profoundnesse of his knowledge. For he was elegant in wyryng, and pleasaunte in speakyng, and amonge all other thynges which he wrote in hys booke, were these wordes folowinge, worthy to be noted, and wyrtten in golden letters, and they are suche.

THE DIALL

I let the to wete Lord Traian, that thou and the Emppre are but one mysticall body, in maner and fourme of a lyuely body, for they oughte to be so agreable, that the Emperour shuld reioyce to haue such subiectes, and the Emppre oughte to be glad to haue suche a Lord. And to the ende we may describe the mysticall body, whiche is the Emppre, in the fourme and shape of a naturall man, you shall vnderstande, that the heade whiche is aboue all, is the Prince whych commannderth all: the eyes wherby we see, are the good men in the common wealthe, whom we folow: the eares that heare what we say, are the subiectes which do what we commaund them: the tonge wherewith we speake, are the sages, of whom we here the lawes & doctrines: the heeres which groweth on our heades, are those whiche are be-
 * red and greued, and that demaunde iustice of the kinge: the handes and the armes, are the knightes which resyst the enemies: the feete which susteineth the membyes, are the tyllers of the grounde, which geueth meate to all estates: the hard boones that susteyneth the feble and soft fleshe, are the sage men, which endure the trauayle of the common wealthe: the hartes which we see not outwardly, are the pryuy counsellours: finally, the necke that knytteth the bodye wyth the head, is the loue of the kinge and of the Realme, whiche make a common wealthe. All these wordes aboue named, spake Plutarche the great, to Traian the emperour: and truly the intencion, and grace of him, proceeded of a hyghe and deape vnderstanding: for the heade hath 3. properties, which are very necessary for the gouernour of the common wealthe.

The firste is, that euen as the heade is of al other members of the body the higheste: so the auctoritie of a prince, exceedeth the estates of al others: for the prince onely hath auctoritie to commaunde, and al others are bounde to obey. Admyt ther be many stout riche, & noble men in the common wealthe:

yet all oughte to knowe, and acknowledge seruice, to the lord of the same. For the noble and worthy princes, do daily ease many of diuerse seruices, but they wyll neuer except any from their loyalte. Those whych are valyaunte, and myghtie in a Realme, should content them selues with that, wherewith the bartelmentes doe vpon a castell, (that is to wete) that they are hygher then the alleys wherem men walke on the walles, and lower then the pynakelles whych are in the toppe: for the wyse man of hyghe estate, ought not to regard the prince which is the hyghe pinacle, but oughte to loke on the alleys whiche are the pooze comfortles.
 * I would speake a word and it greueth me, (that is) wheras great lordes desire in a common wealthe to commaunde, is like vnto him that holdeth his armes and hādes ouer his head. For all that I haue herde, and for all that I haue red, and also for all that hath chaunced in my tyme, I counsel, admonish, and warne al those whiche shall come after this tyme, & if they wyl enioy their goodes, if they wyl lyue in safegarde, and if they wyl be deliuered from tyrannye, and lyue quyet in the common wealthe, that they do not agree to haue in one realme, aboue one king, and one lord: for it is a general rule, where there are many rulers in a common wealthe, in the end, both it and they al must perishe. We see by experyence, that nature fourmed vs with many synelwes, many boones, with muche fleshe, with many syn-
 * gers, and with many teethe, and to al this, one onely bodye was made, and this bodye had but one head, wherefore thoughe wyth many estates the common wealthe is ordeined: yet with one prince alone it oughte to be ruled. If it consysted in mens handes to make a prince, they woulde then also haue the auctorite to put him downe: but thinges that are measured by the deupne iudgemēt, man hath no power with rasoz to cut them. I know not what ambicion the meane can haue, neyther what enuye the loweste can haue,

haue, nor what pryde the highest can haue, to commaund, and not to obey, since we are sure, that in this mistical bodie of the common wealth, he which is mosse woorth, shall be no more esteemed: then the fingers of paring of the nayles, or the fallinge of an heere from the hedde. Let every man therefore lyue in peace in his common wealth, and acknowledge obedience vnto his prince, and he that wyl not do so, awaye with him: for euen as the onely offence procedeth of hym, so let the onely paine rest vpon him.

* For it is an olde sayeng, that he that taketh by the sworde agaynst his mayster, wyl shortly after laye his headde at his feete.

The seconde condicion is, to compare the kynge to the hed, because the hed is the begynnynge of mans lyfe. The most parte of thinges that euer god created, according to their natures worke thei operations, as in growng high, and towardes the heauens. We see the vapors ascende highe, the plantes groweth highe, the trees budde out on height, the sources of the sea mounte highe, and the nature of fier, is alwayes to ascende and mount on highe, onely the miserable man groweth downwarde, and is brought lowe by reason of the feble & fragile fleshe, whiche is but yearth, and cometh of yearth, and liueth on yearth, and in the end returneth to yearth agayne, from whence he came. Aristotle sayeth wel, that man is

but a tree, planted with h roots vntwarde, whose roote is the head, & the stocke is the bodie, the boughes are the armes, the barke is the fleshe, the knottes are the bones, the sappe is the harte, the rottennes is mallice, the gumme is loue, the flowers are woordes, and the frutes are the good woordes. To make the man to goe vpryghtlye, his hed shoulde be where his feete are, and the feete where the heade is, sythe the heade is the roote, and the feete are the bowes: but in this case I sweare, that we are contrarye pondaunte to our begynnynge, for if oure fleshe be planted contrarywise, so muche

more contrarpy, we haue our lyfe ordered. Therefore concernynge our matter I saye, that the realme hath no lesse his beginning of the kynge, then the kynge of the Realme: whiche thinge is playnlye seen, for that the kynge gyueth lawes and institutions to a Realme, and not the Realme to the kynge. The giftes and benefites whiche the kynge geueth, cometh to the realme, and not from the realme, to the kynge. To inuente warres, to take trewse, to make peace, to reswarde the good, and to punyssh the euyl, proceedeth from the kynge to the Realme, and not to the contrary. For it apperteyneth onely to the maiestye of a prince, to commaunde and obeyne: and to the common wealth appertayneth, to be in auctorite and obeye. As in a greete sumptuous byldynge it is more dangerous, where one stone of the foundacyon doethe fall, then when. 10. thousand tyles faule from the top: so he oughte more to be blamed, for one onely dysobedynce commytted and done to the kynge, and his iustice, then for fift thousand offences, agaynst the common wealth. For we haue seen, of a lytel dysobedynce, a great slaunder arysse in a common wealth. * It is a goodlye matter for a prince to be beloued of his subiectes, and a goodlye thinge also for the Realme, to be feareful of their kynge: for the kynge who is not loued of his subiectes, cannot liue in peace nor quyet, and the realme that is not feareful of their kynge, can not be well gouerned. The realme of Trinacie (whiche now they call Cecil) was alwayes extream agaynst princes and gouernours: for in auncient tyme it was gouerned by vertuous princes, or els by cruel & malicious tyrantes. In the tyme of Severus the emperour, ther reigned in Cecil, a king called Lelius Pius, a man stout enough, & thoroughout all the empire wel esteemed, and touchinge our matter we finde, that they ordeyned in that realme, these lawes folowynge.

We ordaine, that if amongest equal persons

m.i.

sones

THE DIAL

stones there be any iniuries offered, & they be punished, or els that they be dissembled: for wher enuye is rooted, it profiteth moze
* to reconcile their good willes, then to pun-
nische their persones.

We ordaine, that if the greatest be offend-
ed, by the least, that suche offence be lytel
reproued, and wel punished: for the auda-
cite and lytel shame, and also the dysobedy-
ence of the seruante to the mayster, ought
* not to be reformed, but by greuous punish-
mente.

We ordaine, that if any resiste or speake
against the commaundemēt of a pynce, that
without delay he suffer death before the all:
for in any iust quarel, they may boldly, by
* the way of supplication, reuerently declare
their greses, and not by slander rebelly-
ouslye dysobeye their lordes.

We ordaine, that if anye keape the com-
mon wealth against a pynce, he shuld at his
first coming strike of his hed, without fea-
ring any daunger of punishmēt: for his head
is iustlye taken from him, that would there
should be many heades in hē comon wealth.
Of all this before spoken, Herianus is the
author, in his forth booke of the kinges of
Rhodes, where he putteth many and singu-
ler lawes, & customes, which the aunciētes
had, to the greate confusion of these that be
presente: for trulpe, the aunciētes dyd not
onlye excuse these that be now presente in
their woikes and doinges: but also in spea-
king profound woordes. Therfoze returning
to our matter, mans life greatly tranquillyth
alwayes to defende the head, in suche sorte;
that a man woulde rather suffer his hande
to be cut of, then to suffer a wounde to be
made in his head. It is to note. A faulte in a
common wealth, is a cut, whiche cankereth
& festereth, but the disobeyence to a pynce,
is a wound whiche forthewith killeth. If a
man dyd aske me what unyon pynces shuld
haue with their common wealth, I woulde
answer them in this sorte, that hē wealth
of the kinge and realme, consisteth herein:

that the king should accompany with hē good,
and bannishe the euil. For it is vnpossible
that the kinge shoulde be loued of the com-
mon wealth, if the company he hath about
him be suspicious. He should also loue hys
Realme withoute dissimulation, and the
realme shoulde serue hym vnfaignedly:
for the common wealth, whiche knoweth
it to be beloued of their Pynce, shall not
finde anye thinge to harde for hys service.
Further that the king vse hys subiectes as
hys chyldren, and that the subiectes serue
hym as a father: for generallye the good fa-
ther can not suffer hys chyldren to be in
daunger, neyther the good chyldren wil dis-
obeye their father. Also the kyng ought to
be iust in his commaundementes, and the
subiectes in their seruices, ought to be faith-
ful to there kyng: for it is reason and mete
to lyue vnder a iuste lawe, but it is muche
better to lyue vnder a iuste kyng. Also
the kyng ought to defende hys subiectes
from enemyes, and they oughte well to
paye hym hys tribute: for the Pynce who
defended hys people from enemyes, and is
rannye to the helpe deserueth to be lord of al
their goods. Also the kyng ought to keape
hys common wealth in quiet, and oughte
not to be presumptuous of hys persone: for
the pynce which is not feared and wel este-
med, shal neuer be obeyed in his commaun-
dement. Finally I saye, that the good king
ought to doe his Realme pleasure, and the
faithful subiectes ought to endeuour thei
selues neuer to displease their kyng. For
that Pynce cannot be called vnforsunate;
who of his common wealth, is loued and
obeyed.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

* The Prince oughte to here the
complaintes of all his subiectes;
and should knowve them al, to
recompence their seruices.



WE haue shevved, howe *h* emperor, kinge, or prince, is the hed of al the comon wealthe, and now we wyl let you vnderstand another thing, whiche is this: that as all sences are in the head, so oughte all estates to be in princes. For the vertues, whiche are in manye spred and skattered: shoulde be in one prince sounde, & gathered. The office of the seete is not to se, but to goe: the handes office is not to heare, but to labour: the shoulders not to feele, but to beare: all these offices are not seemely for the membez, whiche are his subiectes, but apperteyneth to *h* kyng alone to exercise the. For the head to haue eyes, & no other members, meaneth he nought els, but that only to the prince, & to none other, apperteyneth to knowe all: for Iulius Cesar knewe al those of his host, & named them by their proper names. I counsel, & admonyshe you, o you princes, whiche shall heare, see, or reade this thing, that you doe reioyce to visite, and to be visited: to see, and to be seen: to talke, and to be talked with: for *h* thinges whiche with your eyes you se not, you can nor perfecte lyue. A man oughte also to knowe, that *h* head only hath eares, to note, that to the king, and to none other, apperteyneth to here al, & to keape the gates open, for them that haue any sekres: for it is no smal matter to a comon wealthe, to haue and obtayne of his prince, easye audience. Helius Spartianus, comendeth highly Traian the emperor, that when he was on horsebacke to goe to the warres, alighted agayne to heare the complainte of a pooze Romaine, whiche thing was meruelously noted amongst all the romaynes: for if men were not baine, they shoulde geue a Prince moze honoure for one worke of iustice, then for the victoie of manye battayles. Trulye to a kyng it is no pleasure, but rather payne and grieve, and also for the common people anoyauce: that the prince alwayes should

be enclosed & shet vp. For the prince whiche shetteth his gates agaynst his subiectes, causeth them not to open their hartes willingly to obeye him. How many and great slaunders dothe their arise in the common wealthe, onely for that the prince sumtyme wyl not speake. Iulius Cesar was Emperour, and the head of al the empire, and by cause he was musing of weighbie matters, and would not harken to him, whiche woulde haue reueled the treason conspired against him, was that same day with .33. woundes in the senate murdered. The contrary is red of Marcus Aurelius *h* emperoure, who was so famillier with al men, *h* howbeit he was chiefe of al, and that the affaires whiche now are deuided to many, dependyd then only of him: yet he neuer had porter to his gate, nor chamberlaine at his chambze, and for anye affaires that euer he had to doe with manie me (were they neuer so great) he was neuer longer then one day about the. For trewly (if I may saye it) that prince is not worthy to be beloued, that is scarce of his wordes vnto those, whiche faithfully serue him with wordes: for wise princes, should be quicke in hearing, and graue in determining. For many come to speake with princes, whiche thinke that their counselles shal not be accepted, nor their requestes graunted, yet they desier importunately to be hard, & of trouthe the prince ought to here them: for the heuy harte with sorowes burdened, when it is harde, is greatlye lightened. I would knowe, why the sence of smellynge is onely in the head, and not in the seete, nor in the handes, neither in any other parte of the body: truly it signifieth nought els, but that it apperteyneth to the prince (whiche is head of al) to heare and knowe all, & to vnderstand al, and therfore it is very necessary he be informed of al their lines. For the prince cannot gouerne his common wealthe wel, vnlesse he knoweth the perticularities therof. It is necessary that *h* prince knowe the good, to the end he may preferre them: for that common

THE DIALL

wealth is greatly flandered, wherein the
 euyl are not punished, nor the good honou-
 red. It is necessary the prince knowe & sage,
 * to counsel with them: for the auncient Ro-
 maines neuer admitted any for coucellors,
 but those whiche with philosophie were a-
 dozned. It is necessary he knowe the euil, for
 to correcte them: for there is a great dysor-
 * der in that comon wealth, where withoute
 any shame the wickednes of the wycked, is
 eloked, and unpunished. It is necessary the
 prince do knowe those, & are able to teache:
 * for in the courte of Romaine princes, there
 were alway captaynes, whiche taught and
 shewed how to handel their weapōs, & wise
 men which taught and instructed them sci-
 ensis. It is necessary the prince knowe the
 pooze of his realme, for to ayde and succor
 them: for the princes shuld so gouerne their
 * common wealth, that among the ryche no-
 thinge shoulde abounde, nor amonge the
 pooze anye thinge shoulde wante. It is ne-
 cessary the prince knowe the presumpuous &
 * malicious, for to humble them: for the pooze
 by enuye, and the riche by pride, heretofore
 haue destroyed great common wealthes. It
 is necessary the prince knowe the peace ke-
 pers, for to keape and maynteine them in
 peace: for it is & duty of a prince, to plucke
 * downe the stout stomaches of the proude,
 and to geue winges of fauour to the hum-
 ble. It is necessary & the prince knowe them
 which haue done him seruyce, to & end they
 may be rewarded accordinge to their mer-
 * ites: for the stout and noble harte for litel fa-
 uour shewed vnto him, bindeth him selfe to
 accomplishe great thinges. It is necessary
 the prince knowe & noble mē of his realme,
 to the end that at tyme of neade, he myghte
 retaine and take them into his seruyce: for
 it is but mete, that the man which is ado-
 * ned with vertue, and nobilitie, be preferred
 aboue al other in the common wealth. Fi-
 nally I say, the prince shoulde knowe & mur-
 merers, neuer to creadite them, & likewyse
 to knowe those that tel the truthe, alwayes

to loue them: for none shoulde be moze fami-
 lyar, then the wyse man to geue him coun-
 sel, and the byryghte man to tel the truthe. *
 And contrary wyse, none ought to be moze
 abhorred of the prince: then & flatterer, and
 ignoraunte man. & how necessary it is for
 a prince, to knowe and vnderstand al thin-
 ges in his realme, to the end no man myghte
 deceiue him, as they do now a dayes: for the
 most parte of princes are deceiued, for none *
 other cause, but for & they wyl not be coun-
 celled, and informed by wyse and dyscrete
 men. For manye croucheth vnto princes
 with faire wordes (as though they mente
 hym good seruyce) but their entente is con-
 trarye, by dysceite to get an office, and seke
 their owne profite. Helius Spartianus
 saith, that Alexander Severus (the 25. em-
 peroure of Rome) was a man verie stoute, *
 and vertuous, and amongest al other thin-
 ges, they greatly commendyd him, bycause
 in his chamber he had a samylar booke,
 wherein he had wyrtten all the nobles of his
 Realme, and empire, and when anye office
 was voyde, they sayde nothinge els to him,
 but that it was voyde: for the emperor did
 not graunte it to him that sought it, but (by
 the secrete informaciō of his booke) to him
 that deserved it. I wyl sweare, and al other
 princes shal affirme the same, that though
 they erre in distributing their offices, they
 dee not erre for that they woulde erre: yet
 they cannot denye, but that they erre gre-
 uouslye, for that they wyl not be informed,
 and though they be informed, yet it were
 better they were not informed at all: for he
 shall neuer geue the Prince good nor par-
 * fect counsel, which (by that counsel) inten-
 dethe to haue some proper interest. The
 chiefe thinge of Princes is, to knowe how
 to choose the best in prosperyty, and how to
 auoyde the worst in aduersyty: and to
 knowe also, howe to rewarde the good men
 liberallye. And trulye in this case, Princes
 shoulde haue moze consideracion to them,
 whiche haue done them worthy seruyces,
 then

* then to the importuntyes of hys samplier
frendes : for he shall thanke the seruante
that procureth it , but not the Prince that
geueth it . All that we speake is to no other
purpose , but to perswade , that sith the Prince
is lord of all , it is reason that he be infor-
med of the state and condicion of all : for o-
therwise , he shalbe discerued by a thousand
malycious hartes , whiche are in the com-
mon wealthe . Therefore to conclude I say ,
if the Prince be not informed of the lyfe of
all , the skynne will seame fleathe , the brasne
meate , the strawe coyne , the brasne , gold , the
gaull , honye , and the dregges , good wyne ,
I meane in deuydunge hys offyces , thin-
dyng to hit the wythe , he shall oftymes
myse the butte .

The. xxxviii. Chapter.

* Of a solempne feaste , vvhich the
Romaines celebrated . And of
that vvhiche befel vnto the em-
peroure Marcus Aurelius the
same daye .



AMONGE the
Solempne feastes ,
whiche the auncient
Romaynes vsed , this
was one , to the God
Ianus , the whiche
they celebrated the
first daye of the yere ,
whiche now is the firste of Januarie : for
the Hebrewes beganne their yeate in Mar-
che , and the Romaynes beganne at Janu-
arie . The Romaynes paynted this GOD
with two faces , syngnyfying thereby , the
ende of the yeare passe , and the begynnyng
of the presente yeare to come .

To this God Ianus was dedycated , in
the cytye of Rome , a sumptuous Temple ,
whiche they called the Temple of peace ,
and was in greate reuerence throughtoute
all the cytye : for the citizens , on this daye
offered greate gyses and sacrifices , bycause
he shoulde defende them from their ene-
myes . For there is no nacion , nor people ,
to whome warre euer succeded so prospe-
rouslie , but that they had rather lyue in
peace , then in warre .

When the romayne Emperours wente
to the warres or came from the warres ,
firste they bysyt the Temple of Iupiter ,
secondarilye the temple of the vefall vir-
gyns , and thirdeleye they bysyt the Tem-
ple of the GOD Ianus : bycause there was
a lawe in Rome , that the emperoure shoulde
at hys goinge forth to the warres , bysyt
the Temple of Iupiter laste of all , and at
hys retourne , the firste shoulde be the tem-
ple of Ianus ,

And let them that be desyrous of anti-
quities here knowe , that when they went
to the warres , they set the Emperoure in
the Temple of the vefall virgynes vpon
mens shoulders , and in the temple of Iupit-
ter , the Senatours kyssed hys feete , and in
the temple of Ianus , the Counsailes kyssed
hys cheake : for synce the time that the cruel
Silla caused thre thousande neyghbours to
dye , whiche kyssed hys ryghte hande , they
neuer after kyssed the handes of anye em-
peroure in Rome .

Therefore sythe the gentylles would not
issue oute of Rome withoute bysyrnyng the
Temples aboue named neyther woulde re-
tourne into Rome , befoze that firste they
had taken the benediction of those daynie
Gods : how muche moze oughte Chrys-
tian Prynces to doe it , whiche knowe wel that
their Temples are consecrated to the true
God , and ordeyned for hys seruice onelye .
For the man that forgetteth GOD , and
committeth hys affayres to men , shall see
how hys busynes wyl thrite in the handes
m. lll. of

THE DIAL

of men. Therefore proceedinge forth, the day wherin the feast of the god Ianus was celebrated, every man reioysed thorough all the streates of rome, because that in y^e feastes of Iupiter, Mars, Venus, & Ianus, all the romaines were mery, and triumphed, and likewise they did solempnise the feastes of the goddesse Berecynthia: for the feastes of the other goddes (such they were many in number) were not celebrated, but in certain places in rome. The romaines on that day, put on their best apparel, for they had a custome in rome, y^e he which had not that day change of apparel to honour y^e feast, should either go out of rome, or els keape him selfe locked in his house. That day they set on their houses many lightes, and made great bonfires befoze their doores, and had sondry, and many playes, and pastimes: for the feastes of vaine mē are moze to deliyght their bodies, then to reforme their mindes. They watched al y^e night in the temples, and also they deliuered all the prisoners which were imprisoned for dette, & which the common treasures paid their dettes. Further moze they had a custome in rome, that they shuld susteine al the senators (which were fallen into pouerty) wth the goods of the common wealth. They had y^e day tables set befoze their doores, furnished with al sortes of meates, so that y^e which remained and was left, was moze worth, then that, which was eatē: for vaine glorious men, anaunt them selues moze of y^e, which in bakettes & feastes is left, then they do of that, which is eaten. They sought all that day for poore men, because they shuld be prouyded of al thinges: for it was an auncient lawe, y^e none shuld be so hardy to make any open feast, excepte first he had prouyded for al thē of his create. The romaynes thought, that if they spent lyberally that day, the god Ianus would deliuer them from pouerty, because he was the God of the temperall goods: and they sayde further, that the God Ianus was a God deare chankfull, and ac-

knowledge the seruices which were done vnto hym, and beleued earnestly, that if they spent frely for hys sake, he would requyte it double. In the feast of this God Ianus, many processions were made, not all together, but the Senate went by them selues, the Censours by them selues, the people by them selues, the Patrones by them selues, the maydes by them selues, the bestall virgins by them selues, and all the straunge imbastatours went with the captiues in procession.

There was a custome in rome, that the same day, the Emperoure shuld weare the imperpal robe, and all the captiues which coulde touche hym with their handes were deliuered, and al the transgressours pardoned, the cruels and outlawpes were called agayne: for the romayne princes were neuer presente in any feast, but they shewed some noble example of mercy, or gentleness towarde the people. At this tyme Marcus Aurelius was emperor of rome, and married with the beautiful lady Faustina, who (in the feast of Ianus) leuynge in procession the company of the senators, came into the processio of the captiues, the which casely touched his robe, whereby they obtained liberty, the which they so greatly desired: for truly the captiue is contented with a smal thing. And because ther is no good thing by any good man done, but immediately by the wicked it is repined at, this deed was so contrarie to the euil, that many good men dyd reioyce at it: for there is nothinge, be it neuer so good, nor so wel done, but shortly with it shalbe contraryed of them that be euyl. Of this thinge I haue seen by experience (in this miserable lyfe) sondry examples, that euen as amonge the good, one onely is noted to be chere: so lykewyse amonge the euyl, one is noted pryncypally aboue the rest.

And the worst I fynd herein is, that the vertuous do not so much gloze of their vertue: as the euil & malicious hath shame and dishonour

dishonour of their vice: for vertue naturally maketh a man to be temperate & quyet, but vice maketh hym to be dissolute & wretched. This is spoken, because in the Senate ther was a Senatour called Fuluius, whose berde and heeres were verie white, but in malices, he was mosse canchered blacke: so for his veres he was honoured in Rome of many, and for his malice he was hated of all. This Senatour Fuluius made frēdes in the time of Adrian to succede in the empyre, & for this cause he had alwayes Marcus Aurelius for hys competytour, and wher soeuer he came, he alwayes spake euyl of him, as of his mortal enemy. For the enuious hart, can neuer geue a man one good word. This senatours hart was so puffed wth enuye, that he seinge Marcus Aurelius to obtaine the empyre being so yong, and that he beinge so old could not attaine therunto: there was no good thing that euet Marc^{us} Aurelius did in the comen wealth openly, but it was grudged at by Fuluius, who sought alwayes to deface the same secretlye. It is the nature of those whiche haue theyr hartes infected with malyce, to spitte oute their popls with wordes of spite. Oft times I haue mused which of these 2. are greater, the detwpe the good haue to speake against the euyl, or els the audacitie the euyl haue to speake against the good: for in the world ther is no brute beast so hardye, as the euil man is, that hath lost his fame. I would to God the good to his desyre had asmuche power to do good workes, as the euyl hath strength to his affection, to exercise wyched deades: for the vertuous man fyndeth not one hand to healpe him in vertue to worke, yet after he hath wroughte it, he shall haue a thousand euyl tonges, against his honest doynges to speake. I would all those which reede this my wyrtinge, would call to memory this worde (which is) that amonge euyl men the chiefeest euyl is, that after they haue forgotten them selues to be men, and exiled both trouth and reason, with all their

might, they goe against trouth with their wordes, and against good dedes with their tonges: for though it be euyl to be an euyl man, yet it is muche worse, not to suffre another to be good, whiche aboue all thynges is to be abhozred and not be suffered.

I let you wete, and assure you, you princes and noble men, that you in workinge vertuous dedes, shall not wante slanderous tonges, and though you be skoute, yet you muste be patiente to breake their malyce: for the noble hearte sealethe more the enuye of an other, then he dothe the labour of hys owne bodye. Princes shoulde not be dismayde, neiether ought they to meruaile, though they be tolde of the murmuring at their good workes: for in the end, they are men, they lyue wyth men, and can not escape the miseries of men. For there was neuer prince in the world yet so high, but he hath bene subiecte to malicious tonges. Truly, a man oughte to take grtate pytie of Princes, whether they be good or euyl: for if they be euyl, the good hate them, and if they be good, the euyl iumediately murmureth againste them.

The emperour Octavian was very vertuous, yet greatly persecuted wth the enuious tonges, who on a time was demaunded (sence he dyd good to all men) why he suffered a felwe to murmur agaynst hym, he answered: you see my frendes, he that hath made Rome free from enemies, hath also set at lybertie the tonges of malicious men. For it is not reason, that the hard stones shoulde be at lybertie, and the tender tonges tyed. Trulye this Emperour Octavian by hys wordes, declared hym selfe to be a wyse man, and of a noble hert, and lyghtly to waye bothe the murmuringes of the people, and also the banys of their wordes, whiche thyng truelye a wyse and vertuous man oughte to doe: for it is a generall rule, that byces continuallye seake defendours, and vertues allwayes getter the Enemies. In the booke

THE DIAL

booke of lawes the deuine Plato saith wel, that the euill were alwaies double euyl, because they weare weapons defensiuē, to defend their malicious purpose, and also carry weapons offensiuē, to bleame the good woꝝkes of others. Vertuous men ought to muche study to folow the good, & with moze diligence to flye from the euill: for a good man may commaund al other vertues mē, with a becke of his synger, but to keepe him selfe onely frō one euill man, he had neade both handes, feete, and frendes. Themistocles the Thebayne said, that he felt no greater torment in the woꝝke then thys, that hys propre honour should depend vpon the Imaginacion of an other: for it is a cruell thinge, that the life and honour of one that is good, should be measured by the tonge of an other that is euill. For as in the foꝝge, the coles can not be kyndled without sparkes, nor as corruption can not be in the synckes without ordure: so he that hath hys hart free from malice, his tonge is occupied alwaies in swete and pleasaunt communication: and contrarie wyse, oute of hys mouth, whose stomack is infested with malice, proceedeth alwaies woꝝdes bytter, & full of poyson. For if oute of a corrupted foꝝynayfe the fyꝛe burneth, it is impossible that the smoke should be cleare. It is but a smal tyme, that in prophane loue he that is enamored, is able to refrayne his loue, & muche lesse tyme is the wyꝛathful man able to hyde his wyꝛath: for the heuy syghes or tokens of the soꝝowfull hert, and the woꝝdes are those that disclose the malicious mē. Pulio saith in the first booke of Cefars, that the emperor Marcus Aurelius was verpe vertuous in all his woꝝkes, sage in knowledge, iust in Iudgement, merciful in punishment, but aboue al thinges, he was wise in dissemblinge, and herein he was very discrete: for ther was neuer patient man but prospered wel in all his affayres. We see that through wyꝛte, and wisdomē, many euill thinges become reasonable, & from reasonable are

brought to good & frō good to excellēt. The contrary happeneth to them that are moued moze then they nede, for the man whiche is not patient, loketh not yet for any good successe in his affayres, though they are iuste. The emperor Marcus oft tymes was wont to say, that Iulius Cesar waue the empyꝛe by the sword, Augustus was emperor by Inheritance, Caligula came to it, because his ffather conquered Germany, Nero gouerned it with tyꝛanny, Titus was emperor, for he subdued Iuery, the good Traian came to the empyꝛe, by his strengthe & stoutnes, but he obtained not the empire, but through patience onely. For it is a greater patience, to suffer the Injuries of the malicious: then to dispute with the sage in the vniuersity. And this emperor said further in the gouernement of the empyꝛe, I haue profited moze through patience: then by science: for science onely profiteth for the quietnes of the parson: but patience profiteth the parson, & the common wealth. Iulius Capitolinus sayeth, that the emperor Antonius Pius was a pꝛince very patiente, & in such soꝛte, that oftentimes being in the Senate he sawe both those which loued him, & also those that were against him, with the people, when they did rebell: yet his pacifce was so great, that neyther his frendes for the vnthankfulness of them selues, remayned sad: neither his enemies for any displeasure by him done did at any tyme cōplaine. Measuringe therefore in this chapter to toyne the end, with the beginning: I say that as the emperor Marcus Aurelius put him selfe amongest the captiues, and that this dede in Rome of al men was cōmended: the Senator Fuluius coulde not refrayne frō speaking, for that he had not the wyꝛte to endure it, wherfoꝛe as it were scoffinge he spake these woꝝdes to the emperor. Lord, I meruaile why thou yeldest thy self to all, which thing for the reputaciō of the empyꝛe can not be suffered, for it is not decent for thy majesty. The emperor Marc⁹ Aureli⁹ setting

and

and hearing that in the presence of them al, the senatour Fuluius spake vnto him these wordes, he toke it pactly and with pleasant countenance saide. The questio that the Senatour Fuluius proponeth, let it be so: to mooune, bycause my aunswere may be the typer, & his collet the greater. Therfore h next day folowing, h emperor Marcus came in to the hygge capitoll (as Pulio declareth in the lyfe of Marcus Aurelius) and spake these wordes,

The. xxxix. Chapter.

Of the aunsvvere vvhiche the emperor made to the senatour before al the people, vvherin he peynteth enuyous men.



FATHERS conscript, and sacred senat, I would not yesterdave aunswere to that, that the Senatour Fuluius spake vnto me, because

it was somewhat late, and so: that we were longe in sacrifices, I thought that neyther time nor place was convenient to aunswere thereunto: For it is a signe of a litle wisedome, and of great folpe, for a man to aunswere sodainly to euery question. The libertie that vndiscret men haue to demaunde, h selfe same priuilege haue h sage so: to aunswere: for though the demaund procede of ignorance, yet the aunswere ought to procede of wisedome. Truly wise me were wel at ease, if to euery demaunde, they shoulde aunswere the simple & malicious: wha (for the mooste parte) demaunde moze so: to bere other men, then so: to profite them selues, moze so: to proue, thā know, wherfore wise men ought to dissemble at suche demaundes. For the sages ought to haue their eares open to heare, & their tong tyed, because they shuld not speake. I let you know (auntpent

fathers, & sacred senate) that h litle whiche I knowe, I learned in the yle of Rhodes, in Naples, in Capua, & in Tharente. And al my tutozs told me, that the Intencion & end of men to study, was onely to know, to gouerne them selues amongeste h malicious, for science profiteth nothinge els, but to know how to keape his life well ordered, & his tong wel mesured. The thinges whiche I wyll declare this day in the senate (I proteste before god) I speake the not with any mortall hatred: but onely to aunswere vnto h, which toucheth the auozite of my perso. For the thinges which touche the honour, ought firste by word to be aunswere, & afterwarde by sword to be reuenged. Therfore now beginning my mater, & addressing my wordes to the Fuluius, & to that which h spaketh vnto me, asking why I shew my selfe so to all men, I aunswere the: it is because all men shuld giue themselves to me. Thou knowest wel Fuluius, h I haue bene a Consul as thou art, & thou hast not bene an emperor as I am. Therefore beleue me in this case, h the prince being despised, can not be beloued of his people. The gods will not, nor the lawes do permyte, neither the common wealth willingly shuld suffer, h all princes shuld be lordes of many, & that they shuld not communicate but w a felo. For princes which haue bene gentile in their liues, the auncientes haue made the gods after they deathes. The fisher, to fishe for many fishes in the riuer, goeth not with one hote alone, nor h mariner, to fishe in h deepe sea, goeth w one nette onely: I meane, h the profound willes, which are depely enclosed in h hartes, ought to be wonne some by giftes, other by promises, other by pleasaut wordes, & others by gentle entercyement we shoulde winne. For princes shoulde trauaile moze to winne the hartes of their subiectes, than to conquare the realmes of straungers.

The greedy and couetous hartes care not, though the prince shutteth by his hart, so that he open bys cofers: but noble and valyaunt

THE DIAL

valiaunt men little esteeme that which they lock vp in their cofers, so that their hartes be open to their frendes. For loue can neuer, but with loue againe be requited.

Sith Princes are lordes of many, of necessity they ought to be serued with many, & beinge serued with many, they are bounde to satisfie many: and this is as generally, as perticulerly, they can not dispence with their seruauntes. For the prince is no lesse bounde to paye the seruice of his seruaunt, then the maister is to paye the wages of the hyred laborer. Therefore if this thinge be true (as it is) howe shall poore Princes doe, whiche keape many realmes, and in keepinge them they haue greate expenses, and for to paye suche charges, they haue lytle money. For in this case, let every man doe what he will, and let them take what counsaile they lyke beste, I would counsaile all others, as I my self haue experimēted, & is: that the prince shoulde be of so good a conuersation, amonge other which are his, and so affable and familiar with all, that for his good conuersation onely, they shoulde thinke them selues well payde. For with rewardes, princes recōpence the trauaile of their seruauntes: but with gentle wordes, they robbe & hartes of their subiectes. We see by experience, that dyuers marchauntes had rather bye deere in one shoppe, because the marchaunt is pleasaunt: then to bye better cheepe in an other, wheras the marchaunt is churlishe. I meane, that there are many, whiche had rather serue a Prince, to gayne nothing but loue onely: than to serue an other prince for moneye. For there is no seruice better imployed then on hym, whyche is honeste, good, and gracious: and to the contrarie, none worse bestowed, then on hym whych is withthankfull and churlishe.

In Princes pallaces there shall neuer want euill and wycked men, malicpous and deuelys flatterers, which wyll seeke meanes to put into their Lordes heades, howe they shall rayse their rentes, leaue

subsidies, inuene tributes, and borrowe money: but there are none, that wyll tel them, how they shall wyne the hartes and good willes of their subiectes, though they knowe it more profitable to be well beloued, then necessarye to be enryched. He that heapeyth treasure for his prince, and seperateth hym from the loue of his people: oughte not to be called a faythfull seruaunt, but a mortall enemy.

Princes and Lordes oughte greatlye to endeuoure them selues, to be so conuersant amonge their subiectes, that they had rather serue for good will: then for the payment of money. For if money wante, their seruice wyll quayle, and hereof procedeth a thousand incoueniēces vnto princes, which neuer happen vnto those, that haue seruauntes, which serue more of good wyl, then for money: for he that loneth with all his hert, is not proude in prosperitie, desperate in aduersitie, neither complaineth he of pouerty, nor is discontented beinge fauour lesse, nor yet abashed with persecution, and finallye, loue and life are neuer seperated, vntil they come vnto the graue. We see by experice, that the tablement of the poore labourers of Scicil is more worth, then the money of the knightes of Rome. For the labourer every time he goeth to the fælde, bringeth some profit from thence: but every time & knight sheweth him self in the market place, he returneth without money. By that cōparison I meane, that princes shoulde be affable, easie to talke to al, pleasaunt, merciful, benigne, & skoute, and aboue all, that they be gracious & louinge, to the end that through these qualities, & not by money, they maye learne to wyne the hartes of their subiectes. Princes shuld greatlye labour to be loued, specially if they will find who shall succour them in aduersities, and kepe them from euyl wyl and hatred: for eche man entoreth his owne trauaile, & truly the furious and sorrowful hartes taketh some rest, to see & others haue pity & cōpassiō vpon their greses.

Princes

Princes also shoulde enberthour themselves to be loued and wel wyllled, because at their death they maie of all their seruantes and frendes be lamented. For Princes oughte to be suche, that they maye haue in theyr lyfe tyme to praye for them, and after the death of them to make some memoire.

How cursed is that prince, and also how unhappy is that common wealth; wher the seruantes wyll not serue their Lorde, but for rewarde: and that the Lorde dothe not loue them but for their seruices. For there is neuer trewe loue, where there is any particuler intereste. With many stones a house is buylded, and of many men and one Prince (whiche is the heade of all) the common wealth is made.

For he that gouerneth the common wealth; maye be called a Prince, and otherwyse not: and the common wealth can not be called nor sayde a common wealth, yf it hath not a Prince, whiche is the heade thereof. If geometrye doe not deceyue me, the lyne whiche ioyneth one stone wyth an other, suffereth well that it be mingled wyth sande; but the corner stone that lyeth in the toppe oughte to be medled with vnflakyd lyne. And it soundeth vnto good reason: for if the nether stones separe, the wal openeth: but if the corner should slippe, the building incontynently fallerh. By reason he that is wyse, without any moe wordes might easely vnderstande me, how be it I will apply this comparison to my purpose. The loue of one neyghbour wyth an other, maye suffer to be colde: but the loue of a Prince to his people, shoulde be true and pure. I meane, that the loue amongeste frendes maye well passe, sometimes though it be colde: but the loue betwene the kyng and his people, at al tyme oughte to be perfect. For wher ther is parfytte loue, there is no sayned wordes, nor falsyfyll service done.

I haue scene in Rome many debates amonge the people to haue ben pacified in

one daye: and one onelye, whiche betwene the Lorde and the common wealth ariseth, can not be pacified vntill death. For it is a daungerous thing, for one to stryue with manye, and for many to contende againste one. In this case, where the one is proude, and the other rebelles, I wyll not excuse the Prince, nor let to condemne the people: For in the ende, he whom we shall fynde moste to vnblamed, deserueth so to be repayed. From whence thinke you cometh it, that Lordes now a dayes, do commaund vniuste thinges by surye, and that subiectes in iuste matters wyll not obeye by reason, I wyll tell you.

The Lorde doyng of wyll, and not of ryghte, woulde caste the wylls of all in his owne bzaine, and deriue from him self all counsaile. For euen as Princes are of greater power then al the rest: so they think they knowe more than all the reste.

The contrary happeneth to subiectes, whiche beinge prouoked I can not tell you wyth what frenesye despyssinge the good vnderstandinge of their Lorde, wyll not obeye that, that their princes willet for the health of them all, but that whiche euery man despyerh, for him selfe particulerly.

For men now a dayes are so sonde, that euery man thynketh the Prince shoulde looke on him alone. Trulye it is a heauye matter (though it be muche bled) that one shoulde desyre that the garments of all other shoulde be mete for him: and it is more pyttee, that all men shoulde seeke to weare the harnesse of one. But what shall we be (fathers conscripte and sacred senate) with our fathers lefte vs this worlde wyth such folye, and that in these debates and stryfes, we their chyldren, are alwaies in dissencion and contrenuersye, and in this wyfulness, we shall also leaue our chyldren and heires.

Howe many Princes haue I scene and read of, in my tyme, of my predecessours, whiche were bitterlye vndone, by to muche pryde & presumption: But I neuer read nor heard

THE DIAL

hearde of any, which were destroyed for be-
 inge curteous, and louinge to his subiectes.
 I will declare some examles, whyche I
 haue reade in booke, to the ende that the
 Lordes maye see what they winne by their
 good conuersacion, and what they lose by
 beinge to hauly. The Realme of the Syco-
 nians was greater then that of the Calde-
 ans in weapons, and inferiour in antiqui-
 tie, vnto that of the Assirians. In this real-
 me there was Debastia, which was called
 a linage of kinges, that endureth. 225. ye-
 res, because all those kinges were of a com-
 mendable conuersacion. And an other of
 Debastia endured no longer then. 40. ye-
 res. And our auncientes tooke pleasure of
 peace, whereof we are destitute: and were
 ignorant of the warres, whiche we now
 vse so muche. Alwaies they desired to haue
 kinges whiche should be good for the com-
 mon wealth in peace, rather than valiaunt
 and couragious for the warre. As Homere
 in his Iliade saith: the auncient Egyp-
 tians called their kinges epiphanes, and had
 a custome, that Epiphanes alwaies should
 enter into the Temples barefoote. And be-
 cause it chaunced the Epiphane on a time
 to come into the church boased, he was im-
 mediately for his disobedience depriued, and
 expelled from the realme, and in his steade
 an other created. Homere declareth here,
 that this king was proude, and euill condi-
 tioned, wherefore the Egyptians depriued
 him, and banished him the realme, taking
 occasion that he dyd not enter into the tem-
 ple barefoote. For truly, when Lordes are
 euill wylled, & not beloued, for a litle tryfle
 and occasion, the people will arse and re-
 bell against them. The saide Homere sayd
 also, that the Parthes called their kynges
 Assacides, and that the syster of that name,
 was depriued and expelled the realme, for
 that of presumption he had him selfe to the
 mariage of a knight, and beinge bydden &
 desired, would not goe to the mariage of a
 poore Plebey. Cicero in his Tusculanes

saith, that in olde time the people perswas-
 ded their princes to communicate with the
 poore, and that they should absteyne and
 flye from the ryche: For amonge the poore,
 they may learne to be mercifull, and with
 the riche, they shall learne nothinge but to
 be proude. We know right wel (fathers con-
 script) how this our countrey was first cal-
 led great Grece, afterwarde it was called
 Latium, and then Italye. And whē it was
 called Latium, they called their kynges
 Marranos, and truly though their borders
 were but narrowe: yet at the leasse their
 stoutnes was great. The Annales of those
 times say, that after the thirde Siluius, suc-
 ceded a Marrane, who was proude, ambiti-
 ous, and euill conditioned, in suche sorte,
 that for feare of the people, alwaies he slept
 locked vp: and therefore they depriued and
 banished him the Realme. For the aunci-
 entes saide, that the kinge should locke his
 doores at no houre of the night against his
 subiectes, neyther he should refuse in the day
 to giue them audience. Tarquyne whiche
 was the laste of the. 7. kinges of Rome, was
 verie vnthankfull towarde his father in
 lawe, he was an infamy to his bloude, a
 traytour to his countrey, and cruell of his
 parson, who also enforced the noble Lucre-
 tia, and yet notwithstanding this, they doe
 not call him vnthankfull, infamous, cruel,
 traytour, nor aduotrer: but Tarquyne
 the proude, onely for that he was euill con-
 ditioned. By the faith a good mā I sweare
 vnto you (fathers conscript) that if the mi-
 serable Tarquyne hadde bene beloued in
 Rome, he had neuer bene depriued of the
 Realme, for committinge adulterye, with
 Lucretia: for in the end, if euery lyght of-
 fence (whiche in youth is committed, should
 be punished, within short space ther should
 be no common wealth. All these euils (both
 before and after Tarquyne) were commit-
 ted by the auncientes in the Romayne em-
 pyre, which were such as these (of this yōg
 and light prince) & were nothinge in com-
 parison

parison vnto the. For trulye considerynge
 the pouthe of the one, and the experience of
 the other, the greatestt offence of the ponce,
 is but a counterfayte to the leaste, that the
 olde comitteth. Iulius Cesar, last dictatour
 of Rome, and first emperour (being a thing
 commendable, bothe to senatours to salute
 the emperour on their knes, and to the em-
 perour to rise against them, eche one accor-
 ding to his order, because of presumption,
 and that he woulde not obserue this cere-
 monye, with, 23. woundes they dyspatched
 hym of his lyfe. Tiberius was an Empe-
 rour, whome they blame for drunkennes,
 & Caligula was an emperour also, whome
 they accuse of adulterye, with hys sisters.
 Nero was an emperoure, who (for that he
 slew his mother, and his maister Seneca)
 hath for ever ben named cruel. Sergius
 Galba was a deuouring & gluttonous em-
 perour, for that he caused for on only ban-
 ket, seuen thousand birdes to be killed. Co-
 mitian was an emperour, who was great-
 ly noted of al euilles. For al euilles which
 in many were scatered, in hym alone were
 founde. All these myserable Princes in the
 ende were betrayed, hanged, and beheaded.
 And I swaie vnto ye (fathers conscripte)
 that they dyed not for their vices, but be-
 cause they were proude, and euil conditio-
 ned. For finally, the prince for one vice only
 cannot much endamage the people: but for
 being to haughty, and presumptuous, and of
 euyl condicions, he may destroy a common
 wealthe. Let Princes and greate lordes be
 assured, that if they geue manye occasions
 of euyl wil, afterwarde on onely sufficeth,
 to stirre their subiectes to destroye them:
 for if the lord shewe not hys hatred, it is
 for that he wyl not, but if the subiecte doe
 not reuenge, it is for that he cannot. We-
 leme me (fathers conscripte, and sacred Se-
 nate) that even as the physitions with a ly-
 tle tryacle purge manye euyl humours of
 the bodie: so the sage Princes, with verye
 lytle beneuolence, drawe oute of their sub-

iectes muche sylthynes of harte. And has-
 cause the members woulde be agreable
 with the heade, in myne oppynion it behou-
 ueth the people to obeye the commaundes
 mente of the Prince, and to honour and re-
 uerence hys personne: and the good Prince
 to be iuste and equall to all in generallye,
 and gentle in conuersacion with euerie
 one. O happye common wealthe, wherein
 the Prince findeth obedience in the peo-
 ple, and the people in lyke maner, loue in
 the Prince. For of the loue of the Lorde,
 springeth obedience in the subiecte: and of
 the obedience of the subiectes, springeth
 loue in the Lorde. The emperour in Rome,
 is as the spyder in the myddest of her cob-
 webbe: the whiche being touched with the
 needels point, by one of the thredes of the
 same (be it neuer so lytle) immediatly
 the spyder feeleth it. I meane, that all the
 woorkes whiche the Emperoure dothe in
 Rome, are immediatly published throughe
 oute all the contrye. For in fine, synce
 Princes are the myrrour of al, they cannot
 wel cloake their vices. I see (fathers con-
 scripte) I haue ben iudged here of woold-
 ly malice, because I accompanied the cap-
 tiues in processyon, and also because I suf-
 fered my selfe to be touched with them, to
 the end they might enioye the priuiledge of
 their liberty: and in this case, most humble
 thanks I render to the immortal gods, be-
 cause they made me a merciful emperour,
 to set those at libertie that were in prison,
 and that they made me not a cruel tiraunt,
 to set those in prison whiche were at libertie.
 For the proverbe sayeth, that with one
 beane, a man maye take two pigeons: euen
 so chaunced the lyke herein yesterdays. For
 the benefyte was done for those myserable
 captiues: but the example of humanitie
 was shewed to all straunge nacjons. And
 knowe ye not, that when the Prince be-
 loseth the irons from the feate of the cap-
 tiues, he byndeth the hartes, landes, and
 Goods of hys subiectes: concluding there-
 n. f. for

THE DIAL

foze I saye, that to Princes it were more safetie, and to the common wealthe more profite, to be serued in their palaces by free hartes with lone: then by subiectes whiche are kepte vnder by feare.

The .xl. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the emperour Marcus Aurelius vvrote to hys especial frende, vvherein he declareth the opinions of certaine philosophers concerning the felicitie of man.

Marcus Aurelius Emperour of Rome, tribune of the people, high bishoppe, seconde consul and monarche of al the Romaine empire, wissheth to the Pulio his old frend, health to thy parson, and prosperitie againste thy euyl fortune. The letter that thou wrotest vnto me from Capua, I receiued here at Bethinia, and if thou diddest write it with a good harte, I did reade it with wpylling eyes: wherof thou oughtest somewhat to content the. For it is an auncient saleng of Homere, that that which is wel biewed wth the eyes, is tenderly beloued of h^{is} hart. I protest vnto the, by h^{is} faith of the immortall gods, h^{is} I do not write vnto h^{is} as a romaine emperour, that is to say, fro the lord to h^{is} seruauant, for in this soze, I should write vnto the bylese, & touching h^{is} purpose: which thing ought not to be done to the peculiarer frend. For the letters of graue men should neuer beginne, and the letters of vs frendes should neuer end. I write vnto the my frend Pulio, as to a peculiarer frēd, as to an old cōpanion of mine, & as to him, which is a faithfull secretary of my desires, and in whose company I was neuer displeased, in whose mouth I neuer found lie, & in whose promise ther was neuer breach made. And the thing being thus, I should commit trea-

son in the laboe of friendship, if I kepte secret from the anye of my inward conceites. For al the griefes, whiche lye buried in the woful harte, ought not to be communicate but with a faithfull frēd. Wouldest thou thinke Pulio, that the romaine emperour hath lytle trauaile to write vnto the as emperour, to speake as emperour, to walke as emperour, to eat as emperour, & finally to be as emperour in deed: certes I do not meruaile hereat. For truly the life of h^{is} vertuous emperour, is but a dial which ordereth or disordereth the cōmon wealthe: & that wherof I meruaile, is of the foly of Rome & vanity of the cōmō wealthe. Forasmuch as al sage, that the prince if he wil seeme graue, and be wel esteemed of h^{is} people, ought to go softly, to speake litle, and to write bylese: so h^{is} for writing of letters they wil be bylese, and for cōquering of straunge realmes they doe not rebuke him although he be long. Wisse men shuld desier h^{is} their princes be of a gentle cōdicio, to the end they sal not to strāy. That they haue their mind vncorrupted, to minister to al equal iustice, h^{is} their thought be good, not to desier straunge realmes, that they haue their hartes void from wathe, that they be sound within to pardon iniuries h^{is}, they loue their subiectes to be serued of the, that they know h^{is} good to honoz the, and that they know the euil to punish the: and as for the surples, we litle regard whether the kynge goe false, whither he eate much or write bylese. For the dauger is not in h^{is}, which is in h^{is} lacke of his person: but is in the negligence, h^{is} be vbleis in the cōmon wealthe. I haue receiued my frende Pulio great cōforte of thy letter, but muche more I shuld haue receiued of thy ptesse: for the letters of auncient frendes, are but as a remembraunce of time past. It is a great pleasure to the mariner, to talke of the perils past being in the haue: and to the captayne, to gloze of the battayle after the victorie. I meane, aboue all pleasure this is h^{is} greatest to men, being now faithfull frendes, to talke

talke of the trauayle and daungers whiche they passed, when they were yonge men. Beleeue me in one thing, and doe not doute thereof: there is no man that knoweth to speake, that knoweth to possesse, nor y can iudge or take any pleasure, neither that knoweth wel how to heape y goods whiche the gods haue giuen him, vnlesse it be he, y hath bought it derely with great trauayle. For with al our hartes we loue y thing, whiche by our owne proper trauayle we haue gotten. I aske the one thing: who is he that oweth most to the goddess, or that is most esteemed amongst men: of Traian the iust, whiche was broughte vp in the warres of Dace, Germanie, and Spaine: or of Nero the cruel, whiche was nourished in al the delicousnes of rome. Truly y one was none other, then a rose among byers, and the other was but as a nettel among flowers. I speake this, because the good Traian hath governed his life in such sorte, that alwayes they wyl smel the rose by the pleasaunt sauiour: but the cruel Nero hath leste y stink with the nettel of hys infamye. I wyl not speake al, because many are, and were made good, but for y most part, the princes which were brought by delicouslye, gatte euerye man occasion that al should be offendid, for the euil gouernaunce of their liues in their realmes: and because they neuer experimēted any kind of trauayle in the selues, they do litle esteeme the paines of another. I wil not that thou thinke my frēd Pulio, that I haue forgotten the time that is past, though the gods brought me to the empire present. For though we together were tossed with the tormentes of youthe: yet now we maye repose our selues in y caulmes of oure age. I doe remember that thou and I did study in Rhodes in letters, & afterwarde we had taken weapons in Capua: it hath pleased the gods that y seedes of my fortune should ripe here in rome, and to the, and to others better then I, fortune woulde not giue one onelye care. I doe not getie the lycence, that

thy thoughte be suspitious of me, sicke thou of my harte arte made a faithfull frende: for if vnconstraunt fortune dorthe truste me, to gather with trauayle the grape, know thou that here in my palace, thou shalt not want of the wyne. The gods wyl not suffer, that now in this momente thou shouldest fynde my harte shutte from the, whose gates I founde alwayes (for the space of 20. yeares) open vnto me. With y my fortunes brought me to the empire, I haue alwayes had two thinges before myne eyes: that is to wete; not to reuenge my selfe of mine enemyes, neyther to be vnthankful to my frendes. For I praye to the Gods daily, rather then hereafter thynge vnthankfulness my renowne shoulde be defamed: that euen now with forgetfulness my bodye shoulde be buried. Let a man offer to the Gods what sacrifices he wyl, let hym doe asmuche seruice to men as he can: yet if he be vnthakful to hys frende, he oughte in all, and for al, to be utterly condemned. Because thou shouldest see my frende Pulio, how greatlye the auncyente frende oughte to be esteemed, I wyl declare the an example of a philosopher, the whiche to heare thou wilt somewhat reioyce.

The aunciente histories of the Gretians declare, that amonge the greke sages of Grece, there was one named Periander, who was Prince and gouernour a greate whyle: and he had in hym such lyuelines of spirite on the one side, & suche couetousnes of worldlye goods on the other side: that the historiographers are in doubt, whyther was the greater, the philosophye that he taught reading in the scoles: or the tyranny that he vsed in rebbing in the common wealth. For truly the science whiche is not grounded on trouth, bringeth great domages to the person. In the seconde yere of my Empire I was in the cite of Corinthe, where I saw the graue, whiche conteyned the bones of Periander: where about was engraued in greke verses and olde letters this Epitaphie.

n.ii.

within

THE DIAL

*In the compasse, of this narrow graue
Wretched Periander, enclosed lies
Whose cruell fates, could Greece alone not haue
So small a soyle, his hunger could suffise.*

*¶ Here lodgeth eke, lo Periander dedde
His filthie fleshe, the hungrie wormes do eat
And lymyng he, with Orphelines goods was fedde
His greedie guttes, dyd craue suche deintie meate.*

*¶ The tyrante Periander, stayeth here
Whose lyfe was buyte, to hinder all the rest
And eke whose death, suche profyue large dyd beare
As brought rehyse, to him that had the lest.*

*¶ Here wicked Periander, resteth nowe:
His life did cause, great peoples realmes decaye
His death that forste, his lyminge sprite to bome
Assurd them lyfe, that stood in brutell staye.*

*¶ The curst Periander, here doth he
Whose lyfe dyd shed, the poore and simple blood
And eke that clamb, to riches rule so hye
By others sweete, that sought for wastinge good*

*¶ Of Corinth lo, here Periander rest
To seeme for iust, that equall lawes did frame
Yet shying from the square, that they possesse
By vertues dome, deserude a tyrannes name.*

*¶ The caryue Periander, sleepeeth here
That ynyssa hath, his foure score yeares with shame
And though he his lyfe, that thousandes bought so deere
Be fadde thus, yet bloometh still his blame.*

Here were no letters on the graue,
but because it was alone in the field,
the greate waters had woyn it, so
that scarcely the letters could be red, & tru-
lye it was verpe olde, and in his tyme it se-
med to be a sumptuous thing, but the neg-
ligence of loking to it, lost it quite: & trulye
it is not to be meruailed at, for in the ende,
time is of suche power, that it causeth the
renowmed men to be forgotten, and all the
sumptuous buildinges to decaye, and fall
to the earthe. If thou wilt know my frend
Pulio, in what tyme the tiraunte this phi-
losopher was, I wyl thou know, that when
Cathania the renowmed cite was build-
ed, in Trinacria, nere the mount Ethna,
and when Perdicca was the, 4. kynge of

Macedonia, and that Cardicea was the
third kynge of the Meedes, and when Cās-
dare was, 8. kynge of Libeans, and that
Assaradoche was, 9. kynge of the Assiri-
ans, and when Merodache was, 12. kynge
of Caldeans, and that Numa Pompilius
reigned, 2. kinge of the Romaynes, and in
the tyme of those so good kinges, Perian-
der reigned amonges the Assirians: and
it is meete thou knowe another thing also,
whiche is this. That this Periander was
a tiraunt not onely in dede, but also in re-
nowme: so that they spake of no other thing
thorow Grece, but it tended hereunto.
Though he had euyl woordes, he had good
woordes, and procured that the affaires of
the common wealthe shoulde be wel re-
dressed. For generallye there is no man so
good, but a man maye fynde somewhat in
hym to be repproued, neyther anye man so
euyl, but he hath some chynge in him to be
commendyd. I doe yet remember (of my
age, beyng neyther so yonge, nor so olde)
that I saw my lord the emperour, Traian
suppe ons in Agrippine: and it so chaun-
sed, that woordes were so moued, to speake
of good and euyl princes, in times past, as
wel of the Greekes as of the Romaynes,
that al those whiche were present there, co-
mendyd greatly the emperour Octavian,
and they al blamed & cruel Nero. For it is
an auncient custome, to flatter the princes
that are present: and to marmore at Prin-
ces that are past. Whē the good emperour
Traian was at dinner, and when he prayed
in the temple, it was meruel if anye man
satwe him speake any worde: and that day,
since he satwe that they excessively praysed
the emperour Octaviā, and that the others
charged the emperour Nero, with moze thē
neded, the good Traian spake vnto them
these woordes. I am glad you commend the
emperour Octavian, but I am angry you
shoulde in my presence speake euyl of the
emperour Nero, and of none other: for it
is a great insampe to a Prince being allue,
to

to heare in his presence any prince euyl reported after his death. Truly the emperor Octavian was verye good, but ye wil not denye me, but he mighte haue ben better: and the Emperour Nero was verye euyl, but yet you wyl graunte me he might haue ben worse. I speake this, because Nero in his firste fīue yeares was the best of al, and the other nine folowynge, he was the worste of all: so that there is both cause to dispraise him, and also cause to commēd him. When a vertuous man wyl speake of princes that are deade, before Princes which are aljue, he is bounde to prayse onely one of their vertuous whiche they had, and hathe no licence to reuile the vices whercof they were noted. For the good deserueth rewarde, because he endeuoreth him selfe to follow vertue: and the euyl lyke wyse deserueth pardon, because through frailtye he hath consented to vice. All these wordes the emperor Traian spake I being presente, and they were spoken with suche fierseenes, that all those whiche were there presente, bothe chaunged their coulour, and also refrained their tonges. For truly the shamelesse man feeleth not so muche a greaie stripe of correction, as the gentyl harte dothe a sharpe worde of admonycion. I was wyllynge to shewe the these thynges, my frende Pulio, because that since Traian spake for Nero, and that he founde in hym some prayse, I doe thinke no lesse of the tiraunte Perian- der, whome (though for his euyl workes that he dyd) we doe condemne: yet for his good wordes that he spake, we doe prayse, and also for his good lawes whiche he made. For in the mā that is euil, there is nothing more easyer, then to gyue good counsaile, and there is nothinge more harder, then to worke wel. Perian- der made dyuerse lawes for the common wealth of the Corin- thians, whercof heare folowynge, I wyl declare some.

The ordeyne and commaunde, that yf perhappes anye by multiplyeng of wordes

kylle another (so that it were not by treas- son) that he be not therfore condemned to dye, but that they make hym slaue perpet- ual, to the brother of hym that is slayne, or to the nerste of his kinne or frendes: for a shorte deathe is lesse payne, then a longe seruptude.

The ordeyne and commaunde, that if any these be taken he shal not dye, but with a horte iron shalbe marked on the forehead, to be knowen for a these: for to shamefaste men, the long infamy is moze payne, then the shortnes of the lyfe.

The ordeyne & commaund, that the man or womā, which to the preiudice of another shal tel any lye, shal for the space of a moneth carye a stone in their mowthe: for it is not mere, that he which is wonte to lie, shulda- wayes be authozised to speake.

The ordeyne, and commaund, that every man or woman, that is a quareler and sedi- cious person in the comon wealth, be with great reproche banished from the people. For it is vnpossible, that he should be in fa- uour with the gods, which is an enemye to his neighbours.

The ordeyne and commaund, that if there be any in the comon wealth, that haue receiued of another a benefite, & that afterwarde it is proued he was vnthankful, that in such case they put him to deathe: for the man that of benefites receiued is vnthankful, ought not to liue in the world amōg men. Behold therfore my frende Pulio, the antiquitye which I declared vnto the, and how merci- ful the Corinthians were to murtherers, theues, and pirates: and contrary how, se- uere they were to vnthankful people, whom they commaunded forth w to be put to deathe. And truly in mine opinion the, Corinthiās had reason, for to sage men there is nothing more disagreable, then to se another to be vnthankful towarde hym, to whō he hath shewed a benefite. I was wyllynge to tel the this history of Periander, for no other cause, but to the end thou shouldest se and know,

THE DIALL

that forasmuche as I doe greatly blame the vice of vnthankfulness, I wyl labour not to be noted of the same. For he that repro- ueth vice is not noted to be vertuous: but he whiche bitterlye flieth them. Count vpon this my word that I tel þe, which thou shalt not thinke to be fained, that though I be the romaine Emperoure, I wylbe thy faithfull frend, and wyl not faile to be thankful for- wardes the. For I esteeme it no lesse glozve to know how to keape a frend by wisdom: then to come to the estate of an emperoure by philosophie. By the letter thou sentest, thou requiredst me of on thing to aunswere the, for þe which I am at my wittes end. For I had rather open my treasures to thy ne- cessities, then to open þe booke to aunswere to thy demaundes, although it be to my cost. I confesse thy request to be reasonable, and thou deseruest woorthie praise: for in the end, it is moze woorthie to know how to procure a secrete of antiquities passe, then to heape by treasours for the necessities in tyme to come. As þe philosopher maketh philosophie his treasure of knowledge to liue in peace, and to hope and loke for deathe with hono-: so the couetous being suche a one as he is, maketh his treasure of woorldely goods, for to keape and preserue life in this woorld in perpetual warres, and to end his life & take his deathe with infamy. Herein I sweare vnto the, that one daye employed in philo- sophy is moze woorthie, then tenne thousande which are spent in heaping riches. For the life of a peaceable man is none other, then a swete peregrination: and the life of sedi- cious personnes is none other, but a longe death. Thou requirest me my frend Pulio, that I write vnto the, wherein the auncien- tes in times past had their felicitye: that is to wete, þe their desire was so dyuerse, that some dispraised life, others desired it, some prolonged it, others did shorten it, some dyd not desier pleasures but trauayles, others in trauayles dyd not seke but pleasures, the whiche varietie dyd not procede, but of dy-

uerse endes: for the tastes were diuerse, and sondrye men desyred to taste dyuerse mea- tes. By the immortall Gods I sweare vnto the, that this thy requeste maketh me muse of thy lyfe, to see that my Philosophie aun- swereth the not sufficientlye therein. For if thou aske to proue me, thou thinkest me presumptuous: if thou demaund in mirth, thou countest me to be to lighte: if thou de- maundest it not in good earnest, thou ta- kest me for symple: if thou demaundest me for to shewe it me, be thou assured I am readye to learne it: if thou demaundest it for to knowe it, I confesse I cannot teache it the: if thou demaundest it because thou mayste be asked it, be thou assured, that none wylbe satisfiied with my aunswere: and if perchaunce thou doste aske it, be- cause thou sleapinge haste dreamed it, seing that nowe thou arte awake, thou oughtest not to beleue a dreame: for all that the fan- tasie in the nyghte dothe imagine, the tong dothe publyshe it in the moznyng.

O my frende Pulio, I haue reason to complayne of the, for somuch as thou doste not regarde the authorite of my person, nor the credyte of thy Philosophie, wher- fore I feare least they wyl iudge the to cu- ryous in demaundyng, and me to symple in aunsweryng: all this notwithstanding, I determyne to aunswere the, not as I oughte, but as I can, not accoordinge to the greate thou demaundest, but accoordinge to the lytle I knowe. And partelye I doe it, to accomplyshe thy requeste, and also to fulfyl my desyer, and nowe I thinke, that all whiche shall reade this letter, wylbe cruel iudges of my ignoraunce.

Of the Philosopher
Epicurus.

In

IN the Olimpiade, the hundzeth, & thze, Serges beinge kinge of Perles, and the cruell Tyrante Lysander captaine of the Peloponneses, a famous battayle was fought betwene the Athenians & Lysander, vpon the great riuer of Aegeon, wher of Lysander had the victorie: and truly vnles the histories deceiue vs, the Athenians tooke this conflicte greauously, because the battayle was lost moze through negligence of their captaines, then through the greete nombze of their enemies. For trulye many winne victories moze through cowardelynesse than some haue, than for the hardinesse that others haue. The philosopher Epicurus at that time flosished, who was of a lyuely witte, but of a meane stature, & had his memozy freshe, beinge meanely learned in philosophie, but he was of much eloquence, and for to encourage & counsel the Athenians, he was sent to the warre. For whā the auncientes tooke vpon them any warres, they chose first sages to giue counsaile, then captaines to leade the souldiours. And amongest the prisoners, & philosopher Epicurus was taken, to whom the tyrante Lysander gaue good entertainemēt, & honoured him aboue all other: and after he was taken, he neuer went from him, but redde philosophie vnto hym, & declared vnto hym histories of times past, & of the strength and vertues of manye Greeces and Trojans. The tyrant Lysander reioysed greatly at these thinges. For trulye tyrantes take great pleasour to heare the prowesse & vertues of auncientes past, & to folow the wickednes and vices of them that are presente. Lysander therfore taking the triumphe, & hauing a nauye by sea, and a great army by land, vpon the riuer of Aegeon, he and his captaines forgotte the daunger of the warre, and gaue the bypdel to the slouthful flesh, so that to the greete prejudice of the common wealthe, they led a dissolute and ybell lyfe. For the manner of tyrannous Princes is, to leaue of their owne trauaile, & to enioy that

of other mens. The philosopher Epicurus was alwaies brought vp in & excellent vniuersitie of Athens, wheras the philosopher liued in so great pouertie, & naked they slept on the ground, their drinke was cold water, none amongest them had any house proper, they despised riches as pestilence, & laboured to make peace where discorde was, they were onely defenders of the common wealthe, they neuer spake any idell thing, & it was a sacrilege amongst the to heare a lie: & finally it was a law inuolable amongest them, that the philosopher that shuld be idel shoulde be banished, & he that was vicious shuld be put to death. The wicked Epicurus for getting the doctrine of his masters, & not esteeming grauitie (wherunto the sages are bound) gaue him self wholly both in wordes & deedes, vnto a voluptuous & beastly kinde of life, wherin he put his whole felicitie: for he said ther was no other felicity for slouthful men, then to sleape in soft beddes: for delicate parsons, to seale neither heate, nor cold: for fleshely men, to haue at their pleasure amorous dames: for drōckards, not to want any pleasaunte wines: & gloutons, to haue their fill of all delicate meates: for herein he affirmed to consist al worldly felicitie. I do not marueyle at the multitude of his scholers, which he had, hath, & shal haue in the world: for at this day there are few in Rome, that suffre not the selues to be mastered with vices, and the multitude of those which liue at their owne willes, & sensuallitie, are infinite. And to tell the truth, my friend Pulio, I do not marueyle & ther hath bene vertuous, neither I do muse that ther hath bene vicious: for & vertuous hopeth to rest him selfe with the gods in an other worlde, by his well dosinge, and if the vicious be vicious, I doe not maruelle, though he will goe and ingage him self to the vices of this world, since he doth not hope neither to haue pleasour in this, nor yet to enioy rest with the gods in the other. For truly & vnstedfast belefe of an other life (after this wherin the

wicked

THE DIAL

wicked shalbe punished, and the good rewarded) causeth that now a daies the vicious, and vices reigñeth so as they doe.

Of the philosopher Eschilus.



ARTABANVS being the .6. kinge of Persians, and Quintus Cincinnatus the husoandeman beinge onelye dictatour of the Romaynes,

in the prouince of Tharse, there was a philosopher named Æschylus, who was euill fauoured of countenance, defourmed of body, fierse in his lookes, and of a verpe grosse vnderstandinge, but he was fortunate of credite: for he had no lesse credyte amongest the Tharles, then Homere had amonge the Greekes. They say that though this philosopher was of a rude knowledge, yet otherwyle he had a very good naturall wytte, and was very diligent in hard thinges, and very paciente with those, that dyd him wrong, he was exceeding couragious in aduersities, and moderate in prosperities. And the thinge that I mosse delighted in him, was that he was curteous & gentyl in his conuersacion, & bothe pithye and eloquent in his communicacion. For that mā onely is happie, wheras all men praple hys lyfe, & wheras no man repproueth his tong. The auncient grekes declare in their histories, that thys philosopher Æschylus was the firste that inuented tragedies, and that gotte money to represente them, and sythe the inuencion was newe, and pleasaunte, manye dyd not onelye soloüe him: but they gaue him muche of their goodes. And meruayle not therat my frende Pulio, for the lightnes of the common people is such, that
 ❖ to see vaine thinges all wyll runne: and to heare the excellency of vertues, there is not one that wyll goe. After this Philosopher Æschylus had wypten many bookes specialle of tragedyes, and that he had afterwarde trauayled through many countreys

and realmes, at the last he ended the residue of his life, nere the fies whiche are adioyning to the lake of Neotis. For as ð deuine Plato saith, when the auncient philosophers were pong, they studied, when they came to be men, they trauayled, and then when they were old, they retyred. In mine opinion this philosopher was wise to do as he did, & no lesse shall men now a daies be, that will imitate him. For the fathers of wysedome are science and experient: and in thys consisteth the true knowledge, when the man at the last returneth home, from the troubles of the world. Tel me my frēd Pulio I prate the, what doth it profite him that hath learned muche, that hath heard much, that hath knowen muche, that hath seene much, that hath bene farre, that hath bought muche, that hath suffered muche, that hath proued muche, that had muche, if after greate trauayle he dothe not retyre to repose hym selfe a lytle: truelye he can not be counted wyse, but a foole, that wyllingelye offereth him selfe to trauayle, and hath not the wylte to procure him selfe reste. For in myne opinion, the lyfe withoute reste, is a longe death. By chaunce as thys auncient philosopher was sleaping by the lake Neotis, a hunter mans had a hare with him within a cage of wood, to take other hares: wheron the egle seased, which toke the cage with the hare on high, and seing that he could not eat it, he cast it downe againe, which fell on the head of this philosopher, and kyled him. This Philosopher Æschylus was demaunded in his lyfe tyme, wherein the felicitie of this life consisted: wherunto he answered: that in his opinion it consisteth in sleaping, & his reason was this: that when we sleepe, the entisementes of the fleshe doe not prouoke vs, no; ð enemy persecute vs, neither the frēdes do importune vs, no; ð cold winter oppresse vs, no; the heate of the longe sommer doth annoye vs, ne yet we are not angrye for any thinge we see, no; we take any care for any thinge we heare, finallye when

when we slepe, we feele not the anguishes of the body, neither suffer the passion of the mynd to come. To this end ye must vnderstand, that whē they were troubled he gaue them drinke, which caused them immediatly to sleape, so that so sone as the man did drinke it, so sone he was a slepe. Finally all the studie, wherein the Epicuriā exercised them selues, was in eatinge and seekinge meates: & the chiefe study of this Æschil⁹, was in sleaping, and hauing soft beddes.

Of the Philosopher Pindarus.

IN the yere of the foundacion of Rome 262. Darius the seconde of that name, who was the sonne of Histaspie, and in the linage of kinges, the .4. king of Persye, Iunius Brutus, and Lucius Collatinus beinge Consulles in Rome, ther was in the great citie of Thebes in Egypt, a philosopher named Pindarus, who was Prince of that realme. They wrote of this philosopher, that in Philosophie he excelled all those of his time, and also in touching, singing, and playeng of musicke, he was moze excellent then any of all his predecessours: For the Thebanes affirmed, that there was neuer any seeme of such aptenes in speakyng, and so excellent deliueringe of his syngers in playenge, as Pindarus was: and mozeouer he was a great moztall philosopher, but not so excellent in naturall philosophie.

For he was a quyet and vertuous man, and coude better worke than teache: which thyng is contrarie now a dayes in our sages of Rome. For they knowe litle, and speake muche, and worste of all, in theyr wordes they are circumspecte, and in theyr deedes very negligent. The deuine Plato in his booke that he made of lawes, mencioneth this philosopher, and Iunius Rusticus, in his Thebaide sheweth one thinge of him, and that is, that an Embassatour of Lides, beinge in Thebes, seinge Pyndarus to be of a vertuous lyfe, and very dysa-

greable in his wordes, He spake vnto hym suche wordes. O Pindarus, if thy wordes were so lymed befoze men, as thy workes are pure befoze the Gods, I sweare vnto the, by those gods them selues that are immoztall, that thou shouldest be as much esteemed in lyfe, as Promotheus was: and shouldest leaue as muche memozye of the after thy deathe in Egipte, as the greate Homere lefte of his lyfe in Grece. They demaunded of this Pindarus, wherein felicitie consisted: he answered: In such sozt ye ought to knowe, that the inwarde soule foloweth in manye thinges (for the mozte parte) the outwarde bodye: the which thing presupposed, I say, & he that selet h no gricfe in his body, maye well be called happy, for truly if the fleshe be not well, the harte can haue no reste. Therefore accordyng to the counsaile of Pindarus, the Thebanes were aboute all other nations and people mozte diligent, to cure the diseases of their bodies. Annius euerus sayth, that they were let bloude every moneth, for the greate aboundaunce of bloude in their bodies. They vled euerye weeke vomitacions for the full stomackes.

They continued the bathes for to auoyde opilacions. They caried swete sauoures aboute them, againste the cupill and inflamed eyes. Finally they studied noughte els in Thebes, but for to preserue, keape, and cherishe theyr bodies, as deliciously as they coude inuente.

Of the philosopher Zeno.

IN the Olympiade. 133. Cneus Seruilius, and Caius Bruti⁹ Consulles in Rome, whiche were appoynted agaynst the Attikes, immediatly in the monethe of Januarie, when they were rysen, and in the .29. yere of the regne of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, this greate Prince Ptolomæus buyde

THE DIAL

In the cosse of Alexandrye a greates tower, whiche he named Pharo, for þe loue of a lover of his named Pharo Dolouina, this tower was built vpon. 4. engins of glasse, it was large and hygh, made. 4. square, and the stoncs of the tower were as bright, and shininge, as glasse, so that the tower being 20. foote of bredth, if a candle burned within, those without might see the light thereof. I let the know my friend Pulio, that the ancient historiographers did so much esteeme this buildinge, that they compared it to one of the. 7. buildinges of the world. At þe tyme when these thinges floished, there was in Egypt a philosopher called Zeno, by whose counsaile and industrye Ptolomæus built that so famous a tower, and governed his land. For in the olde tyme, the princes that in their lyfe were not governed by sages: were recozded after their death in the registre of foles. As this tower was stronge, so had he great toye therein, because he kepte his derely beloued Pharo Dolouina therein enclosed, to the end he shoulde be wel kept, and also well contented. He had his wyues in Alexandria, but for the moste parte he continued with Pharo Dolouina. For in þe olde tyme, the Perles, Siconians, and the Chaldeans did not marye, but to haue children to inherite their goodes: and the residue of their lyfe (for the most parte) to leade with their concubynes in pleasure and delighes. The Egyptians had in great estimation men that were great wastlers, especiallye if they were wise men, and aboue all thinges, they made great defiaunces against straungers: and as the multitude of wastlers was continually greates, so there were notable masters amonge them. For truly he that daily bleth one thing, shall at the laste be excellent therein. The matter was thus. That one day as amongest them there were many Egyptians, ther was one that would not be overthowen nor cast by any man vnto the earth. This philosopher Zeno perceiuing the strength and courage

of this great wastler: thought it muche for his estimation, if he might throwe hym in wastling, & in prouing, he threw him deade to the yearth, who of none other could euer be cast: This victory of Zeno was so greatly to the contentacion of his person, that he spake with his tonge, and wrote wyth his penne, that there was none other felicitie, then to know howe to haue the strength of the armes, to caste downe other men at his feete. The reason of this Philosopher was, that he saide it was a greater kind of victory, to overthrowe one to the earth: then to overcome many in the warres. For in the warres one onely wrongfully taketh the victory, since there be many that doe winne it: but in wastling, as the victory is to one alone, so let the onely victory and glory remaine to him, & therfore in this thing felicitie consisteth: for what can be moze, then the contentacion of the hart. Truly we call him in this world happy, that hath his hart content, and his body in health.

Of the Philosopher Anacharsis.



WHEN the king Heritaces reigned among the Meedes, and that Tarquin Priscus reigned in Rome, there was in þe coastes of Scythia a philosopher called Anacharsis, who was born in the citie of Epimenides. Cicero greatly comended the doctrine of this philosopher, & saith that he can not tel, which of these two thinges were greater in him, þe is to wete, þe profoundnes of knowledge þe gods had giuen him, or the cruel malice wherwith he persecuted his enemies. For truly as Pythagoras saith. Those which of me are most euill willed, of þe gods are best beloued. This philosopher Anacharsis, then beinge as he was of Scythia (which nation amongest the Romaines was esteemed barbarous) it chanced, that a malicious Romaine sought to displease this philosopher in wordes, & truly

ly he was moued therunto more throughe malice than throughe simplicitie. For the outward malycious wordes are a manifest token of the inwarde enuious harte. This Romaine therfore saide to the philosopher, it is impossible Anacharsis & thou shouldest be a Scythian boine: for a man of such eloquence can not be of such a barbarous nation, to whō Anacharsis answered, Thou haste saide well, and herein I assent to thy wordes, howbeit I doe not allow thy intention: for as by reason thou maistest displaye me, to be of a barbarous countrey, & commend me for my good lyfe: so I iustly may accuse the of a wicked lyfe, & praise the of a good countrey. And herein be thou iudge of both, whiche of vs two shall haue the moste praise in the world to come, either thou that art boine a Romaine, & ledest a barbarous lyfe: or I that am boine a Scythian & leade the lyfe of a Romaine. For in the end, in the garden of this lyfe, I had rather be a grene apple tree and beare fruite: then to be a drye Libane broken on the ground. After that Anacharsis had bene in Rome long tyme, and in Grece, he determined for the loue of his countrey (nowe beinge aged) to returne home to Scythia, whereof a brother of his, named Cadmus was kinge, who had the name of a kinge, but in dede he was a Tyrant. Since this good philosopher sawe his brother exercise the workes of a tyrant, and seinge also the people so dissolute, he determined to giue his brother the beste counsaile he coulde, to obeye lawes to the people, and good order to gouerne the: whiche thinge beinge seene of the Barbarous, by the consente of them all, as a man who intended nerthe deuyles, to lyue in the world, before them all openly was put to deathe. For I wyl thou knowe my frende Pulio, that there is no greater token, that the common wealthe is full of vyce: then when they kyll or bannyshe those whiche are vertuous therein.

So therfore as they ledde this philoso-

pher to deathe, he saide he was vnwillinge to take his deathe, and lothe to lose his lyfe, wherfore one said vnto him these wordes. Tel me Anacharsis, syth thou art a man so vertuous, so sage, & so old, thou thinkest it shuld not greue the to leaue this miserable lyfe. For the vertuous man shoulde desyre the company of the vertuous men, the whiche thy world wanteth: the sage oughte to desyre to lyue, with other sages, wherof the world is destitute: and the old man oughte litle to esteeme the losse of his lyfe, since by true experience he knoweth in what trauayles he hath passed his dayes. For truly it is a kind of solpe, for a man whiche hath trauayled & synished a daungerous & longe iourney, to lament to see him selfe now in the end thereof. Anacharsis answered him. Thou speakest very good wordes my frende, & I would that thy lyfe were as thy counsell is: but it greaueth me that in this conflicte I haue neither vnderstanding, nor yet sente to tast, nor that I haue tyme enoughe to thanke the. For I let the know, that ther is no mans tong can expresse the grieve whiche a man feelth, when he ought forthwith to dye. I dye, & as thou seest, they kyll me onely for that I am vertuous. I feele nothinge that tormenteth my hart so much, as king Cadmus my brother doth, for that I can not be reuenged. For in mine opinion, the chiefe felicitye of man consisteth, in knowing, and being able to reuenge the iniurye done with out reason, before a man doth ende his lyfe. It is a commendable thyng that the philosopher pardone iniuries (as the vertuous philosophers haue accustomed to doe) but it shuld be also iust, that the iniuries whiche we forgiue, the gods shoulde therewith be charged to see reuengemet. For it is a hard thing, to see a tyrant put a vertuous man to deathe, and neuer to see the Tyrant to come to the like. We thinkest my frende Pulio, that this Philosopher put all his selfe, in reuenginge an iniurye, during the lyfe in this world.

*dequantissim
sententia*

THE DIALLO

Of the Sarmates



THE mounte Cancaſus as the Coſmographers ſay, doth deuide in 3 miſt great Asia, 3 which be ginneth in India, and endeth in Scythia; and accordinge to the varietie of 3 people which inhabyte the villages: ſo hath this mounte diuerſe names, and thoſe which dwell towarde the Indians, differ muche from the others. For the moze the countrey is full of mountaynes, ſo muche the moze the people are Barbarous. Amongest all the other cities which are adiacent vnto the ſame, ther is a kynde of people called Sarmates, and that is the countrey of Sarmatia, which ſtandeth vpon the ryuer of Tanays. Ther growe no vynes in the prouince, becauſe of the great colde: and it is true, that amonge all the orientall nations, ther are no people which moze deſyre wyne, then they doe. For the thing which moſt we lacke, is commonly moſt deſired. Theſe people of Sarmatia are good men of warre, though they are vnarmed, they eſteeme not much delicate meates, nor ſumptuous apparail: For all their felicitie conſiſteth, in knowinge howe they might fylle them ſelues with wyne. In the yere of the foundation of Rome, 318. oure auncient fathers determined to wage battayle againſt thoſe people, and other Barbarous nations, and appoynted a Conſull called Lucius Pius. And ſyth in that warres fortune was variable, they made a truce, and afterwarde all their captaynes pelled them ſelues, and their countrey into the ſubiection of the Romayne empyre, onely becauſe the Conſull Lucius Pius in a banquet (that he made) filled them with wyne. After the warres were ended, & al the land of Sarmatia ſubiect: the Coſul Lucius Pius came to Rome, and for rewarde of his traualle, required the accuſtomed tryumpe, the which was not onely denied him: but alſo in recompence of his ſate, he was

openly beheaded, and by the decre of all the Senate, about his graue was wyrtten this Epitaphie.

*Libin this tombe, Lucius Pius lyeth
That whilome was, a Conſull great in Rome
And daunted che (as ſhame his ſclander cries)
The Sarmates ſterne not by Maurs his dome.*

*But by reprooſe, and ſhame of Romayne armes
He vanquiſt hath, not as the Remaines ſhew
But as the bloody tyrantes, that with ſwarmer
Of huge deceites, the herſe aſſaultes reſuſe.*

*Not in the warres, by bytinge weapons ſtroke
But at the boorde, with ſweete delightinge foods
Not in the baſards fyght, be diu them yoke
But feedinge all in reſt, he ſtoode their blood.*

*Not yet with mightie Mars, in open field
He reſt their hynes, with ſharpe ſpercinge ſpeares
But with the puiſſe, of drunken Bacchus ſhield
Home to bye Rome, the triumphe to be beares.*

THE ſacred Senate ſet this epitaphie here, becauſe all Romayne captaynes ſhould take example of him. For the maiestie of the Romaynes conſiſteth not in banquettinge their enemies by byces, and deliciousnes: but by weapons and prayers. The Romaynes were very ſore greued with the audactie of this Conſull Lucius Pius, and not contented to haue beheaded him, & to haue ſet on his graue ſo defamouſ a title: but made proclamation forthwith throughout Rome, by the ſound of a trumpet, howe all that, which Lucius Pius had done, the ſacred ſenate condemned for nothinge, and ſhould ſtand to no effecte. For ther was an auncient lawe in Rome, when they beheaded any man by iuſtice, they ſhuld alſo take awaye the auctoritie he had in Rome: and not contented with theſe thinges, the ſacred ſenate wrote to the Sarmates, that they ſhuld releaſe them of their homage, making them ſelues ſubiectes of the Romaynes: wherefore they reſtozed them againe to their libertie. They dyd this thinge, becauſe the cuſtome among the ſtoute and balaunt Romaynes was,

was, not to get nor winne realmes in makinge their enemyes drunke with delycate wines: but in shedding their proper bloude in the plaine felde. I haue tolde the this my frende Pulio, because the consul Lucius Pius did perceiue that the Sarmates put al their felicitye to ingurge them selues with wyne.

Of the Philosopher
Chilo.

IN the .15. Debastia of the Lacedemonians, and Diades being kinge of Medes, Gigioe being king of Lides, Argeus being king among the Macedonians, and Tullius Hostilius being kinge of the Romaynes, in the Olimpiade. 27. there was in Athens a philosopher bozne of Grece, whose name was Chilo, one of the .7. sages, whiche the Greekes had in their treasure. In that time there was great warres, betwene the Athenians, and the Corinthians, as we maye perceiue by the Greke histories, which we see written: sence Troy was destroyed, there was neuer peace in Grece, for the warre betwixt the Greekes and Troianes was neuer so great, as that which afterwarde they made amonge them selues. With the Greekes were nowe wyse men, they did deuide the offices of the common wealth accordyng to the ability of euery person, that is to know, that to stout and hardye men, they gaue the gouernementes: to the sage, they recommended the embassagies of straunge countreies: & vpon this occasion, the Athenians sente the philosopher Chilo to the Corinthians to treat of peace, who came vnto the cite of Corinthe. Bechaunce on that daye there was celebrated a great feast, wherfoze he found all men plaieng, the chyldzen in the fieldes bolwylng, the olde men playeng at dyce, the women solacinge them selues in the gardenes, the priestes shotte with the crosse-

bowes in the temples, the senatours played in the consistoie at tables, the maysters of sence played in the strectes, and to conclude, he found them al playeng. The philosopher seing these thinges, withoute speakinge to anye man, or lygbringe of on his horse, returned into his countrey, withoute declaringe his message: and when the Corinthians wente after hym, and asked him, why he did not declare the cause of his cominge, he answered them. Frendes I am come from Athens to Corinthe, not without greate trauayle, and nowe I returne from Corinthe to Athens, not litle offended: & ye might haue seen it, because I spake neuer a word to any of ye of Corinthe, for I haue no commysion to treat of peace with vnchristye players, but with sage gouernours. Those of Athens commaunded me not to kepe company with those that haue their handes occupped with dice: but with those that haue their bodyes lodged with hardnes, and with those, that haue their eyes daseled with their bookes. For those men which haue warre with the dyce, it is vnpossible that they should haue peace wth their neighbours. After he had spoken these wordes, he returned to Athens. I let the vnderstande my frend Pulio, that the Corinthians thinke it to be the greatest felicitye in the world, to occuppe both dayes and nightes in plaies: and meruel not hereat, neither laugh thou them to scorn. For it was tolde me by a Greeke being in Antioche, that a Corinthian esteemed it more felicitye, to winne a game, then the Romayne caprayne dyd to wyne a triumphe. As they saye, the Corinthians were wyse, and temperate men, vnles it were in plaies, in the which thing, they were to vicious. We thinke my frend Pulio, that I answered the more ampelye then thou requyrest, or that my healt he suffreth, the which is lytle: so that both thou shalt be troubled to reade it, and I here shal haue payne to write it. I wyl make the a bryefe some of all the others, which nowe

THE DIAL

come vnto my remembraunce, the whiche
in dyuerse thinges haue put their ioye, and
chiese felicityes.

Of Crates the Phi- losopher.



Crates the philosopher put his
felicitie, to haue good fortune
in prosperous nauigacions,
sayeng: that he whiche sayleth
by sea, can neuer haue perfecte ioye at hys
harte, so longe as he considereth, that be-
twene death and life there is but on bourd.
Wherfore the harte neuer seeleth so greate
ioy, as whē in the hauen he remēb:eth the
perrils, which he hath escaped in the sea.

Of Stilpho the philo- sopher.



Stilpho the philosopher
put all his felicitie to be
of greate power, sayeng
that the man, which can
doe litle, is two: the litle,
and he that hath litle, the
gods doe him wrong, to
let hym lyue so longe. For he onely is hap-
pye, which hath the power to oppresse hys
enemies, and hath wherewith al to succour
hym selfe, and rewarde his frendes.

Of Simonides the Phi- losopher.



Simonides the Philosopher
put al hys felicitie, to be wel
beloued of the people, sayeng:
that churlythe men, and euyl
condpioned, should be sente
to the mountaines amongst brut beasts.
For there is no greater felicitie in this
lyfe, then to be beloued of all, in a common
weal the.

Of Archita the Phi- losopher.



Archita the Philosopher
had all hys felicitie in
conquering a battayle,
sayeng that naturallie
man is so muche frende
to hym selfe, and desireth
so muche to come to the chiefe of hys enter-
pryse: that though for litle trifles he played:
yet he woulde not be overcome.
For the harte wyllynge suffereth all the
trauayles of the lyfe, in hope afterwarde
to wyne the victorie.

Of Gorgias the Phi- losopher.



Gorgias the Philosopher
put all hys felicitie, to
heare a thinge whiche
pleased hym, sayeng that
the bodye seeleth not so
muche a greate wound,
as the harte dothe an euyl worde. For tru-
lye there is no musike that soundeth so
swete to the eares, as the pleasaunt wordes
are sanoury to the harte.

Of Crisippus the Phi- losopher.



Crisippus the Philoso-
pher had all his felicitie
in this worlde, in ma-
king great buildinges,
sayeng that those which
of them selues leste no
memoz:te, bothe in their lyfe, and after their
death, deserued insanye. For great and
sumptuous buildinges, are perpetual mo-
numentes of noble courages.

Of Euripides the Philosopher.



Euripides the Philosopher had all his toye, in heappng a faire womā, sayeng his tonge with wordes coulde not expresse the grieve whiche the harte endureth, that is accumbred with a soule woman: therefore of truthe he which happeneth of a goodlye and verruous woman, oughte of ryghte in his lyfe, to desire no moze pleasure.

Of Sophocles the Philosopher.



Sophocles had al his toye in haung chyliden, whiche shuld possesse the inheritance of their father: sayeng that the grasse of hym that hath no chyliden, surmounteth aboue all other sorowes. For the greatest felicitye in this lyfe is, to haue honoure and riches, and afterwardes to leaue chyliden, whiche shal inherite them.

Of Palemon the philosopher.



Palemon put the felicitye of man in eloquence, sayeng and swearynge, that the man that cannot reason of all thinges, is not so like a reasonable man, as he is a brute beaste: For accoꝝdyng to the opinions of many, there is no greater felicitye in this wretched worlde, then to be a man of a pleasure tong, and of an honest lyfe.

Of themistocles the Philosopher.



Themistocles put all his felicitye, in descendyng from a noble linage, sayeng that the mā which is come of a meane stocke, is not bound to make him selfe of a renowned fame: For truly, the vertues and prowesses of them that are past, are not but an example, to moue them to take great enterpryses, which are present.

Of Aristides the Philosopher.



Aristides the philosopher put al his felicitye, in heappng tempoꝝall goods, sayeng that the man, whiche hath not wherewith to eate, nor to susteine his lyfe, it were better counsaile for hym, of his free wyl to goe into the graue, then to doe anye other thinge: For he onely shalbe called happye in this worlde, who hath no neede to enter into another mans house.

Of Heraclitus the Philosopher.



Heraclitus put al his felicitye, in heaping by treasure, sayeng that the prodigall man, the moze he getteth, the moze he spendeth: but he hath the respecte of a wise man, who can keape a secrete treasure, for the necessytyes to come. Thou hast now sufficiently vnderstode my frend Pulio, how that .7. monethes since, I haue ben takē with the feuer quartaine, and I swere vnto the by the immoꝝ gods, that at this present instant wryting vnto the, my hand shakerh, which is an euident tokē, that the cold doth take me. Wherefore I am constrained to conclude this matter whiche thou demaundest me, althoughe not accoꝝdyng to my desier. For amongest true
o.ii. frendes

THE DIAL

frendes, though the workes do cease, wherewith they serue: yet therefore the inwarde partes ought not to qualle, wherewith they loue. If thou dost aske me my frend Pulio, what I thinke of all that is aboue spoken, and to whiche of those I doe sticke, I answer h. That in this world I do not graunt anye to be happye, and if there be anye, the gods haue them with them: because on the one syde, chosynge the playne and byre waye withonie claye, and on the other syde, all stonpe and myrpe, we may rather cal this lyfe the precipitacion of the euyl, then the safegarde of the good. I wyll speake but on worde onely, but marke wel what thereby I meane, whiche is, that amongst the mis-happes of fortune we dare say, that there is no felicitye in the worlde, and he onely is happye, from whome wisdom hath plucked enuious aduersitye, and that afterwar-des is brought by wisdom, to the highest felicitye. And though I woulde, I cannot endure any lenger, but that the immortall gods haue the in their custodie, and that they preserue vs from euyl fortune. Sith thou hast retired vnto Bethinie, I knowe wel thou wouldest I should write the some newes from Rome, and at this present there are none, but that the carpentines and Lusitanes, are in great strife and dissension in Spayne. I receiued letters how that h bar-barous were quyet, though the hoste that was in Illiria were in good case: yet notwithstanding the army is somewhat feareful and tmerous. For in all the coaste and borders, ther hath ben a great plague. Pardon me my frende Pulio, for that I am so sickely, that yet I am not come to my selfe. For the feuer quartayne is so cruel a disease, that he whiche hath it, contenteth hym selfe with nothinge, neyther taketh pleasure in anye thinge. I sende the. 2. of the best hozses, that can be founde in all Spayne, and also I sende the. 2. cuppes of golde, of the rycheest that can be founde in Alexandria. And by the lawe of a good

man I sweare vnto the, that I desire to sende the. 2. or 3. howers of those, whiche trouble me in my feauer quartayne.

My wyse Faustine saluterh the, and of her parte and myne also, to Cassia thy olde mother, and noble wydowe, we haue vs commendyd. Marcus the Romayne Emperour, with his owne hande writeth this, and agayne comendeth him vnto his dere frende Pulio.

The.xli. Chapter.

That princes and greates lordes oughte not to esteeme them selues, for beinge fayre, and vvel proportioned.



N the time that Iosue triumphed amongest the Hebrues, and that Dardomus passed from great Grece to Samotracia, & wher the sonnes of Agenor, were seeking their sister Europe, and in the time that Siculus reigned in Trinacri (now called Scicil) in great Asia, in h realme of Egypt, was builded a great city called Thebes, the which king Busiris built, of whome Diodorus Sicculus, at large mencioneth. Plinie in the 38. chapter of hys natural hystorie, and Homere in the seconde of his Iliade, and Statius in all the booke of hys Thebiade, doe declare greates meruelles of this cite of Thebes, whiche thinge oughte greatlye to be esteemed: for a man oughte not to thincke that sayned, whiche so excellent auctours haue writen. For a truthe they saye, that Thebes was in circuite .40. myles, and that the walles were 30. stades hye, and in breadthe it conteyned .6. They saye also, that the cite had a hundred gates verie sumptuous, and stronge, and in euery gate .2. hundred the hozsmen

horsemen watched. Through the middes of Thebes passed a great ryuer, the which by mylles and fshes dyd greatlye profite the cite. When Thebes was in hys prosperytie, they say that there were tow hundred thousande siers, and besydes all this, all the kinges of Egypt were buried in that place. As Strabo sayeth, De situ orbis, when Thebes was destroyed with enemyes, they found therein 700. tombes of kynges, which there had bene buried. And heere is to be noted, that all those tombes were of vertuous kynges. For amonge the Egyptians, it was a law in violable, that the king whiche had bene tycked in hys lyfe, shoulde not be buried after hys deathe. Besoꝛe the noble and woꝛthy Numantia was founded in Europe, the ryche Carthage in Affrike, the hardy Rome in Italye, the goodly Caspua in Campaigne, and the great Argentine in Germanie, and the holy Helia in Palestine: Thebes onelye was the moste renouwmed of all the woꝛlde. For the Thebanes amongest al nacions were renouwmed, as wel for their riches, as for their busshynges, and also because in their lawes, and customes, they had many notable thinges, & sundry seuerer mē (which though they would not) are knowē by their seuerer doynge. Homere sayeth that the Thebanes had 5. customes, wherein they were moze extreme, then any other nacion.

The first was, that the chyldren byawnyng to 5. yeares of age, were marked in the foꝛe head, with a hooꝛe yron, because (in what places so euer they came) they shoulde be knowen for Thebanes by that marke.

The seconde was, that they shoulde accustome their chyldren to traualle alwaies on fote. And the occasyon why they dyd this, was because the Egyptians kept their beastes for their Gods: and therefore when so euer they traunayled, they neuer rydde on horsebacke, because they shoulde not seme to sitte vpon their god.

The thirde was, that none of the Citty

zens of Thebes shoulde marye with anye of straung nacions, but rather they caused them to marye parentes with parentes, because that frendes maryng with frendes, they thoughte the frendshyppe and loue shoulde be moze sure.

The fouthe custome was, that no Thebanes shoulde in anye wyse make a house for hym selfe to dwel in, but firste he shoulde make hys graue wherein he shoulde be buried. We thinketh that in this pointe the Thebanes were not to extreme, nor excessiue, but that they did like sage and wise men: yea & by the lawe of veryte I sweare, that they were sager then we are. For if at the leaste we dyd imploye our thought, but 2. howers in 5. weake to make oure grane: it is vnpossyble but that we shoulde correcte euery daye our lyfe.

The fiftie custome was, that al the male chyldren whiche were excreadyng faire in their face, shoulde be by them strangleed in the cradell, and all the females, whiche were extreame soule, were by them kylled and sacrificed to the Goddes, sayng that the Gods for gotte them selues, when they made the men faire, and the women soule. For the man whiche is verye faire, is but a woman vnparfyt: and the woman whiche is soule, is but a sauage and wyld beaste. The greatest God, of the Thebaines was Isis, who was a red bull, nourysshed in the ryuer of Nile, and they had a custome, that al those which had red heere immediatly shuld be sacrificed. The contrarye they dyd to the beastes, for sithe their God was a bul of rounye coloure, none durste be so bolde to kyl anye beastes of the same coloure, in suche fourme and maner, as it was lawefull to kyl both men and women, and not the brute beastes. I do not saye this was wel done of the Thebaines, to sleve their chyldren, nor yet I doe saye that it was wel done to sacrifice men and women, whiche had red or rounye heere, nor I thinke it a thinge reasonable,

d.iii.

that

THE DIAL

that they shoulde doe reuerence to the bea-
sties of that colour: but I wonder why
they should so muche dyspise soule women,
and faire men, sithe al the world is peopled
both with faire and soule. Then sithe those
barbarous (lying as the dyd vnder a false
lawe) dyd put hym to deathe, whome the
Gods had adozned with anye beautye (we
then which are Christians by reason ought
muche lesse to esteeme the beautye, of the bo-
dy, knowing that mosse commonly ther,
vppon ensucthe the vnclennes of the soule.
Vnder the chryssall stone lieth oftentimes
a dangerous woyme, in the safer wall, is
nourished the venemous coluber, within
the myddell of the whyte coshe, is ingend-
red greate payne to the gummes, in the
fynesse clothe, the moles doe mosse hurte,
and the mosse fruiteful tree by woymes is
sonest perished. I meane, that vnder the
cleane bodies, and faire countenaunces,
are hyd manye and abhomyable vices.
Trulpe, not onely to chyldren whiche are
not wyse, but to all other, whiche are light
and scaple, beauty is nothyng els, but the
mother of manye vices, and the hinderer of
all vertues. Let Princes and greate lordes
beleue me, whiche thinke to be faire and
wel dysposed, that where there is greate a-
bundance of corpozal goods and graces,
there oughte to be great bones of vertues,
to be able to beare them. For the mosse
highe trees by great wyndes are shaken,
I saye, that it is vanyte to be vayne glori-
ous, in anye thinge of this worlde, be it ne-
uer so parsite: and also I saye, that it is a
greate vanyte to be proude, of the corpozal
beautye: for amonge all the acceptable
gyftes that nature gaue to the mortalles,
there is nothinge moze superfluous in man,
and lesse necessarye, then the beauty of the
bodye. For trulpe whether we be faire or
soule, we are nothyng the better beloued
of God, neyther thereby the moze hated of
men. O blyndenes of þe world, O life which
neauer lyueth nor shal lyue, O deathe which

neuer hath ende, I knowe not why man
through the accident of this beautie should
or durst take vpon him anye batneglopy or
presumption: sithe he knoweth, that all the
fairest, & most perfectest of fleshy, must be sa-
crificed to the woymes in the graue. And
knowe also, that al the propernes of þe mem-
bers shalbe forfeited to the hongry woymes
which are in the yearth.

Let the great scoone the lile as muche as
they wyl, the faire mocke the soule at their
pleasoure; the hole dysdayne the sick, the
well made, emite the deformed, the white
hate the blacke, and the Giances dyspise
the dwarfes: yet in the ende, all shall haue
an ende. Trulpe in mine opinion, the trees
beare not the moze fruite, for that they are
streight onely, nor for beinge high, neyther
for geuynge greate shadowe, nor for beinge
beautiful, nor yet for beinge greate. By
this comparisō I meane, that though a no-
ble and stout man, be proper of parson, and
noble of linage, shabotwng of fauour, com-
lye in countenaunce, sit remayne very high,
and in the common wealth puissaunte, that
therfore he is not the better in life. For tru-
lye the comon wealthes are not altered by
the simple labourers, whiche traualle in
the fieldes, but by the vicious men, whiche
take greate ease in their lyues. Unless I be
deccined, the swine and other beastes are
fed vnder the oaks with the acornes, and a-
monge the pricklinge byters and thornes,
the swete roses doe grow, the sharpe beeches
giueth vs the sauoury chesnuttes. I meane,
that the deformed and lile creatures, oft
tymes are mosse profytable in the comen
wealth. For the lytle and sharpe coun-
tenaunces, are signes of vanyte and
foule hartes. Let vs cease to speake of men
whiche are fleshe, beinge este sones rot-
ten and gone, and let vs talke of sumptuous
buildynges, which are of stone: which if we
shoulde goe to see what they were, we may
knowe the greatenes, and the heighe
of them. Then we shall not knowe the
maner

maner of their beauty: and that whiche seemed to be perpetual, in short space we see it end, & loose the renowne, in such sort, that there is neuer memory of them after. Let vs also leaue the aunciente buildinges, & come to the buildinges now a daies, and one shall see, that there is no man that maketh a house, be it neuer so strong nor so sayre, but (liuing a lytle while) he shall see the beauty therof decaye. For there are a greates nombre of auncient men, whiche haue sene bothe the toppes of famous and stronge buildinges made, and also the foundation and ground therof decayed. And that this is true, is apperantly manifestly, so that if the toppe decaye, or the walles fall, or els if the timber be wreake, or the ioyntes open, or the wyndowes waxe rotten, or the gates do breake, the buildinges forthwith do decay. What shall we say of goodly haules, and galleries well appointed, the which within short space, by coles or candels of children, or by torches of pages, or smooke of chimneys, by cobwebbes of spiders, becometh as dyce and foule, as before they were freshe and faire. Then if that be true, whiche I haue sayd of these thynges, I woulde now gladly know, what hope man can haue of the continuance of his beauty, synce we see the lyke destruction of euerijall beauty, as of stonnes, wood, bricke, and clay. Vnprofitable Princes, & children of vanitie to folow the hardye, do you not remember, that all your health is subiecte to sickness, as in the payne of the stomack, in the heate of the liuer, in the inflammation of the stee, in the distemperance of humours, the motions of the ayre in the constuncions of the moone, in the Eclipse of the sunne: I saye doe not you know that you are subiecte to the februous summer, and vtollerable winter? Of a trouth, I can not tell howe you can be among so many imperfections and corruptiouns: so full of vayne glory, by your beauty, seinge and knowing that a litle settler doth not onely deface and marre the beauty, but

also maketh, and colourerh the face al belowe, be it neuer so wel sauoured. I haue marvelled at one thyng, that is to wete, that all men are desirous to haue all thynges about their body cleane, their gownes busshed, their coates nette, the table handsome, and the bedde fine, & onely they suffer thei souls to be foule, spotted, and filthy. I durst saye, and in the faith of a chrestian affirme, that it is a greates lacke of wisdom, and a superfluitie of solye, for a man to haue his house cleane, and to suffer his soule to be corrupted. I woulde knowe what preeminence they haue, whiche are sayre: as boue others, to whom nature hath denyed beauty: peraduenture the beautifull man hath two soules, and the deformed creature hath but one: peraduenture the moste sayrest are the moste healthfull, and the moste deformed are the moste sycklyest. Peraduenture the moste sayrest are the wyldest, and the moste deformed the most innocentes: peraduenture the faireste are moste stoute, and the deformed moste cowardes: peraduenture the sayre are moste fortunate, and the foule moste vnluckiest: peraduenture the sayre onely are excepted from dyce, and the foule deppued from vertue: peraduenture those whiche are sayre, of ryghte haue perpetuall lyfe, and those whiche are foule, are bounde to replenysh the grate: I say no certaynlye. Then if this be true, why doe the greates mocke the lytle, the sayre the foule, the right the crooked, and the whyte the blacke, since they knowe that the vayne glorye, whiche they haue and their beauty also, shall haue an end, to day or to morowe.

A man that is sayre and well proportioned, is therefore nothyng the moze virtuous: and he that is deformed and euill shapen, is nothyng therefore the moze vicious: so that vertue depndeth not at al of the shape of the bodye, neyther yet vice procedeth of the deformitie of the face. For daily we

THE DIAL

we see the difformitie of the body, to be beautified with vertues of the minde, and the vertues of the minde, to be defaced with the vice of the body in his workes. For truelye he that in the vsage of his life hath any botche or imperfection, is worse then he that hath foure botches in his shoulders. Also I saye, that though he a man be great: yet it is not true, that therefore he is stronge: so that it is not a generall rule, that the bygge bodye hath alwaies a valyaunt and couragious harte, nor the man whiche is litle of person, shoulde be of a byle and false harte. For we se by experyence, the greatest men, the moste cowardes: and the leasse of personage, the moste stout, and hardy of hart. The holpe scriptures speake of kynge Dauid, that he was redde in his countenance, and not bygge of bodye, but of a meane stature, yet not withstandinge as he and the mighty Gyaunt Goliath were in camp, Dauid kyled Goliath with a sling, and with hys owne sworde cut of his head. We ought not marueyle, that a lytle theoperd shoulde sleie so valyaunte and myghtye a Gyaunte. For oft times of a lytle sparke commeth a great lighte: and contrarywise by a great torche a man can scarcely see to doe any thing. Then king Dauid did moze, that he being of body litle, & of yeares tender, kyled the Lions, & recouered h lambs out of the Woulfes thyotes, & besides this, in one day in a battayle with his own handes, he slew to h nombze of 800. Though we can not finde the lyke in oure time, we may well imagine, that of h. 800. which he slew, there were at least 300. of them as noble of linage as he, as riche in goodes, as faire in countenance, & as high of stature: but none of these had so much force & courage, since he escaped alpyue, & they remained in the field dead. Though Iulius Cesar was bygge enough of body, yet notwithstanding he was euyl proportioned: For he had his head all bald, his nose very sharpe, one hande moze thoyter then the other. And al-

beit he was yong, he had his face ryuelled, his coulour somewhat yallowe, & aboue al, he went somewhat croked, & his girdel was halfe undone. For me of good wittes, donot employ the selues to the setting out of their bodies. Iulius Cesar was so vnhandesome in his body, that after the battayle of Pharsalique, a neighbour of Rome said vnto the great Oratour Tullius. Tell me Tullius, why haste thou folowed the parcialities of Pompeius, since that art so wise, knowest thou not that Iulius Cesar ought to be lord & monarche of all the world? Tullius then answered. I tell the true my friend, that I seing Iulius Cesar in his youth, so euyl and vnseemely girded, iudged neuer to haue sene that h is sene of him, and did neuer greatly regard him. The good Silla knewe it better, For he seinge Iulius Cesar so vncomely, & so slyquently apparelled in his youthe, oftentimes saide vnto the Senate: beware of this yong man, so euyl marked. For if you doe not wathe wel his proceedings it is he, that shall hereafter destroy the Romanne people as Suetonius Tranquillus affirmeth in h booke of Cesars. Albeit that Iulius Cesar was vncomely in his behauour, yet in naming onely his name, he was so feared thorough the world, as if bechaunce any kinge or princes did talke of him at their table, as after supper, for feare they coulde not slepe that night, vntyll the next daye. As in Gallia, where Iulius Cesar gaue a battayle, by chaunce a frenche knight tooke a Cesarian knyghte prysonnier, who beinge ledde prysonnier by the frenchemen, sayd Chaos Cesar, whiche is to saye: Let Cesar alone, whyche the Gaulloys hearing the name of Cesar, let the prysonnier escape, and wythout any other occasion, he fell besydes hys horse. Now then let princes, and great lordes see, howe litle it anayleth the valyaunte man to be faire or soule, sirre that Iulius Cesar beinge so desourmed, onelye wyth namyng hys name caused all men for feare to chaunge their countenance. Hannibal
th:

the aduenturous Capitaine of Carthage, is called monstuous, not onely for his deedes, he did in the world: but also for the euyl proportion of his bodye. For of his .2. eyes, he lacked the righte, and of the .2. feete, he had the left foot crooked, and about all, he was lytle of bodye, and verie sperfe and cruell of countenance. The deedes and conquestes whiche Hanniball did among the people of Rome, Titus Lilius declarerh at large: yet I wyll recyte one thyng whiche an hystorographer declarerh, and it is this. Frontine in the booke of the skoutnes of the Penians declarerh, that in .17. yeares, that Hanniball warred with the Romaines, he slew so great a nombze, that yf the men had bene conuerted into Keyne, and that the bloude whiche was shed had bene turned into wyne, it had bene sufficient to haue fylled, and satisfied, his hole armye, beinge .80. thousande foot men, and 10. thousande horse men in his campe.

I demaund now, what, and how manye were at that tyme faire and moze beautiful of their bodies, and countenance, then he was: whose beauty at this day is forgotten, where as his valyauntnes shall endure for euer. For there was neuer Prince that left of him eternall memozye, onely for beyng beautiful of countenance: but wyth the sword in the hande, for enterprysing great thynges. The greate Alexander was no fayrer, nor better shapen, then an other mā. For the cronicles declare of him, that he had a lytle throte, a greate heade, a blacke face, his eyes somewhat troubled, the bodye litle, and the members not well proportioned, and wyth all his desoymetpe, he destroyed Darius, kinge of the Perses and Meedes, and he subdued all the Tyrantes: he made him selfe Lorde of all the castles, and tooke many kinges, and disinherited and slewe, mightie Lordes of greates states, he searched all the pryces, and pylled all their treasours, and aboue all thynges, all the earthe trembled befoze him, not

hauinge the audacitie to speake one word againste him,

The.xlii.Chapter.

¶ Of a letter vyliche the Emperour Marcus Aurelius vvrot to his Nephevv, vvorthy to be noted of all yong gentlemen.



EXTVS Cheronensis, in hys seconde booke of the life of Marcus Aurelius declared, that this good Marcus had a syster called Annia Milena, the which had a sonne named Epsip⁹, who was not onely nephew: but also discipule to Marcus Aurelius. And after he was created emperour, he sent his nephew into Grece, to stude the Greeke tonge, and to bannysh him from the vices of Rome. This ydg Epsipus was of a good & cleere iudgement, wel made of his body, and fayre of countenance: and sicke in his youth, he esteemed his beauty moze then his learninge, the Emperour his vncle wrote him a letter into Grece, which said this. Marcus Aurelius the Romaine Emperour, firste tribune of the people, and Bishop, wytheth to the Epsipus his nephew, & scoller, health & doctrine. In the third Calendes of December, came thy cosyn Annus Verus, at whose coming al our parentage resoyced, and so muche the moze, for y he broughte vs newes of Grecia. For truly, when the hart hath the absct of that he loneth, it is no one minute of an houre withoute suspicion. After that thy cosyn Annus Verus had spoken ingenerally to al, bzinging newes from their frendes and childzen, we talked together, and he gaue me a lettre of thine, whiche is contrarpe to that was written me out of Grece, because thou

THE DIAL

thou wouldest to me, that I shoulde sende the money to continue the in studie, and they wote vnto me from thence, that thou arte more yowthfull and geuen to the pleasures of the world, than becommeth the. Thou arte my bloude, thou art my Nephew, thou wert my scoller, and thou shalt be my sone, if thou art good. But G D D wyl neuer, that thou be my Nephew, nor that I call the my sone, duringe the tyme that thou shalt be younge, soude, lighte, and frayle. For no good man shoulde haue parentage with the vicious. I can not denye, but that I loued the fro the botome of my stomacke, and so likewise thy vniuersitynes greaueth me with al my harte. For when I redde the letter of thy folyes, I let the know, that the teares ranne downe my cheekes: but I wil contente my selfe. For the sage and wyse men, though (against their willes) they heare of suche thinges passe, yet it pleasech them, to redresse other thinges that maye come here after. I know wel that thou canst not cal to mind, but also I know that I haue knowen, that when thy vnlucke mother, and my sister Annia Milena died, she was then yong enough, for she was no more but 18. yerres of age, and thou haddeste not then foure houres. For thou were borne in the morninge, and she dyed at nonetide: so that when the wycked childe possessed lyfe, the good mother tasted deathe. I can tell that thou hast losse such a mother, and I suche a syster, that I beleue there was no better in Rome. For she was sage, honest, and faire, the whiche thinges are seldone scene now a daies. For so muche as thy mother was my sister, and that I had broughte her vp and maried her, I loued her tenderly, and when she dyed here at Rome, I redde then Rethorick at Rhodes, because my povertie was so extreme, that I had no other thinge but that which by reading Rethorick I did gette. And he newes came vnto me of the death of thy mother, and my syster Annia Milena, all comforte layed on syde, so that

oppressed my harte, in suche wise, that all my members trembled, the boones sheuered, myne eyes without reste did lamente, the heauy sighes ouercame me, at every minute my hart banished away: from the botome of my hart, I inwardely lamented, & betwailed, thy vertuous mother and my dere syster. Finally, so that we executinge his pynfulledge on me, the ioyfull company greued me, and onely with the louely care, I quyeted my selfe.

I knowe not, nor can not expresse vnto the, howe, and in what sorte, I tooke the death of my syster Annia Milena thy mother: for in sleapinge I dreamed of her, and dreaming I sawe her, when I was awake, she represented her selfe before me, remembryng then that she lyued, I was sope to remember her deathe. Myse was so greuous vnto me, that I woulde haue reioysed to haue bene put in the graue with her: For truly he feeleth assuredly the deathe of an other, whiche alwaie is so sorowefull, and lamentinge his owne lyfe. Remembryng therefore the greates loue, whiche my sister Milena bare vnto me in her life, and thinkinge wherein I mighte requyte the same after her deathe: I imagined, that I could not by any meanes, doe any thinge more acceptible for her, then to byng the by, thou whiche arte her chyld, and leste an orphane so yonge. For of all trauayles, to a woman this is chiefest: to leaue behynd her chyldren to nouryshe. My syster beinge deade, the firste thinge I dyd was, that I came to Rome, and the sent the to Capua, to be brought by there, in the which place, harde at my nose, they gaue the suche two yeres. For thou knowest right well, that the money, which by readinge Rethorick I gate, scarcely satysfied for thy daylye fynding: but that in the night I reade some extraordinary lecture, and with that I payed for the mylke, whiche thou suckedst on the dugg, so that thy bynginge by, depended vpon the labour of my life. After that
thou

thou were weyned, and brydghte from the teate, I sente the to Bietro, to a frende and kynsman of myne named Lucius Valerius, with whom thou remainnedst vntyll .x. yeres were fullye accomplyshed, where I founde both him and the all thynges necessarpe: for he was in greate pouertie, and a great babler of his tonge, in such sorte, that he troubled al men, and angred me muche. For truly a man should as willingly geue money to cause him to be silent, whiche is talkatyue: as to geue to a wise mā, to heare him speake. The .v. yeres accomplyshed, I sente the to Toringue, acitie of Campagnia, to a maister which taught childre ther, called Emilius Torquatus, of whom, to the end he should teache the to reade and wypte. .3. yeres: I toke a sone of his, whom he gaue me to reade to him greke. .4. yeres, so that thou couldest not haue any profyte in the, withoute the encrease of my greate trauayle, and augmentynge payne to my harte. After thou were .7. yeres olde, that thou couldest reade and wypte well: I sente the to study in the famous city of Tarenthe, where I kepte the .4. yeres, payenge to the maisters a greate some of money. Because now a dayes thorough our euill fortunes, there is none that will teache withoute great expende. Without lamenrynge I doe not tell the, that in the tyme of the Cincinos (whiche were after the deathe of Quintus Cincinatus, vntyll Cyna and Catullus) the Philosophers and maysters of Rome dyd neuer recepue one peny, to teache sciences to any that woulde learne them. For all the Philosophers, and maisters were by the sacred Senate payed, and none ceased to studye for lacke of money. For in those dayes, they whiche woulde applye them selues to vertue and sciences, were by the comon treasure mainteyned. As our fathers were well ordered in their thynges: so they dyd not denide offices by order onely, but also by order they payed their money in suche

sort, & they pased the to the comon treasure.

First to the prestes of the Temples,

Secondarilye to the maisters of scholes and studyes.

Thirde to the poore widowes & orphanes.

Forthly to the straunge knightes, whiche of their owne free willes voluntarily were made citizens.

Fifthly to al the old souldiours, whiche had serued .25. yeres continually in the warres. For those whiche retzred home to theyr own houses, were honozably sold of the comon wealth. The .12. yeres past, I my self was in Tarenthe, and caried the to Rome, wher I redde vnto the Rhetorick, Logick, & Philosophie, and also the Mathematicall sciences, keeping the in my house, in my company, at my table, and in my bedde, & furthermoze I had the in my harte, and in my minde. The whiche thinge thou shouldest esteeme moze, then if I gaue the my house, and al my goodes. For the true benefite is onely, whiche about any interestte or respect of profite is done. I kept the with me thus in this sort in Laurete, in Rhodes, in Parrhenoples, & in Capua, vntill such tyme as the gods created me emperour of Rome. And then I determined to sende the to Grece, because the shouldest learne the greke tong, and also, to the end thou shouldest accustome thy selfe to worke, that which true philosophy requireth. For the true & vertuous philosophers ought to conforme their workes to that they say, & publishe their wordes to their deades. Ther is nothinge moze infamous, the to presume to be sage, & to be desirous to be counted vertuous: principally for him that speaketh much, & worketh little. For the mā of a pleasaunt tong, & euil life, is he, whiche to impossunes vnder the comon wealth. When I sent the to Grece, and to draw the fro Rome, it was not to erple the out of my company, so the thou hauing tasted of my pouertie, shouldest not reioyce at my prosperitie: but it was that considering thy yowthful disposicio & lightnes, I was afraid to

THE DIALL

to vndoe the in the palace, chieftelye leaste thou wouldest haue presumed to haue bene to bolde and familiar, because thou werste my nephew. For truly princes which take
 * pleasour that their child: be familiar with them, they giue occasion that men shall not counte them wise, and cause also the yonge men to be esteemed for light. I haue shewed vnto the that, whiche in the, and for the, I doo in Italye. I wil now let the know, what thou hast done, and doest in Grece, so that I wyll shewe the to be notorious, that is to knowe, that thou taking and esteeming thy selfe to be well disposed in thy yowthe, thou hast forsaken thy studie, and despised my counsailes, thou arte accompanied with vaine and light men, and hast vniuersallye employed the money, whiche I had sent the to bye booke: all the which thinges to the being hurtfull, are to me no lesse dishonour and shame. For it is a generall rule, when the child is foolish, & yll taught, the blame and fault is laied on the masters neck, who hath taught him, and brought him vp. It greueth me not for that I haue brought the vp, neyther for that I haue taught the to reade, and cause the to studie, neyther lyke wise to haue kept the in my house, to haue set the at my table, nor also to haue suffered the to lye with me in bedde, neither it greueth me to haue consumed so much money on the: but with al my harte it greueth me, that I haue not geuen me occasion to do the any good. For ther is nothing that greueth a noble Prince more, then not to find parsons able of capacite, to do them any good. They tell me that thou art wel made of thy bodye, and faire of countenaunce, and that thou presumest also in those thinges: wherfore to enioye the pleasures of thy personne, thou hast forsaken philosophie, wherewith I am not contented. For in the ende, the cozpozall betwixt, earlye or late, perissheth in the
 * graue: but vertue, and science, maketh men to be of immortall memoery. The gods neuer commaund it, neyther the studies and

vniuersities of Italye suffered it, to haue the bodye fyne and trymme, the visage faire and cleere, and the hart full of Philosophy: for the true philosopher, of al other thinges esteemeth lest, the settinge forth of the bodye. For the true and perfecte Philosophie is shewed, knowen, and declared, in hauinge his eyes troubled, his eyebrydes burnte, the head bauld, the ball of his eyes sonke into his heade, the face pellowe, the bodye leane and feeble, the flesh drye, the feete vnholed, the garmente pooze, the eatinge litle, the watchinge great: finally he ought to lyue as a Lacedemonian, & speake as a Grecian. The tokens of a valiaunt capitaine, are woundinges of weapons: and the signe of a studious philosopher, is the dyspylling of the world. For the wise man ought to thinke him selfe as much dishonoured, if they call him stout, and sturdy: as a capitaine when they call him a coward and negligent. I lyke well that the philosopher studie the auncient antiquities of his forefathers, that wrote the profound thinges for the time to come, that he teache profitable and holesom doctrines to those, which are now alpye, that he diligently enquire of the motion of the starres, that he consider what causeth the alteration of the elementes: But I swaue vnto the Epilpus, that neuer sage of Rome came to those thinges, nor Philosopher of Grece likewise, but in serching the quernes of the soule, and dyspylling the pleasures of the bodye. For truly the sensualitie maketh vs to be inferiour to beastes, and reason maketh vs superiour vnto men. The worldly
 * malice and presumptiō naturally desiereth, rather to mounte, then to disceade: and to commaund, rather than to be commaunded. And synce it is so, why doe we by byces as base our selues to doe lesse then beastes, beinge possible for vs by vertues, to doe more then men? Amongest al the membris, which men can haue, there is nothing more tender to breake, nor any thing more easie to corrupte: then is the handesomnes of the body,
 wherof

mine opnsio, to effeme him selfe to be hand-
some, & proper of persō, is no other thinge,
but to effeme our selues, that dreaming, we
shal be riche and mighty, and afterwarde
awakinge, we finde our selues to be poore
and miserable. And me thinketh this thing
to be true, because I wil declare, what it is
to se a yonge man in his firste age, the hee-
d little, the heeres yeallow, the browe long, the
eyes greene, the cheekes white, & nose sharpe,
the lippes coloured, the beard sooked, the
face liuely, the necke smal, the body of good
proportion, the armes litle, the fingers long,
and to conclude, so wel proportioned in his
membres: that mens eyes shoulde alwayes
desire to beholde him, & the hartes alwayes
seke to loue him. If this yong man so faire,
and wel proportioned, remayned long time
in this beautye, and dysposicion, it were
good to desire it, to procure it, to keape it, to
praise it, and to loue it wel: for in the ende,
if we loue the beautye in beastes and build-
ynges, by greater reason we shoulde des-
per it in our selues. But what shal we say,
that when we doe not wathe this lytle
floure, whiche yester daye flozished on the
tree faire and hole, without suspicion to be
lost, one litle hozy frost wasteth and consu-
meth it, the vehement winde ouerth:oweth
it, the knife of euyle cutteth it, the water of
the aduersitye vndereth it, and the heate of
the persecucio pyneth it: the putrefaction
of death decaileth it, and bringeth it downe
to the ground. In māns life, that art alwaies
curled, I counte fortune cruel, and the vn-
happye, since she will & thot tartest on her,
whiche dreamynge gyueth the pleasures,
and wakyng wozketh the dyspleasures:
whiche gyueth into the handes trauayle to
tasse, and suffreth the not only to lyffen af-
ter quyet: whiche wille thou proue aduer-
sitye, and agre not that thou haue prosperi-
tye, but at her wyl: fynally she gyueth the
life by ounces, and death without measure.
The wycked and vicious saye, that it is a
greate pleasure to lyue in ease: but I pro-

test vnto them, that ye mortalles neuer had
so much pleasour in vices, but that they re-
mained in great paine, after that they were
bannished. For the harte, whiche of longe
tyme hath ben rooted in vice, incontinent-
lye is subiecte to some greate alteration. I
would al would open their eyes to se, how
we lyue bereined: for al the pleasures which
delighte the body, make vs beleue that they
come to abide with vs continually, but they
banishe awaye with so soone immediatlye.
And on the contrary parte, the infirmities
and sorowes that blindethe soule saie, that
they come only to lodge as gesses, and re-
maine with vs continually as householders.
I meruaile of the Episcopus, why thou doste
not consyder what shal become of the beau-
tye of thy bodye in tyme to come, and that
thou doste not regarde what lyethe in the
grave, and se those presently, which are gone
and departed this life. By the dyuersitye of
frutes, man dothe knowe the dyuersitye of
trees in the orcharde, that is to wete, the
oke by & acornes, the date tree by the dates,
and & vines by & grapes: but whē the roote
is dyed, the body cut, the fruite gathered, the
lease fallen, & when the tree is layed on the
fire, & become ashes, I would now know,
if this ashes could be knowen of what tree
it is, or how a man myght know the dyffe-
rence of the one, fro the other: By this com-
parison I meane to saye, that forsomtyme
as the life of this deathe, and & death of this
lyfe cominethe: we are all as trees in the
orcharde, whereby some are knowen by the
rootes of their predecessours, others by the
leaves of their wordes, others by the brans-
ches of their frendes, some in the floures
of their beautye, and other some by the
barke of their soule skynne. The one in
their mercifulnes, the other in their stout-
nes, others in their hardynes beinge aged,
others in the hastines of their yowthe, or
others in their bartonnes by their povertie,
others by their fruitefulness in ryches, so-
nallye in one onelye thinge we are al alike,
p. 1. that

THE D I A L L

that is to wete that all bynyuersallpe goe to the graue, nor one remaining. I aske now, when death haue done his office, executing all earthelye men in the later dayes, what difference is there then betwene the saye, and the soule, which lie both in the narrow graue: certeinlye there is none, and if there be anye dyfference, it shalbe in the making of the graues, which bayne men inuented. And I doe not repente me for calling them bayne. For there is no vanitie nor fondenes greater, nor to be compared to this: for they are not contented to be baine in their lyues, in their sumptuous houses: but also wyl after their deathe maineteyne their vanityes, in their depe graues. The coale of the Ceder in my opinion, is nothing moze whiter when it is burnt, then the coale of the oke, which is litle and croked. I meane, oftentimes the Gods doe permitte, that the bones of a poore Philosopher are moze honoured, then the bones of princes.

With deathe I wyl threaten the no lenger, for sithe thou arte geuen to the vices of this life, thou wouldest not as yet that with a worde it shoulde destroye the: but I wyl tel the one worde moze, though it greue the to heare it, whyche is, that the Gods created the to dye, men begot the to dye, women bare the to dye, and thou camste into the worlde for to dye: and to conclude I saye, some are bozne to dawe, on condicion, that they dye to morowe, and gyue their places to others. When the greate, and fruitefull trees begyn to bud forth by the rootes, it signifieth, that tyme draweth one for them, to cut the dawe and withered branches. I meane, that to beare chyldren in the house, is no other, but to wyl the fathers to prepare them selues to the graue. If a man woulde aske me what deathe is, I woulde saye, a myserable lake wherein al worldlye men are taken. For those that mosse safelye thinke to passe it ouer, remaine therein mosse subtyllye deceyued. I haue

haue seen of the yonge men presente, and I suppose, that the selfesame wyl be to come hereafter. That when lyfe most sweetlye seemeth to anye man, then sodainely deathe entreteth in at their doores. Dimmozall Gods, I cannot tell if I maye call you cruel, I knowe not if I maye call you mercysful, because you gaue vs fleshe, bones, honour, goods, frendes, and also ye gyue vs pleasure: fynallye ye gyue to men, al though they wante, saue onely the cuppe of lyfe, which to your selues you dyd reserue.

Since I maye not that I woulde I wyl that I maye: but if it were referred to my wyl: I woulde rather one onely day of lyfe, then all the ryches of Rome. For what auayleth it to toyle, and take paines to increase honoure, and worldelye goods: since lyfe daylye dymynysbeth. Returning therefore to my firste purpose, thou muste knowe, that thou esteemest thy selfe, and glozifyest in thy dysposicion, and beautie: I would gladly know of the, and of others, which are yonge and faire, if you doe not remember that once ye muste come to be olde and rotten. For if you thinke you shal lyue but a lytle, then reason woulde you shoulde not esteeme your beauties muche: for by reason it is a straunge thinge, that lyfe shoulde abate vs, and solye trayne vs: If you thinke to become aged, ye ought to remember, and alwayes to thinke, that the steele of the knyfe, which dothe muche seruice decayeth, and is losse for lacke of lookinge to. Trulye the yonge man, is but a newe knyfe, the which in processe of tyme cankereth in the edge: for on one dawe he breaketh the pointe of vnderstandyng, another he loseth the edge of cutyng, and to morowe the ruste of dyscaies taketh him, and afterwarde by aduersitye he is wyppen, and by infirmitie he is dyscaled, by ryches he is whetted, by pouertye he is dulled agayne: and fynallye, oftentimes it channseth, that the moze sharpe he is whetted, so muche the moze the lyfe is put in

in hazzarde. It is a true thing, that the feet and handes are necessarie, to clyme to the hautes of yowthe: and that afterwarde, stumblinge a lytle, immediately rotolinge the heade downewardes, we dyscende into the myserye of age. For (to our leauepung) yestordaye we knewe one, that was yonge and beautifull: and with in thoste tyme after, we heare that he is dead and rotten.

When I consider manye men, as well frendes as enemyes, whiche were (not long agoe) florishing in beautye, and youth, and presentelye I see them to be olde and wyse, sycke and soule, trulye I thinke, that as then, I dreamed of them, as that they be not nowe, as they were then.

What thinge is more fearefull, or more incredible, then to see a man become miserable in thoste space, that the fashyon of his visage shoulde chaunge, the beautye of the face shoulde be losse, the heare waxe whype, the heade haubde, the cheekes and foreheade full of wrynckelles, the teethe (as whype as iuerpe) become blacke, the light feete, by the gaunte to seme crepeled, and afterwarde waxe weake, the palsey weake, nathe the stronge arme, the syne smothe thorse, with wrynckelles is pleated, and the bodye, that was straighte and byrghte, waxe weake and croked. Aboue all that I haue spoken, I say to the Episcopus, which presumeth to be saire, that he which through his propernes in yowthe was the mirrour of all, becommeth to be suche a one, that he doubteth whether he be the selfe same nowe in his age, that he was in his youth. Doe what thou wylte, prayse and glorye thy beautye, as muche as thou thinkest good, yet in the ende, the beautye of men is none gayer: but as a beale to couer their eyes, a paire of fetters for the feete, manacles for the handes, a lyne rodde for the winges, a shepe of syne, an occasion of daunger, a promouer of trouble, a place of lecherie, a synke of all euill, and synallye, it is an inuentour of debaite, and a scourge of the

affectioned man. Since thou haste forsaken thy studie, I am not bound to send the any thinge, chieselye wastinge thy monye in childe, and yowthful toys: but notwithstandinge all those thinges, I sende the by Aulus Vegenus two thousand cronnes for thy apparatle, and trulye thou shalt be very vnthankful, if thou dost not knowe, the benefite done vnto the. For a man ought to giue more thanks, for that which is done by gentlenes: then for that, whiche is done of necessitie. I cannot tel, what to let the vnderstande in these partes, but that thy sister Annia Salaria is maried, who sayeth she is contente. I praye God it be so, for with money men may be holpe to mariages: but it lyeth in the gods, to contente the parties. If thou wilt knowe of Toringa thy cosen, thou shalt vnderstande she is imbarcked in the fleete, whiche went to Spaine, & in dede I neuer thought otherwise on her, after she had bene .3. daies hidde in the waue of Salaria. For maydes that wyl betymes gather their grapes: it is a token that they wyl goe on warfare with souldyars. Of Annus Rufus, thy frend and companion, I certifie the, that he is gon into the Ile of Helespor, and he goeth by the authoritie of the senate, to vnderstande the gouernement therof: and albeit he be yong, yet he is wyse, and therefore I suppose he wil render a good account of his commission. For of these two certainties, the aged that do decline, or the yong that are wyse: I had rather holde my selfe to the wysedom of the yong, then to the whitte herdes of the aged. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and be thou assured, that in thy affaires (at the least to my sonning) she is very fauourable vnto the, & baply she instantly requyeth me, not to be angry with the, sayinge that sage men ought not to esteeme the lightenes of youth, and that there is no olde man that is sage, but he whiche in all thinges, was lighte and yowthful. I say no more to the in this case, but if thou wylte be good, I cannot denaye, that thou art not

THE DIAL

my nephene, my odo scoler, and seruante. For if in the 3 seamentment, I wil with drawe mine ire. For trulpe amonge the lo uing hartes, there is nothing that plucketh by the euyll wyl, vnles it be the good lyfe. At the request of my wife Faustine, I haue wyrtten the this woꝝde, and I sape no moze, but that of her patte and mine, thou com mende vs to al the dyuetytpe. The Gods haue the in their custodpe, to whom it may please, to gyue the amendeunte of lyfe. Marcus Aurelius þ romaſne emperoure, to the Annus Epſipus, wyrteth with his owne hande.

The.xliii.Chapre.

Howv princes and greate Lordes in olde tyme vvere louers of Sages.



NE of the chie fest thinge, þ wanne reputacion and eter nall memoꝝpe to the auncientes, was that they soughe wyse me to be alwayes cons uerſaunt about them, to counsaile them, that their realmes were obedpente to their counsailes. It profiteth a king litle, to leade with him a greate number of sages, to gouerne him, and his realme: if his subiectes are armed w malice, not to obey hym. Let pꝛinces know, whiche esteeme not the counsailes of sages, that their commaundemēt, of other shall not be regarded. For the lawe which by wil is made, and not of right oꝝa dedfined, deserueth not to be obeyed. The whiche turne and rolle the leaues of the auncient hystories, cannot deny, but that the romaſnes natuſally were pꝛoud. Yet we must cōfesse, that as they haue ben stout in thinges touching warres: so they haue shewed them selues temperate, in the affayres of the publike weale. And truly herein, some declared her wysdome and myght, for as by

hardye and stoute captaynes the enemyes were destroyed in warre: so by sages & wise men, the comon wealth was gouerned and mainteyned in peace. Ofte tymes with my selfe I muse, wheruppon al these dyffoꝝdes grewe, betwene lordes & subiectes, pꝛinces and bassalles: and my count being made, I finde that they haue both reaso. For þ subiectes cōplaine, of the litle loue of their lord: and the lordes complaine, of the great dyso bedfence of their subiectes. For to sape the truth, dyso bedfence is so much augmented, and the desier of comāndement is becomme so licencious, that it seemeth to the subiectes that the waighte of a fether is lead: and on the cōtrary, it seemeth to pꝛinces, that for the fling of a flye, they shuld drawe their swoꝝdes. Al this euyl, and damage cometh not, but because the pꝛinces haue not with them wyse men, whiche maye counsaile them: for there was neuer any good pꝛince, that tres dited euyl counsaile. There are two thinges in pꝛinces and pꝛelates, whiche gouerneth the soule, thone is þ dignitie of þ office, and the other, is the matter of the perso. It may wel be, that on may be good in hys person, and euyl in his gouernement: and the con trary, he may be euyl of his perso, and good in gouernement. And therfoꝝe Tullius Ci cero saith, that there neuer was, nor shall be, such a Iulius Cesar in his person, nor so euyl a gouernour as he was, for the comon wealth. It is a great grace in a man to be good, but it is much moze, that he be a good pꝛince: and for the contrary, it is a great euyl for a mā to be euyl, but it is much woꝝse, for him to be an euyl pꝛince. For þ euyl man is only euyl to him selfe, but the euyl pꝛince indomageeth al others: for the moze þ yllow is scatered throughe the bodye, in so maner the moze daunger he is, of his life. I meane, the moze power a man hath ouer the comon wealth: so much the moze euyl & domage he doth, if his life be euyl. I maruel, why pꝛinces and great lordes shuld be so churton, to serche þ best medicines to cure their bodies:

and

and that they are so slacke and slowe in seeking sage persons, to gouerne their cōmon wealth. For without cōparison, it is greater damage that the cōmon wealth be euil gouerned, then if the prince and gouernour thereof shuld be sicke in his person. Hitherto we haue neither red, nor sene, y any prince haue perished for lacke of phisike: but for lacke of counsaillours, we haue seen and red of infinite kinges and realmes, y haue ben destroyed, and vicerly vndone. The lacke of a phisicion maye cause daunger in mans person: but the lacke of a wise man, may set discorde amōgest the people. For where their is amōgest the people reuolutions, a ripe counsaile of a wise mā profiteth more: then a hundredth purgaciōs of rubarbe. Isidorus in the fourth booke of his Etimologies affirmeth, y the romaynes were foure hundredth yeaeres, without phisicions. For Esculapius the sonne of Apollo, was y laste phisician in Grece. And in the temple of the Esculapius, they set the statua of Archabuto, a man verpe notable in phisike. For the romaynes were so beneficious to vertuous parsones, y to euery on that exceeded other, in any kind of vertue, they rewarded him with mony, they set vp a statua of him for memory, or els they made him free in the cōmon wealth. And then when the surgian Archabuto was become auncient, & very riche, & when by occasiō of great and dangerous wondes he dyd cutte of the armes and legges of certayne Romaynes, they thought him a cruel, & an vnnatural man. Wherefore they droue him out of his house, and killed hym with stones in the fieelde of Mars. And let no man maruel thereat, for oftentimes they suffered lesse harme in enduring the paines, then to tary for y cruel remedies, whiche the surgians did there vnto apply. Some men wil say, that when rome was without surgians, the romaynes were discōforted, & halfe lost. To this I wyl answer, y they neuer had a more prosperous time, then in that. 400. yeaeres, when they

were without surgians. For rome was brydne done when they receiued surgians, for then they droue philosophers out of rome. I doe not speake this, as a preiudice to any surgian, for me thinketh that princes cannot be without some among them. For as the fleshe is feble, and delicate, so dayly nedeth it remedies to comforte it. The sage surgeons geueth vs none but good and healthful counsailes. For they do not perswade vs to any other thinge, but that we be sober and continent, in eating, drynking, sleaping, traouailing, and working: & that in all thinges, we shoulde be temperate. The end why I speake these thinges is, to perswade princes, prelates, and great lordes, that y great diligence, they haue to seke surgians, & the somme of money they waste to mainteyne and content them, they shuld spend parte of that, to seke wise men to counsaile their personnes. For if men knew what it were to heape a wise man, to commande in their house, they would giue for on only wise mā al their goods. We ought to haue pitye, and compassion vpon those princes, and great lordes, which lose so many daies in the moneth, & so many houres in the daye, in speaking of warres, buildinges, weapons, meates, beastes, of huntinges, & medicines, and ostēthines of other mens doinges, & of other vaine thinges, not necessary for mans lyfe. And this cōmunicatiō they vse with those, that are neither vertuous, nor wise: the which can neither wisely talke, nor yet answer directly vnto that which is asked. Oftentimes it chaūseth, that a prince moneth a matter, whiche they neuer sawe wyrtten before, nor w their eares they neuer harde the like, neyther in all their lyfe tyme, they had knowledge thereof, and afterwarde they began to determine it (or better to say) to cōtend with it, as if all the daies of their lyfe they had studyed it, which thing procedeth of great shame, and euil bringinge bp. For the priuy counsaile may speake before their princes, but he they neuer so priue,

p.iii. with

THE DIAL

with licence or without licence, it is not law-
ful for them to contend. Helius Spartianus
in the lyfe of Alexander Seuerus, sayeth
that the emperor Seuerus was demanded
once by an embassatoure of Greece, what
thing was most painefull to hym in Rome?
wherunto the emperor answered. There
is nothing greuereth me more, then when I
am merry, that my seruantes should rayse
anye strife or debate: I am not displeased,
that matters shuld be debated, but this gre-
ueth me, when on wyl obstinately strue,
that hath no grounde of what he speaketh. For
the man whiche giueth reason of that he spea-
keth, cannot be called obstinate. Theodo-
sius the Emperoure was once demanded
what a prince ought to do to be good, wher-
unto he answered. When the sage prince
shal go on walking, he ought to haue with
hym wise men, resoning when he shal eate,
how he shuld order his lyfe, and his comon
wealth: and finally at al vacant tymes, he
ought to be sounde with sage men counsa-
linge. For the knight whiche enteth into
battaile without weapons, is as hardye, as
the prince which wil gouerne the common
wealth, without the counsaile of wyse men.
Lampridius in the booke of the Romaine
gestes, saith, that the emperor Marcus Au-
relius at his meate, at his going to bed, at
his byrthing, in his traualle, openly, nor se-
cretely, suffered at any time, that fooles shuld
sing or communicate with him, but only wyse
and vertuous men, whom alwaies he most
intierely loued. Of truthe he had reason, for
there is nothinge, be it in jest or in earnest,
but is better liked of a wise man, then of a
foole. If a prince be sad, cannot a wise man
peraduenture by his salenges of his holy scrip-
ture counsel him better, then a foole by soly
wordes? If a prince be prosperous, shal it
not be better (to kepe him in his same prospe-
rity) to associate him selfe to a wyse man, ra-
ther then to put his trust in a foole & mali-
cious person? If a prince be destitute of mo-
ney, cannot perchance a wise man find him

better meanes to get it, then a foole whiche
doth nothing but aske? If a prince wil passe
the tyme away, shal not he be indre comfot-
ted with a wise man, that rekeneth vnto hym
the sauoyr dyffozles done in tymes past, then
harkening a foole speaking solyly, & de-
claring thynges dishonestly, to the salenges
of the malicious of the tyme present? That
that I speake of surgiens, the selfe same I
speake of tobles. For I do not say that they
krype them for their past tyme, though truly
we might better saye, to loose their tyme,
that to passe their tyme. For they maye truly be
called tyme losse, which is spent without the
seruice of God, and profite of their neigh-
bours. That whiche I moste marvel at is,
not so much for the greate authoryty & foolis-
shenes, as for the litle succour & credite which
wyse men haue among them. For it is a greate
injury, that fooles shuld enter into the palace of
princes vnto their bed side, & that one wyse
man maye not, nor dare not, entet into the
halle. So that to the one, there is no gate shut:
and to the other, there is no gate open. And
which are at this present, of right do com-
mend those that were before us, for no other
cause, but that in tymes past, though the sa-
ges were few in nombre, & the world was
replenished with barbarous people: yet the sa-
ges of those barbarous people were greatly
esteemed, and had in reuerence. And this
custome endured long tyme in Greece, that
when a philosopher passed by a Greke, he
roose and spake vnto hym, and he might not
sitt: for the contrary, all those whiche shall
lyue here after, wyl reppone vs whiche are
at this presente.

Forasmuch as we haue so greate a mul-
titude of sages, & do not liue amongest barba-
rous, but amongest Christians: and it is
a grefe to see, and shame to witte, howe lit-
tle wyse men are esteemed. For at this day,
(though we dare offence) not those whiche
haue moste science: but those whiche haue
moste ryches, in the common wealthe doe
commuany

combraund. I know not whether the deu-
ne wisdom hath depriued the, or that the
worldly malice hath the loste the taste of them.
For now a daies, there is no sage, that liueth
all alone to be wise, but it is necessarie for
him to trauaile, how to gaine his liuing: for
necessitie enforceth him, to violate the rules
of true philosophy. O world, world, I know
not how to escape thy handes, nor how the
simple man and ideote defendeth him selfe
out of thy snarres, when the sage and wise
men, yea with all their wisdom, can scar-
scely set their foote sure on the earth. For al
that wise men of this world knowe, is lytle
enough to defend them from the malitious.
Readinge that which I read of times past,
and seeing that which I see of time present
I am in doute which was greater, the care
that vertuous princes had in seekinge out
sages to counsell the, or the great couetous-
nes that others haue at this present, to dis-
cover mynes and treasures. Speaking there-
fore in this matter as I thinke, I desire that
those which haue the charge of gouernes-
ment (whether he be prince, prelate, or pri-
uaty, I passe not) that they once maye haue
about them sage men, that be wise in dede,
and that they would loue him about all the
treasure they had heaped. For in the end of
good counsaile, there commeth prosyre: and
much treasure, is a token of great daunger.
In the olde time when vertuous princes
died, and that they lefte their children for
successours in their realmes, and besydes
that, so much as they saw their children
yong, and euill instructed in the affaires of
their realmes, they committed them to tu-
tours, that shoulde teache them good wor-
kes, and doctrine: rather than they woulde
giue them surtiours, which shoulde en-
crease and augmente their ryches and ten-
tes. For truly if the common wealch be de-
fended with great treasures, it is not gouer-
ned to good counsailes. The princes which
are yong, accustomedly are giuen to byres:
for in the one parte youth reigne, and on

the other part honestly watch. And to such,
truly vices are very dangerous, specially
if they want sages to counsaile the, to keape
them from euill company. For the couragi-
ous youth wyl not be bydeled, nor they
grete libertie can be chastised. Princes
without doubt haue more neede of wise men
about them, to prosyre them in their coun-
sailes: then any of all their other subiectes.
For synce they are in the viewe of all, they
haue lesse licence to commit vices, than any
of all. For if they doe beholde all, and that
they haue auctoritie to iudge all, whether
they wyl be no, they are beholde, and iud-
ged of all. Princes ought to be circumspect
whom they trust with the gouernement of
their realmes, and to whom they committe
the leading of their armies, whom they send
as embassatours into strange countreys,
and whom they trust to receiue and keape
their treasures: but much more they ought
to be circumspect, in examininge of those,
whom they choose to be their counsaillours.
For looke what he is that counsaileth the
prince at home in his palace: so likewise
shal his renoune be in strange countreys,
and in his owne common wealche. Why
shoulde they not then willingly examyn, and
correct their owne proper palace: Let princes
know, if they doe not knowe, that of the ho-
nestie of their seruauntes, of the prouidence
of their counsailes, of the sagenes of they
personnes, and of the order of their house,
depēdeth the welfare of the comon wealch.
For it is impossible that the branches of
that tree, whose rootes are dyed by, shoulde
be sene to beare grene leaues.

The.xliiii. Chapter.

How the Emperour provided,
at the houre of his death, for the
education of his 2. sonnes;



IGNATIVS the
Hystorian in the booke
that he made of the .2.
Theodoses, of the .3.
Archadij, and of the
4. Honorij declareth;
that the sturte and great Theodoses, being
fifty yeares old, and hauing governed the
empyre, 11. yeares, lyenge on his death bed,
called Archadius and Honorius, hys .2.
sonnes, and committed them to Estilcon
and Ruffinus, to be instructed, and ordey-
ned them lykewyse for gouerners of theyr
estates, and segnoyes. Before that hys father
died he had now created his chyldren Ces-
sars, beinge then of the age of .17. yeares.
Therfore the father seinge them not as yet
rype, nor able to gouerne their Realmes,
and segnoyes: he committed them vnto
maisters and tutours. It is not alwaies a
general rule, though one be of .27. yeares of
age, that he hath more discretion to gouerne
realmes, & segnoyes then another of .17.
For dayly we see, that we allow and com-
mend the .10. yeares of one, and reprove the
40. yeares of an other. Ther are many prin-
ces tender of yeres, but rype in counsailes:
and for the contrary, there are other prin-
ces old in yeres, and yong in counsailes.
When the good Emperour Vespasian
died, then he determined to put his sonne
Titus in the gouernement of the empyre, &
an other aged Senatour, because they saide
Titus was to yong. And as they were in
controuersye of the matter, the Senatour
Rogerus Patroclus said vnto the Senate.
For my parte, I requyre rather a Prince
which is yong, and sage: then I do a Prince
which is old and foolyshe. Therfore now as
touchinge the chyldren of Theodoses, one
day Estilconus the tutour of Archadius,
speaking to a great philosopher, very sage,
whose name was Epimundus, sayde thus
vnto him. Thou, & I longe tyme haue bene
acquainted together in the palace of hys
emperour Theodoses, my lord, who is deade,

and we are aloue: thou knowest it had bene
better, that we .2. had died, & that he had ly-
ued. For there be many to be seruantes of
princes, but there are fewe good princes. I
feele no greater grieve in this world: than to
know many princes in one realme. For the
man, which hath sene many princes in hys
lyfe: hath sene many noveltes and altera-
tions, in the comon wealth. Thou knowest
well, that when Theodosius my mayster
died, he spake to me these wordes, & whiche
were not spoken without great sighes, and
multiplenge of teares. O Estilconus I
dye, and am goynge into an other world,
wherein I shall giue a streight accompte
of the Realmes, and segnoyes, whych I
had vnder my charge: And therefore, when
I thinke of myne offences, I am inuene-
rably abashed. But when I remember the
mercy of G O D, then I receyue some re-
frote and hope. As it is but mete we should
trust in the greatnes of hys mercy: so lyke-
wise is it reason we shoulde feare the ri-
gour of his iustice: For truly, in the churche
an lawe, they are not suffred to liue (as they
doe in this world) and afterward without
repentaunce, to goe streight to Paradyse.
Then when I thinke of the great benefittes
which I haue receiued of G O D, and of the
great offences, whych I haue committed,
and when I thynke of the longe tyme, I
haue lyued, and of the lile, whiche I haue
prospered, and also that vnprofitably I haue
spent my time: On the one part, I am loath
to dye, for that I am afrayed: and on the o-
ther part, I would gladly lyue longer, since
thys doth not prospe. The man of an euill
lyfe, whych doth he desire to lyue any longer?
My life is now finished, & the time is shorte
to make amendes. And sith god demaunds
deth nought els but a contrite harte, with
all my harte I doe repente, and appeale to
his iustice, of merce, because it maye
please hym to receyue me into hys house,
and to giue me the gloze of the confes-
sion of all my synnes. And I proteste
I dye

I bye in the holy catholyke faith, & comende my soule to god, & my body to the earth, & to you Estilconus & Ruffinus, my faithfull seruantes, I recomende my dere beloued chyldren. For hereby the loue of the chyldre is seene, in that the father forgetteth them not at the houre of his death. In this case, of one onely thing I doe warne you, one onely thing I require you, one onely thing I desire you, & one onely thing I commaund you, and that is, that you occupye not your myndes, in augmentinge the Realmes and seignories of my chyldre: but onely that you haue respyce, to giue them good seruantes to that purpose. For it was onely the wyse men, which I had about me, that thus long hane mainteyned me, in this great autorite. It is a goodly thing for a prince to haue stout captaynes for the warres: but wothout comparyson, it is better to heape and haue wysemen in his palace. For in the end, the victory of the battayle consisteth, in the force of many: but the gouernement of the common weale, oftentimes is put vnder the aduise of one alone. These so dolefull, and pittefull wordes, Theodose my mayster spake vnto me: nowe tell me Epimundus what I should doe at this present, to fulfill his commaundement: For at his harte he has nothyng that troubled him so much, as to thinke whether his chyldre would vndo, or encrease the common wealthe. Thou Epimundus, thou art a Grecian, thou art a philosopher, thou hast vnderstanding, thou art an old seruante, thou arte my faithfull frende, therefore for all these thinges, thou art bound to giue me good and healthfull counsaile. For many tymes I haue hearde Theodose my mayster say, that he is not accepted sage, whiche hath turned & leaues of many bookes: but he whiche knoweth, and can geue good & healthfull counsailes. Epimundus the philosopher answered to these wordes: Thou knowest well Lozde Estilconus, that the auncientes and great philosophers, ought to be brief in wordes,

and very perfect in their wordes. For other wyse, to speake muche, & worke litle, semeth rather to be done like a tyrant: then lyke a greke philosopher. The Emperour Theodose, was thy Lozde and my frende, I say frende, because it is the libertie of a greke philosopher, to acknowledge no homage nor seruice to any superiour. For he in his harte can haue no true science: that to rebuke the virtuous, kepeth his mouth shutte. In one thinge I content my selfe in Theodose about all other princes, whiche were in the Romaine empyre, and that is, that he knewe and talked wysely of all his affaires, and also was verie dygent, to execute the same.

For all the fault of Princes is, that they are prompte and bolde to talke of vertues: and in executing them, they are very slacke and fearefull. For suche Princes can not conpnetwe in the vertue, whiche they doe comende: nor yet respyce the vyce, whiche they doe dyspayse. I graunte that Theodose was an executour of iustice, mercifull, spate, sober, valiaunt, true, loupnge, thankfull, and vertuous: and finally, in all thinges, and at al tymes, he was fortunat. For fortune oftentimes bringeth that to Princes, whiche they will and desyre: yea many tymes better, than they looke.

Presuppse it to be true (as it is moste true) that the tyme was alwayes prosperous to the Emperour Theodose: yet I doubt, whether this prosperitie will continewe in the succession of his chyldren. For worldly prosperitie is so mutable, that woth one onely man, in a moment, he maketh a thousande shewde turnes: and so muche the moze it is harde to conpnetwe stedfastte, in the seconde heyre.

Of slowe, and dull hertes, come oftentimes couragious, and specke coltes: and eyn so, of vertuous fathers, come chyldren still brought vp. For the wicked chyldren, inheryte the wyse of the father, whiche is ryces: and are dysenherped of

of the beste, which are vertues. That which I perceyue in this matter, as wel of the father which is dead, as of the children, which are alive, is that Theodose was vertuous in dede, and the children are capable to followe both good and euyl, and therefore it is requisite that you now goe aboute it. For the prince whiche is yonge, is in greates peryll, when in his yowth he beginneth not to folowe the steppes of vertue. To speake particularly of Archadius, and Honorius, I let the know Estilcon, that it is a thing superfluous to talke of it, for I should loose my time: because the thinges of Princes are very delicate, and though we haue licence to praise their vertues, yet we are bound to dissemble their faultes. As a sage father, Theodose desired the to geue his children good doctrine, and alwaies to accompany them: But I as a frend doe counsaile the, that thou kepe them from euyl. For in the end, all is euyl, to accompany with the euyl, and forsake the good: but the worse will pursueth vs, rather by the presence of the euyl, than by the absence of the good. It maye well be, that one beyng alone, and without the company of the good, maye yet notwithstandinge be good: but for one that is accompanied with euyl men, to be good, of this I greatly doute. For the same cause, that a man accompanyeth him selfe with the vicious: the selfe same day he is bounde to be subiecte to vice. O Estilconus, synce thou so muche desirest to accomplyshe the commaundement of thy lord and maister Theodose, if thou canst not cause that Archadius and Honorius (whiche are yonge princes) doe accompany with the good: yet at the leaste withdraue them from the company of the euil. For in the courtes of princes, vicious men are none other, but solicitors in this world, to attempte others to be vicious. Howe manye, and what solicitors haue we seene (thou and I in Rome) the whiche, forgettinge the affayres of their lordes, did sollicite for their selues, byeres

and pleasures. I wyll not tell what seruantes of princes haue bene in times past: but what they were, & what they are, euery man may easely see. I wyll tell the onely, not of those whiche oughte to be counsellours of princes: but also of those, whiche ought not to liue in their courtes. For the counsellours and officers of princes ought to be so iust, that heaues can not finde what to cutte awaye in their lyues, nor yet ther meadeth any neede or ched to amend their same. If thou Estilconus haste hard what I haue sayde: marke now what I wyll saye, and heape it in memoery, for peradventure it may profite the one day.

In the courtes of princes, proude men ought to haue no familiaritie nor enterteynement. For it is vnseemely, that those whiche are not gentle in wordes, shuld commaund: & those y haue not their hartes readye to obey, shuld be famliar w the prince.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be of counsaile, & much lesse famliar, enuious men: for if enuie reigne amongeste Princes and counsaylours, there shall alwaies be discentions in the comon weale.

In the courts of princes, hasty men ought not to haue familiaritie: for oftentimes it chaunceth, that the impacience of the counsellors, causeth the people to be euyl content with their princes.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be famliar, nor of counsaile, greadye nor couetous men: for the Princes geue geade occasion to the people, to be hated, because their seruantes haue alwaies their handes open, to receyue bribes.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be famliar fleshelye men: for the vice of the fleshe hath in it so litle profite, y he that is therwith ouercome, is, or ought to be, to the prince alwaies suspected. In y palace of a king, ther ought not to be, neiher drunkeynes, nor gluttons: for whereas the famliars ought principally to serue the prince, is good counsaile, in mine opiniõ, after y a man is

is full and cloyde, he is more lyke to beache after his surfette: the able to giue any profitable counsaile in the common wealth.

In the palace of princes, ther ought not to dwell, nor to be familiar, blasphemers: for the man which is a seruaunt, and openly dare blaspheme his creatoꝝ: will not spare in secret to speake cuple of his lord.

In the palace of princes, ther ought not to be of counsaile, nor familiar, the negligent and delicate persons: for there is nothing (next vnto the deuine prouidence) that healeth princes more to be puissant, and mightie, then when their seruauntes are saythfull and diligent.

In the palace of princes, defamed men ought not to haue familiaritie: for the prince can not excuse him selfe, when they doe rebuke him, if (in his house) he mainteyne seruauntes, which openly are defamed.

In the palace of princes they ought not to suffer ideotes and fooles: for the realmes are not loast, for that the princes are yong, verie vncircumspecte, and vitious: but for that their counsaillours are simple and malicious. Wo, wo, wo, be to the lande, where the lord is vitious, the subiect sedicious, the seruaunte conetous, and the counsaillour simple and malicious. For the common wealth perisheith, whan ignozaunce & malice reigne in the Prince, and gouernour therof.

These wordes passed betwene the noble knight Estilconus, and the wise Philosopher Epimundus, vpon the bringinge vp of those .2. princes Archadius, and Honorius. And because that princes and prelates might see (whiche now haue the charge to gouerne people) how much the auncientes dyd desire, to haue sage men aboute them: (notwithstandinge that I haue spoken), I will shewe you here some notable and auncient examples.

The .xlv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche Cresus king of Lydia vvrote, to the Philosopher Anacharsis.



In the yeare of the creation of the worlde, 4355, and in the thyrde age, Sardanapalus beinge kinge of the Assyrians, Ogias kinge of the Hebrewes, and Elchias beinge hygh bishop of the holy temple, at that time when Rea, the mother of Romulus lyued, in the seconde yeare of the firste Olimpiade, the great and renowned realme of Lydes, had beginninge: as Plinie in the firste booke of the naturall history saith. Lidia is in Asia Minor, and first was called Meonia, and afterwardes was called Lidia, and now is called Morea. This Realme of Lydes had many worship cities, that is to wete, Ephese, Colose, Aclafomena, and Phorea.

The first kinge of Lydes was Ardissus, a man of great courage, & a Greeke bozne, and reigned .36. yeare.

The second was Aliaces, who reigned 14. yeares.

The thirde was Candale, and he reigned .4. yeares.

The fourth was Gingio and reigned .5. yeares.

The fiste was Cerdus, and reigned .6. yeares.

The syrte was Hadiates, and reigned 15. yeares.

The .vii. was Aliates, and reigned .4. yeares.

The .viii. was Cresus, whom Xenophō declareth to be more ballaunte in seates of war: the comely of personage. For though he was lame of one foote, blind of one eye, lackynge one eare, and of bodie not much bigger than a dwarfe: yet for al this he

THE DIAL

he was a iuste man, very constant, stout, mercyfull, couragious, and aboue all, he was a great enemy to the ignorant, and a specyall frende to the sage. Of this kynge Cresus, Seneca speaketh in his booke of clemencie, and sayeth, that the sages were so entierly beloued of him, that the grekes (which had the fountaine of eloquence) dyd not call hym a louer, but entituled hym the loue of sages. For neuer no louer did so much to attayne to the loue of his ladye, as he dyd to draw to hym, and to his countrey, sage men. This kynge Cresus therfore being lord of many Barbarous nations (the whiche loued better to drinke the bloude of the innocent: then to learne the sciences of the wise) lyke an excellent Prince determined for the comfort of his person, and remedye of his common wealth, to searche oute the greatest sages, that were in Grece. At that tyme flourished the famous & renowned philosopher Anacharsis, who though he was borne and brought up amonges the Scythies: yet he was alwaies resident notwithstanding in Athens. For the vniuersitie of Athens did not despyse those, that were Barbarians: but those, that were vicious. The king Cresus sent an embassatour in great and costly riches, to the Philosopher Anacharsis, to perswade and desyre him, and with those giftes and presentes to present him, to the end it might please him, to come and see his person, and to set an order in his commō wealth. Cresus not contented to send him giftes which the embassatour caried, but for to let him vnderstand, why he did so, wrote him a letter with his owne hand, as hereafter foloweth.

The letter of kinge Cresus, to
Anacharsis the Philosopher.



Cresus kynge of Lydes, writeth to the Anacharsis great Philosopher, which remainest in Athens, heath to thy pers-

on, and encrease of vertue. Thou shalt see howe well I loue the, in that I neuer sawe the, nor knewe the, to write vnto the a letter. For the thinges, whiche with the eyes haue neuer bene sene: seldome times with the hart are truly beloued. Thou dost esteeme litle (as truth is) these my small giftes, and presentes, which I send the: yet I praye the greatly esteeme the wyl, and hart, wherewith I doe visite the. For noble hartes receiue more thankefully, that which a man desireth to giue them: then that which they doe giue them in dede. I desyre to correcte this my Realme, and to see amendement in the common wealth. I desire some good order for my person, & to take order touching the gouernement of my palace. I desire to communicate with a sage some thinges of my lyfe, and none of these thinges can be done without thy presence. For there was neuer any good thinge made, but by the meane of wisdom. I am lame, I am crooked, I am balde, I am a counterfeyte, I am black, & also I am broken, finally amongest all other men, I am a monster. But al these imperfections are nothinge to those, that re-mayne, that is to wete, I am so infortunat, that I haue not a Philosopher with me. For in the world, ther is no greater shame: than not to haue a wise man about him, to be conuersant withall. I count my selfe to be dead, though to the simple fooles I seme to be alyue. And the cause of my deathe is, because I haue not with me some wise person. For truly he is onely alīue amongest the lyuinge: who is accompanied with the sages. I desire the greatly to come, and by the immortall gods I coniure the, that thou make no excuse: and if thou wilt not at my desire, doe it for that thou art bounde. For many men oftentimes condescende to doe that, whiche they would not: more for vertues sake, then to satisfye the demaunde of any other. Thou shalt take that whiche my embassatour shall giue the, and beleue that which he shall tell in my behalfe, and by this my

my letter I do promyse the, that when thou shalt arriue here, I wyl make the treasourer of my coffers, only counsaillour of mine affaires, secretary of my counsaile, father of my childzen, resourner of my realmes, master of my person, and gouernoure of my common wealth: finally, Anacharis shall be Cresus, because Cresus maye be Anacharis. I saye no moze, but the gods haue the in their custodie, to whome I pray, that they maye hasten thy commyng. The imbassatour departed to goe to Athens, bearyng with hym this letter, and many iewels and bagges of golde: and by chaunce, Anacharis was reading in thuniuersity, at the arriuall of the imbassatoure to Athens. Who openly saide and dyd his messages to Anacharis, presenting vnto hym the giftes and the letter. Of which thing, all those of the vniuersitye marueyled: for the barbarous princes were not accustomed to seke philosophers, to gouerne their comon wealth, but to put them to death, and take from them their liues. After the great philosopher Anacharis had hard the embassage, sene the giftes, and receiued the letter, without alteringe his countenance, or elacion of hys person, impedymente in hys tong, or desire of the ryches: immediatlye before al the philosophers, saide these wordes, which heare after are wryten.

¶ The letter of the Philosopher
Anacharis to the king Cresus.



Anacharis the leaste of the philosophers, wissheth to the Cresus, moste myghty and pmissaunt king of Lides, the healthe whiche thou wishest hym, and the increase of vertue which thou sendest hym. They haue tolde vs manye thinges, here in these partyes, as wel of thy realme, as of thy person, and there in those partyes, they saye many thinges, as wel of our vniuersity, as of my selfe. For the harte

taketh greate pleasure, to knowe the conditions and lyues of all those in the world. It is wel done to desier, and to procure to knowe al the liues of the euil, for to amende ours it is wel done, to procure and knowe the liues of the good, for to followe them: but what shall we do, since now a dayes, the euyl doe not desire to knowe the liues of the euil, but for to couer them, and kepe them secrete, and do not desier to knowe the liues of the good, for to followe them. I let the knowe (kinge Cresus) that the philosophers of Greece selte not so muche payne to be vertuous, as they selte in defendinge them from the vicious. For if a man behold vertue, immediatlye the suffereth to be taken: but the euyl for anye good that a man can doe vnto them, neuer suffereth them selues to be vanquished. I beleue well, that the tyrannye of thy realme is not so greate, as they talke of here, neyther oughtest thou thyselfe to beleue, that I am so vertuous, as they repozte me to be there. For in mine opynion, those whiche declare newes of straunge countries, are as the poore, which were their garmentes all to patted, and peced, whereof the peces that were sowne on of new, are in moze quantity of clothe: then the olde whiche before they had, when they were first made. Beware (king Cresus) and be not as the barbarous princes are, which vse good wordes, and euyl dedes. For they goe aboute with faire wordes, to couer the infamye of their cruel dedes. Veruel not thoughtwe philosophers, readers in scholes, despye not to lyue with you Princes, gouernours of Realmes. For euyl Princes, for none other intente seke the company of wyse men, but onelye because they woulde throughe them excuse their faultes. For doinge as thou doest (of wyll, and not of ryghte) you wyll that the vulger people thincke, you doe it by the counsaile of a wyse man. I let the vnderstande (kinge Cresus) that the Prince whiche despyerh to gouerne hys people wel, oughte not to be

THE DIAL

* contente to haue one onelye sage in his palace. For it is not mere, that the gouernement of manye, doe consist in the aduise of one alone. Thy imbassadour hath sayde by worde, and the selfe same thy letter testifyeth, that thou arte certyfyed, that I am counted for sage throughout al Grece, and that this presupposed, I woulde come to the, to gouerne thy common wealthe. And for the contrarpe, thou doinge thus (as thou doest) condemnest me to be an Idote, for thou, thinkinge that I woulde take thy golde, is nothing els, but for to rayle vpon me as a foole.

* The these poynte wherein true philosophie is knowen, is when he dyspyseth the thynges of the worlde: for there neuer agreeth together the lybertye of the soule, and the care of goods in this lyfe. Kinge Cresus, I let the vnderstand, that he which knoweth mosse the course of the elemente, is not called sage: but it is he, whiche least knoweth the vices of this worlde. For the true Philosopher prosytreth more by not knowynge the euyl, then by learnynge the good. I let the vnderstand, I am .67. yeares old, & yet neuer befoze this tyme, of thy imbassage was presented befoze me gold, nor yet at my feate was laied any such riches. For vpon this dede, I gather, that either wysedome lacketh in the, or that great conetousnes aboundeth in me. I do send the thy gold againe, which thou sendest me, and thy imbassadour shal declare as witnes of syghte, howe greatelye it haue sleaunded all Grece, for it was neuer seen, nor hard of, that in anye wise they should suffer gold to enter into the vniuersitye of Athens. For it shoulde not onelye be a dyshonour to the philosophers of Grece, to haue riches: but also it woulde turne them to great infamye, to desire them. King Cresus, if thou knowest it not, it is but reason thou knowe it, that in the scoles of Grece we learne not to commaunde, but to obey: not to speake, but to be silente: not to resist, but to humble our

selues: not to get muche, but to content vs with lytle: not to reuenge offences, but to pardon iniuries: not to take frō others, but to giue sure owne: not to be honoied, but to trauayle to be vertuous: synally we learne to dyspysse that, which other men loue: and to loue that, which other men dispise, which is pouerty. Thou thoughtest that I woulde receiue thy golde, or els that I woulde not receiue it at al: If thou thoughtest I woulde haue receyued it, then thou haddest had reason not to haue receiued me afterwarde, into thy palace. For it is a greate infamye, that the conetous man shoulde be acceptable to a Prince. If thou thoughtest that I woulde not receiue it, thou wouldest not wyse to take the paynes to sende it: for Princes oughte neuer to take vpon them thynges: wherein (as they thinke) the subiectes shoulde lose their honestye in receiuyng them. See, King Cresus, and behold, that by diligence it lytle auayleth to serche for the phisition, and afterwarde to doe nothyng of that, which by him is ordeyned. I meane, that it shal not prosyre, but rather it shal beharme, that I come into thy common wealthe, and that afterwarde thou wyldest not doe that, which I shal ordeine therein, for great daungers ensue, to alter the humours with syrroppes: vnlesse they take afterwarde a purgacion, to purge away the same. For to redresse thy barbarous realme, and to satisfie thy good desier, I am determyned, to descend vnto thy request, and to accomplish thy commaundement, vpon condicion, that thou shalt ensyre me of these thynges folowing. For the labourer ought not to sewe his sede, befoze the ground be plowed, and tilled.

* The fyrste, thou shalt forsake the euyl custome whiche ye barbarous kynges dooble, that is to wete, to heape by treasures, and not to spend them. For euerye Prince, which is conetous of treasures, is scarcely of capacity to receiue good counsaile.

The seconde, thou shalt not only banishe oute

out of thy palace, but also out of thy court, al flaterers: for the prince that is a friend of flaterers: of necessity muste be an enemye of the truthe.

* The thirde, thou shalt end the warres, which thou (at this present) doest mainteine against the people of Corinthe: for euery prince that loneth foraine warres, must needs hate the peace of his common wealthe.

* The fourthe, thou shalt banne the from thy house al those jugglers, and minstrels: for the prince whiche deceyppeth hym selfe to here bayne, and cryfynge thinges, in tyme of necessitye shal not applye hym selfe to those, whiche be of twight & impossature.

* Fiftelpe, thou shalt prouide, that all loyterers and vacabondes, be expulsed from thy person, and banyshe thy palace: for slothnes and negligance are cruel enemies of wysedome.

* Sixtly, thou shalt banish from thy court, and palace, al lyers and sedicious men: for whē lyers see suffered in the palace of princes, it is a sygne that the kynge and the realme falleth into viter destruction.

* The seueny, thou shalt promise that in al the daies of thy life, thou shalt not impose the to receiue any thing of the: for the day that thou shalt corrupt me with giftes, it is necessary that I corrupte the with evil counsailes. For there is no counsell that is good, but that whiche procedeth from the man that is not couetous.

If on these condicions, the king Cresus desireth the philosopher Anacharsis, the philosopher Anacharsis desireth the kynge Cresus: and if not, I had rather be a discypule of sage philosophers, then a kynge of the barbarous people. Vale felix rex.

With this letter dothe declare it, it is needles for my penne to write it, that is to wete, what was þe humanity, & goodnes of kynge Cresus, to write with a poore philosopher, and how greate the courage of the philosopher was, to dyspyle the golde, and to save (as he dyd) in this behalf.

Therefore let princes note here, that such ought the sages to be, as they should chose; and let sages note here vpon, with what condicions they oughte to enter, into the pallace of princes. For this is a winde that seldome tymes chaunseth, but that one of the partyes are deceined.

The. xli. Chapter.

* Of the vvisedom, and sentences of Phalaris the Tiraunt,



IN the laste yeare of the Latines, and in the first yeare of the romaynes, Ezechias beinge king of the Jewes, and Azarias greate Byshop of the holy temple, Abacuck prophet in Jewry, and Merodach beinge kynge in Babilon, and when the Lacedemonians builde Bizauce (which now is Constantinople) Phalaris the famous tiraunt was the liuing. Of this Phalaris Ovide saith, that he was deformed in his face, spoore blinde of his eyes, and exteadinge countenances of ryches, and neuer obserued anye thinge that he promised. He was vnthankfull to his frendes, and cruel to his enemyes: specially he was such a one, that the tirannies whiche seuerally were scattered in others, in him alone were al togethers assembled. Amongest all the iniquities, that he inuented, and amongest al the tirannies that he committed, he had one vertue verye greate, which was, that euen as he was onely head of all tirannies: so was he the loue and frende of all philosophers and sage men. And in all those. 35. yeares which he gouerned the Realme by tyrannye, they neuer founde that anye man touched his

q. ii. bearde

THE D I A L L

hearde, nor that any man satte at the table
 with hym, spake vnto hym, or slepte in his
 bed, nor that any man sawe in his counte-
 nance any mische, vntill it were some
 philosopher or sage man, with whome, and
 to whome, he lyberallye put his bodye in
 truste. And they sayde that this Phalaris
 sayde oftentimes. The Prince that absen-
 teth hym selfe from sage men, and accom-
 panyeth with fooles: I saye vnto hym,
 though he be a Prince of his common
 wealch, he is a cruel tyrant of his person.
 For it is a greater payne to lyue amonge
 fooles, then to dye amonges sages. Pulio in
 the sage booke De gestis romanoru saith,
 that a worthy and excellent painter presen-
 ted a table to Octavian the Emperoure,
 wherein were drawen all the vertuous prin-
 ces, and so their cheseraine, Octavian the
 emperour was drawen: at the foote of this
 table, were all the tyrannous princes pain-
 ted, of the whiche, Phalaris was chiefe and
 captaine. This table viewed by Octavian
 the emperour, he comended the worke, but
 he disallowed the intention thereof, sayng:
 me thinketh it not mete, that I (being alive)
 should be set chiefe, and principall of all the
 vertuous men, that are deade: For duringe
 the tyme of this wretched lyfe, we are all sub-
 iecte to the vices, of weake, and feble fleshe.
 Also it seemeth vnto me an vnjuste thinge,
 that they shoulde put Phalaris for princi-
 pal; and captaine of all the tyrantes: since
 he was a scourge, and enemye, to fooles,
 and ignorant men: and so earnest a lover
 and frende of sages, and wise Philoso-
 phers. All the same of this tyrante Pha-
 laris was knowen, and came throughe the
 crueltye.

A neighbour of Athens called Peris-
 lus (a man very excellent in metallcs, and
 a greate worker in workes of fountaines)
 came to Phalaris the Tyrante, sayng
 that he woulde make suche a kynde of tor-
 mente, that his hearte shoulde remayne
 reuenged, and the offender wel punished.

The matter was, that this workeman
 made a bull of brasse, wherein there was
 a gate, by the which they put the offender,
 and in puttyng the spere vnder the bull, he
 roared, and cryed, in manner as it had ben
 alyue: whiche thyng was not onelye a
 horryble, and cruel torment, to the mys-
 rable creature that endured it, but also it
 was terryble, to hym or those that sawe it.
 Let vs not maruell, neyther at the one, nor
 at the other: for trulye the pyrefull hart
 (whiche is not fleshed in crueltye) hath
 as muche pitye to see another man suffer,
 as of the sorow and torment, which he
 hym selfe feeleth. Phalaris therfore seing
 the inuencion of this torment (wherof the
 inuentoure hoped greate rewarde) prou-
 ded, that the inuentoure of the same shoulde
 be put within the bull, and that the cruel-
 ty of the torment shoulde be experimen-
 ted in none, save onelye in the inuentour.
 Trulye in this case, Phalaris shewed hym
 selfe not a cruel tyrant, but rather a mer-
 ciful Prince, and a sage Philosopher: for
 nothinge can be more iuste, then that the
 inuention of the malice be executed, on the
 fraile fleshe of the inuentoure. Nowe be-
 cause Phalaris was a great frend of sages,
 the philosophers of Grece came oftentimes
 to see him, which were very gently re-
 ceined of hym.

Though to save the truche, they profited
 more with his goods, then he dyd with
 their philosophie. This tyrante Phalaris
 was not onelye a frende of sages: but also
 he was verie well learned, and depelye
 sene in moral philosophy. The which thing
 appeareth wel in the epistles, whiche he
 wrote with his owne hande. I cannot tell
 wherein he shewed hym selfe greater, either
 in the sentences, and doctrynes whiche he
 wrote with his penne: or in the slaughter
 and cruelties, whiche he did with his sword.

Whow manye compassions had Phala-
 ris the tyrante, in this case in times past;
 and that (as I would) there were none also

at this tyme presente, whiche in their pleasant words dyd not resemble the emperour Nero. I neuer reade other thinge of those that are gone, neyther have I seen or therwyle of those that are present, but manye are they that blase vertues, and infinite are they which ranne after vices. For of truthe we are verie lyghte of tonge, and so feble of fleshe. The Epistles which this Phalaris wrote are knowne to all men, I meane of those whiche knowe Greke, or laten: and for those that know them not, I was wyllynge to translate these that are presente, and to put them in our vulgar tonge for two causes.

The one to the ende Princes, myghte see howe good a thing it is to be sage, and howe tyrantes were prayd for beinge Sages, and geuyng good counsailes.

The other, to the ende the people might see, howe easie it is to speake wel, and howe harde it is to worke wel. For there is no thinge better cheape in the worlde, then counsaile. The sentences therfore of the Epistles of Phalaris are these whiche followe, in such sorte as I could most beselely gather them, to reduce them in good and profitable stile to write them.

The particuler loue whiche princes shew to one, more then another, breedeth oftentimes muche enuie in their realmes. For the one beinge letwde, and the other hated, of this commeth hatred, and of hatred commeth euyl thoughtes, and of euyl thoughtes, procedeth malyce, of malice commeth euyl wordes, the whiche breake out into woyle deades.

Finallye when a Prince sheweth to all vertuous, his fauoure indifferentlye, he setteih fire in his common wealth.

Princes oughte to forbid, and sages oughte not to consente, that the quarrellers shoulde trouble those whiche are peace makers: for when the people-ryle, immediatlye comes, tounles is awaked. When the couetousnes groweth, iustice falleth, force and violence

ruleth, snatchinge reigne, lecherie is at libertye, the euyl haue power, and the good are opprest: synallye all doe reioyse one to lyue to the preyndyce of another, & euery mā to seke his owne ppyuate commoditie.

Manye baine men doe rapte dissensions, and quarels amongst people, thynkynge that in troubled water, they shoulde augmente their estates, who in thys space doe not only lose the hope of that they sought: but also are put oute of that, they possessed. For it is not onelye reasonable, but also moste iuste, that those by experyence seie that, whiche their blynde malice wyl not suffer them to knowe.

It is muche good for the people, that the governours be not vnfortunat, but that of their nature they were happye. For to luckye Princes, fortune gyueih manye thinges euen as they demaunde, yea and gyueih them better then they loke for.

The noble and valyaunt princes, when they see them selues with other Princes, or that they are present in greate actes, ought to shewe the freenes of their harte, the greatenes of their realme, the prebeminence of their person, the loue of their common wealth, and ahepe all, the dyscipline of their court, and the grauity of their counsaile, and palace. For the sage and curious men shoulde not beholde the Prince in the appareyle, whiche he weareth: but the men whiche he hath to counsaile hym.

The sage men, and those that be not covetous yf they doe employe their forces to heape by treasures, oughte to remember in their hartes, howe to employe them selues, to spende their money wel.

With fortune is maystres in all thinges, and that to her they doe impute, both good and euyl workes, he alone maye be called a Princely man, who for no contrariety of fortune is overcome. For trulye that man is of a stout courage, whose harte is not banquished by the force of fortune.

Though we praye one for valyaunte
q. lll. with

THE D I A L L

with the sword: we wyl not therefore prasse hym for excellent with the penne. Although he be excellent with his penne, he is not therefore excellent with his tongue.

Though he haue a good tongue, he is not therefore wel learned. And though he be learned, he hath not therefore good renowne. And though he hath good renowne, he is not therefore of a good lyfe. For we are bounde to receiue the doctrine of manie which write: but we are not bounde to folowe the lyues which they doe leade.

There is no worse office amongst men, then to take the charge to punish the vices of another, and therefore men oughte to flye from it, as from the pestilence: for in correctynge vices, barred is more sure to the correctour, then amendement of lyfe is to the offender.

He hath, and possesseth much, that hath good frendes. For manie ayde their frendes, when they woulde haue holpen them more, if they could. For the true loue is not weryed to loue, nor ceaseth not to profite.

Though sage men haue losse muche, they oughte not therefore to dyspaire: but that they shall come to it agayne in tyme. For in the ende, tyme dothe not cease to doo his accustomed alteracions, nor perfecte frendes cease not to doe, that which they oughte.

The proude and dyscheynefull man (for the moste parte) alwayes falleth into some euyl chaunce, therefore it is a commendable medecyne, some times to be persecuted: for the aduersite maketh a wysse man liue more merie, and to walke in lesse daunger. For so muche as we doe excuse hym, which committeth the faulte, there is neither the offender, nor the offence, but deserueth paine. For suche a one that committeth the faulte throughe sodaine anger, dyd euyl: and if he dyd commit it by deliberation, he dyd muche worse.

To despayre to doe all thynges by reason,

is good, and lykewyse to laye them al in order is good, but it is verie harde: For temperate men haue suche respecte in compassynge their doinges, and by weight so cast all the inconueniences, that scarselye they euer determyne to goe aboute it.

To the man which hath gouernement, two thynges are dangerous, that is to lye, to sone, or to late: But of those. 2. the worse is to sone. For if by determyning late, a man loseth that which he myghte haue gotten: by determyning to sone, that is losse, which is nowe gayned, and that which a man myghte haue gayned.

To men which are to hasty, chaunces dayle manie euylles, and daungers. For the man being vnpacient, and hauing his vnderstandynge hight, afterwarde come quarels, and brawlynges, displeasures, barretres, and also vanytes, which looseth their goods, and putteth their persons in daunger.

With all naturall desire to be happye, he alone amongst all others maye be called happye, of whome they maye truly saye he gaue good doctrine to lyue, and left a good example to dye.

The letter of Phalaris to Popharco the Philosopher.



Phalaris Agrigentine, writteth vnto the Popharco the Philosopher, heaile, and consolation throughe the comfortable gods. I receiued thy letter here, in Agrigentine, and though it sounded somewhat satiricall, I was not agreued therewith: for of philosophers & sages (as thou art) we shuld not be greaued.

greaued with the sharpe wordes you tel vs, but to cōsider the intention wherupon you speake the. Quarellers and malicious persons, will haue the wordes by weyght, & measure: but the vertuous and patient mē, doe not regarde, but the intentions. For yf we should go about, to cramyn euery word they speake vnto vs: we should geue our selues to muche paine, and we should alwaies set in the common wealch debate. I am a tyrant, & as yet am in tyranny: but I sweare vnto the immortal gods, whether the worde were good, or badde, I neuer altered it. For if a good man tell it me, I take it for my pastime. Thou wyppresse vnto me, that al Grece is offended with me ther: but I let the vnderstand, that al Agrigentine is all edified with the here. And thereof thou maist praise me. For if the tyrantes were not so muche dyspraised the Philosophers should not be so well loued. Thou art counted for good, and art good: and I am counted for euyl, and am euill.

But in myne opinson, thou shouldst not be proude for the one, neither I should dyspysse for the other. For the daye of the lyfe is longe, and therein fortune doth many thinges, and it may wel be, that from a tyrant I shalbe a philosopher: and thou seest a philosopher shalte be a tyrant. See my frende, that the longe tyme, maketh oftentimes the earth to be turned to siluer: and the siluer and golde, becommeth nothyng worth. I meane, that there neuer was a tyrante in any Realme, but that firste he had ben brought vp in the studies of Grece. I will not denye, that al the renowned tyrantes haue not ben nourished in Seicile: but also thou shalt not denye me, that they were not bozne in Grece. Therfore see and beholde, to whom the fault is: from the mother whiche bare them, or from the nurse whiche gaue them sucke. I doe not say that it shalbe, but I saye that it may wel be, that if I were there in Grece, I should be a better philosopher than thou: and if thou were

here in Agrigentine, I wouldst be a worse tyrant than I. I would thou shouldst thinke, that thou mightest be better in Grece, where thou art: and that I myght be worse in Agrigentine, wher I am. For thou dost not so much good, as thou mightest doe: and I doe not so much euyl, as I may doe. The conning man Perillus, came into these partes, and hath made a Bull, wherein he hath put a kind of tormente, the most fearefullest in the world: and trulye I caused, that y whiche his malice had inuented, should be of none other, than of him experimented. For there is no iuster law, than when any workmen haue inuēd engins, to make other men vpe: then to put them to the tormentes by them inuented, to knowe the experience in them selues. I beseeche the hartely to come and see me, and be thou assured thou shalt make me good. For it is a good signe for the sicke, when he acknowledgeth his sickness to the Physitian. I saye no more to the, but that once againe I returne to sollicite the, that thou sayest not to come to see me. For in the ende, yf I do not profite of the, I am sure thou shalt profite by me: and if thou winnest, I can not lose.

The.xlvii.Chapter.

¶ Hovve Philippe kynge of Macedonia the greate, and the kynge Ptolomeus, the kyng Antigonus, the king Archelaus, and Pirrus kinge of the Epirotes, were all greate lovers, and frendes of the sages.

If Quintus

THE DIAL



F Quintus Curtius deceyue me not, & greate Alexander, sonne to kinge Philippe of Macedonie, did not deserue to be called greate, for he was accompanied to thousandes of men of warre: but he wanne the renowne of greate, for that he had more philosophers on his counsaile, then al other princes had.

This great prince neuer toke vpon him warres, but that firste the order of erecting the same, shoulde befoze his presence be examined of the sages, and wise philosophers. And truly he had reason. For in affayres, where good counsaile haue proceeded, they may alwayes looke for a good end. These Historiographers whiche wrote of great Alexander (as well the Gretians as the Latines) knowe not, whether the fierenes, wherewith he strooke his enemies was greater, or the humanitie wherewith he embraced his counsaile. Though the sage philosophers which accompanied the great Alexander were many in nombre: yet notwithstanding amongst al those, Aristotle, Anacharsis, and Onosichrates were his moste familiars. And herein Alexander shewed him selfe very wise. For wise princes oughte to take the counsaile of many, but they ought to determyne and conclude vpon the opinion of fewe. The greate Alexander did not content him selfe to haue sages with him, neyther to sende onely to visite those, which were not his: but oftentimes him selfe in personne woulde goe see them, visite them, & counsaile with them, sayinge that the Princes whiche are the seruantes of sages, come to be made masters and Lordes ouer all.

In the time of kinge Alexander, Diogenes the Philosopher, neyther for entreatye nor yet for any promises made, would come, to see Alexander the great.

Wherfore the great Alexander wente to see him, and when he had desired him to

goe to see him, and accompany hym, Diogenes answered,

O Alexander, synce thou wilt winne honour in keepinge of men in thy companye: it is not reason that I shoulde loose it, to forsake my stode: for in folowinge the I shall not folow my selfe: and beyng thine, I shall cease to be myne.

Thou arte come to haue the name of the greate Alexander for conquerng the worlde, and I haue attayned to come to the renowne of a good Philosopher, in styenge the worlde: and if thou doste synne that thou haste gotten, and wonne, I thinke that I haue not erred nor losse. And synce thou wylt be no lesse in authority, then a kinge, doe not thinke, that I wyl lose the estimation of a Philosopher. For in the worlde there is no greater losse vnto a man, then when he looseth his propriety.

When he hadde spoken these wordes, Alexander saide vnto them that were aboute him with a loude voice. By the immortall gods I sweare, and as good Mars rule my handes in battayle, if I were not Alexander the greate, I woulde be Diogenes the Philosopher. And he sayde further, in myne opinion, there is no other felicity vpon the earth, then to be Alexander kinge, who commaundeth all, or to be Diogenes to commaunde Alexander, who commaundeth al. As kinge Alexander was more familiar with some Philosophers, then with others: so he esteemed some, booke more, then others. And they say he reade oftentimes in the Iliades of Homere, whiche is a booke where the storye of the destruction of Troye is, and that when he slepte, he layde vnder his heade vpon a bolster, his sword, and also his booke. When the greate kinge Alexander was bozne, his father kinge of Macedonie, dyd two notable thinges. The one was, that he sente manye and verie ryche gyfts into the Ile of Delphos, where the Oracle

of Apollo was, to the end to present them vnto him, and to praye him, that it woulde please him to preserve his sonne. The other thinge that he did was, that immediately he wrote a letter to the greate Philosopher Aristotel, wherein he saide these wordes.

Philippe kinge of Macedonie, wylleth health, and peace, to the Philosopher Aristotel, whiche readeth in the vniuersitie of Grece. I let the vnderstande, that Olympias my wyfe, is brought to bedde of a goodly man childe, wherof, bothe she and I, and all Macedonie, doe reioyce. For kinges and realmes oughte to haue greatesoye, when there is bozne any sonne, successor of the naturall prince of the prouince. I render thanks vnto the immortall gods, and haue sente many greates gifts to the Temples, and it was not somuch for that I haue a sonne, as for that they haue giuent him vnto me, in the time of so great and excellent a philosopher. I hope that thou wilt bringe him vp, and teache him in such sort, that by heritage, he shalbe Lorde of my patrimonye of Macedonie, and by desert, he shalbe Lorde of all Asia: so that they shal cal him my sonne, and the his father. Vale felix, iterumque vale.

Ptolomeus father in lawe, who was the 8. kinge of the Egyptians, did greatlye loue the sages, as well of Caldea, as of Grece, and this thinge was esteemed for a great vertue in kinge Ptolome.

For there was asmuche enuye betwene the Philosophers of Grece, and the sages of Egipte: as betwene the captaynes of Rome, and the captaynes of Carthage.

This Ptolome was very wise, and did desire greatlye to be accompanied with philosophers: and after this, he learned the letters of the Latynes, Caldes, and Hebrewes. For the whiche cause, thonghe the kinges named Ptolomei, were. ii. in nombre, and all warrelke men: yet they put this for the chiefe, and captayne of all, not for the battayles whiche he wanne, but for

the sentences whiche he learned. This kinge Ptolomeus, had for his samplar, a philosopher called Estalpo Megarensse, who was so enterlye beloued of this Prince that (leavinge aside the gentlenes and benespytes, whiche he shewed hym) he dyd not onelye eate with the kyng at his table: but oftentimes the kyng made hym drinke of his one cuppe. And as the fauours whiche the Princes shew to their seruantes, are but as a watche to proue the malicious: it chaunced, that when this kyng gaue the Philosopher to drinke that whiche remained in his cuppe, an Egypcian knight moued with enuye, saide vnto kinge Ptolome. I thinke Lorde how that thou arte neuer satisfied with drinke, to leaue that whiche remaineth in the cuppe, for the philosopher to drinke after the.

To whom the kinge answered. Thou sayest wel, that the Philosopher Estalpo is neuer fylled with that whych I doe giue him. For that whiche remaineth in my cuppe, dothe not profite him so muche to drinke: as the philosophye whiche remaineth in hym shoulde profite the, if thou wouldest take it.

The kinge Antigonus was one of the moste renowned seruantes, that kyng Alexander the great euer had, who after his death enherited a greates parte of his empyre. For howe muche happie the kinge Alexander was in his lyfe, so muche he was unhappie at the tyme of his death: because he had no chyldren, whiche myghte enherite his goodes, and that he had suche seruantes, as spoyled him of his renowne. This kinge Antigonus was an vniuersite, and excessive in all byces: But for all that, he loued greatlye the philosophers, whych thinge remayned vnto hym from kinge Alexander, whose palace was a schole of all the good Philosophers of the world. Of this ensample, they may see what greates profite ensueth of bringinge vp of them that be yonge, for there is none that

THE DIAL

ever was so wylked by enclined into supli-
 che that in longe contynuaunce maye pro-
 fyte somewhat in his pouthe. This kinge
 Antigonus loued .2. philosophers greatly,
 the whiche flourished in that time, that is to
 mete Amenedius, and Abio, of whiche .2.
 Abio was well learned, and very poore.

✱ For in that time, no philosopher durst open-
 ly reade philosophie, if he were woth the any
 thinge in tempoꝝ all goodes. As Laetius
 sayeth, and as Pulio declareth it better, in
 the booke of the rulers and noble men of
 the Grekes. The scholes of the vniuersitye
 were so corrette, that the philosopher,
 whiche knewe mooste, had leaste goodes: so
 that they did not glozifie of any thinge els:
 but to haue ponertie, and to know much of
 philosophie. The case was suche, that the
 philosopher Abio, was sycke, & woth that
 syckenes he was so vexed, that they myghte
 almoste see the bones of hys breake boode.
 The kinge Antigonus sent to visite hym,
 by his owne sonne, by whom he sente hym
 muche money, to healepe him with all: for
 he layed in extreme ponertie, as it behoued
 the professours of philosophy. Abio was so
 sicke, beinge aged, and crooked, & though he
 had made him selfe so leane with syckenes:
 yet notwithstandinge he burned alwayes
 vpon the wecke of good lyfe. I meane that
 he had no lesse courage to dispise those gyf-
 tes: then the kinge Antigonus had noble-
 nes to send them. This philosopher not co-
 tented to haue despised these gyftes in such
 sorte, saide vnto the sonne of Antigonus,
 who brought them. Tell king Antigonus,
 that I geue him great thakes, for the good
 enterterment he gaue me alwaies in my
 lyfe, and for the gyftes he sendeth me nowe
 at my death. For one frend can do no moze
 ✱ to another, than to offer him his personne,
 and to depart with his propre goodes. And
 tell the kinge thy father, that I maye saye
 what he shoulde meane, that I now beinge
 so yeaues of age, and haue walked all my
 lyfe tyme naked in this world, shoulde now

be laden with beftures and money, synce
 I muste passe so streyghte a goulfe in the
 sea, to goe out of this world. The Egypti-
 ans haue a custome to lyghten the burden
 of their camels, when they passe the deser-
 tes of Arabia, which is much better, then
 to ouercharge them. I meane, that he ones-
 ly passeth withoute trauaile the dangers
 of the lyfe, which bannisheth sorrowe, the
 thought of tempoꝝ all goodes, of this world.
 Thirdly thou shalt say to thy kinge thy father,
 that from hencefoꝝth when any man wyl-
 dye, he doe not succour hym, nor healepe hym
 with money, gold, nor riches, but to good
 & rypp counsaile. For the gold wyl make hym
 leane his lyfe with sorrowe, and the good
 counsaile wyl moue him to take his deathe
 with patience. The first kinge of the Mace-
 donians was called Archelaus, who they
 say to be the grandfather of king Phillip,
 father of the great Alexander. This king
 bothe hym selfe to desceid from Menelaus,
 king of the Greckians, and pꝛincipall captai-
 ne, which was at the distruction of Troye.
 This kinge Archelaus, was a great frend
 to the sages, and amongeste others, there
 was a Poete with him called Euripides,
 who at that time had no lesse gloype in hys
 kinde of Poetrie: then Archelaus in hys
 kingdome beinge kinge of Macedonia.

For nowe a dayes, we esteeme moze the
 sages, for the bookes whiche they wote:
 then we doe exalte kinges: for the realmes
 whiche they ruled, or the battayles whiche
 they ouercame. The familiaritie whiche
 Euripides had with the king Archelaus,
 was so streight, & his credite to Archelaus
 was so great, that in the realme of Mace-
 donie, nothing was done, but firste it was
 examined by the handes of this philosopher.
 And as simples woulde not naturallie be
 subiectes to the sages: it chaunced that one
 myghte Euripides was talkinge a longe
 tyme with thy king, declaring vnto hym the
 auncient hystories, & when the poore Poete
 woulde depart to goe home to his house, his
 enemies

enemies espied him, and let hungry dogges flye vpon him: the whiche did not onely teare him in pieces, but eate him euery morsell. So that h intraylles of the dogges, were the wofull graue of h miserable poete. The kinge Archelaus beinge certified of this wofull case, immediatlye (as sone as they told him) was so chafed, that almost he was berefte of his senses. And here at merueyle not at al. For gentle hartes doe alter greatlye, when they are aduertysed of any sodeyne mishappe. As the loue whyche the kynge had to Euripides in hys lyfe was much, so likewise h sorow whiche he felt for his deathe was very great. For he shed many teares from his eyes, he cut the beares of his head, he rounded his bearde, he chaunged the appaile which he weare, & aboue all, he made as solempne a funerall to Euripides, as yf they had buried Villes.

And not contented wyth all these thynges, he was neuer meruey vntyll suche tyme, he had done cruell execution of the malefactours. For trulye the iniury whych is done vnto him whom we loue: is no other but as a token of our owne good willes. After iustice was executed of those homycides, & that some of the bones (all knawen of h dogges) were buried, a Cretian knight saide vnto king Archelaus. I let the know excellent kinge, that all Macedonia is offended wyth the, because that for so fatal a losse, thou hast shewed so great sorow. To whom kinge Archelaus answered, Among sages it is a thing sufficiently tried, that noble hartes ought not to shew themselves sadde, for mishappes & sodeyne chaunces: For the king beinge sadde, his Realme can not (and though it might, it ought not) shewe it selfe meruey. I haue hearde my father say once, that Prynces shoulde neuer shed teares, vntill it were for one of these causes.

The fyrste, the Prynce shoulde bewaile the losse and daunger of his comon wealth: for the good Prynce oughte to pardon the

injuries done to hys personne: but to reuenge the leasse acte done to the comon wealth: he ought to hasard him selfe.

The seconde, the good Prynce oughte to lamente, yf any man haue touched hys honour in any wyse: for the Prynce, which wepeth not dropes of bloude for h thynges touchinge his honour, deserueth to be buryed quicke in his graue.

The thyrde, the good Prynce oughte to bewaile those whiche can lytle, and suffer muche: For the Prynce whyche bewaileth not the calamities of the poore, in bayne and wythoute profite lyueth on the ycarthe.

The fourth, the good Prynce oughte to bewaile the glozy, and prosperitie wher in the Tyrantes are: For that prince, whiche wyth tyrannye of the euyll is not dyspleased, with the hartes of the good is vnworthy to be beloued.

The fyfte, the good Prynce oughte to bewaile the deathe of wyse men: For to a Prynce there can come no greater losse, then when a wyse man dyeth in his comon wealth.

These were the wordes, whyche the kynge Archelaus answered the Cretian knyght, who reprocured hym because he had wepte for the deathe of Euripides the philosopher.

The aunciente Hystoryographers can saye no more, of the estimacion whiche the Philosophers and wyse men had, as well the Greekes as the Latynes: but I will tell you one thyng worthy of notinge. It is well knowen throughte all the worlde, that Scipio the Ethnicke was, one of the worthyeste, that euer was in Rome: for by hys name, and by hys occasion, Rome gotte suche a memoire, as shall euer more endure. And thys was not onely for that he conquered Affryke, but for the greate worthynes of hys personne. Men ought not to esteeme a litle these twayne gyses in one man; that is to wete, to be happye, and

THE DIALL.

and aduenturous: For many of the auncestres in times paste wanne glory by theyr swordes, and after losse it by their euill practices. The Romaine historiographers saye, that the first that wrot in heroicall meeter in the Latin tonge, was Ennius the poete, the workes of whom were so esteemed of Scipio the Ethenicke, that when this aduenturous and so lucky Romaine dyed, he commaunded in his will, and testamente, that they shoulde hange the image of this Ennius the Poete ouer his graue. By that the great Scipio did at his death, we maye well coniecture, how great a frend he was of sages in his lyfe: since he had rather for his honour, set the statue of Ennius on his graue: than the banner, wherewith he wanne and conquered Affryke. In the tyme of Pyrrus (which was king of the Epirotes, and great enemy of the Romaines) flourished a philosopher named Cinas, bozne in Thessale, who (as they saye) was the disciple of demosthenes. The historiographers at that tyme did so much esteeme this Cinas, that they said he was the maister and measure of all mans eloquence. For he was very pleasaunt in wordes, and profounde in sentences. This Cinas serued for, 3. offices in the palace of king Pyrrus.

First he made at his table pastime, in that he dyd declare: for he had a good grace in thinges of laughter.

Secondarily, he wrote the ballaunt desdes of his histoyre: for in his style he had great eloquence, and to wyte the truth, he was a witnes of sight.

Thirde, he went for embassatour in all

affaires of great importaunce: for he was naturallye subtile and witty, and in dispatching busines, he was very fortunate. He vsed so many meanes in his busynes, and had so great perswasion in his wordes, that he neuerooke vpon him to speake of thinges of warre: but either he set a long truce, or els he made a perpetual peace. The king Pyrrus saide to this Cinas. O Cinas, for 3. thinges I thanke the immortall gods.

The first, for that they created me a king, and not a seruant: for the greatest good, that mortall men haue, is to haue libertie to commaund many, and not to be bounde to obey any.

The second, I thanke the immortall gods, for they naturally made me stout of hart: for the man which in euery trifle is abashed, it were better for him to leaue his lyfe.

The thirde, I glue the immortall gods thanks, for that in the gouernement of my common wealth, and for the great affaires, and busines of my realme (as well in warres, as in other thinges) they gaue me such a man (as thou arte) in my company: For by thy gentle speche, I haue conquered, and obteyned many Cities, which by my cruell sword, I coulde neuer wyne nor attaine. These were the wordes which Pyrrus said to his frende Cinas the Poete. Let euery Prince know now, howe greates louers of wise men those were in tymes past: and as vpon a sodeine I haue recyted these fewe examles, so with small study, I could haue heaped infinite Hystories.

FINIS.

**[The ende of the
first Booke.**

The seconde Booke of the

DIAL OF PRINCES, VVHERIN THE

Auctoure treateth, howe Princes and

great Lordes, shoulde behaue them selues to-

warde theyr wyues. And howe they

ought to noryshe, and

bringe vp their

Chyldren.

The firste Chapter.

marriage
in people
marie of free vvyll, Princes and
noble men oughte to marie of
necessitytie.



*A*monge al the frend-
ships and companyes of
this lyfe, there is none so
naturall, as that, betwe-
ne the husbände and the
wyfe, liuing in one house:
for all other compaignies are caused by free
wyl onely, but this proceedeth, both by wyl,
and necessitye. There is at this day no lion
so fierce, no serpent so venomous, no viper
so infectiue, no aspicke so mortall, neyther
anye beast so terrible, but at the least, both
male, and female, do once in the yere mete
and conioine: and though that in brute beas-
tes their lacketh reason, yet notwithstanding
dyng they haue a natural instinctiō to as-
semble them selues, for the conseruation of
their kynde. In this case, men deserue no
lesse reproche, then beastes merite prayse:
for after that the females by generacion are
bigge, they neuer agre, that h ma'es should
accompayne with them. Accordyng to the
dyuersitytie of nacions, so amonge them sel-
ues, they dyffer the one from the other, in
lawes, languages, ceremonies, and custo-
mes: but in the end, al agre in one thing, for

that they inforce them selues to celebrate
marriage. As the deuine letters teacheth vs,
Since the worlde was created, there hath
nothing ben moze auncient, then the sacra-
mente of marriage: for that daye that man
was so: med, the selfe same day he celebrated
marriage with a woman, in the terestrall
paradyse. The aunciente hystorlographers
(aswel Grekes as latins) wrote many great
thinges in the prayse of marriage: but they
could not saye nor write so much, as conti-
nual experience dothe shewe vs. Therefore
leauinge the superfluous, and takynge the
most necessary, we say, that seuen commo-
dityes folow the sage man, who hath taken
the yoke of matrimonye.

The first is, the memory which remaineth
to the chyldren, as successours, and heires of
their fathers. For as the philosopher pitha-
goras sayeth, when a father passeth oute of
this present life, and leauith behinde hym a
childe being hys heire, they cannot say vnto
him that he dieth: but that he wareth ponge
in hys chyld, since the chyld dothe inherite
the fleshe, the goods, and the memory of the
father. Amonge the auncientes it was a
common proverbe, that the taste of al tastes
is breade, the sauour of sauours is salte, and
the greatest loue of all loues, is from the
fathers, to the chyldren. And though per-
chance we see the fathers shewe some re-
goz to their chyldren, we oughte not there-
fore to saye that they hate them, and despise
them:

r. 6.

THE DIAL

them: for the tender loue of the father to the sonne is such, that he cannot endure hym to doe anye thinge amysse, or woorthy of rebuke. Not onely men of reason, and brute beastes, but also the hege, & gardeine trees, to their possybilitie, procure to contynue their kynde: and it is playnely sene in that, before the frutes and herbes were formed to be eaten, the seades and kirknelles were made to be kepte. Men naturallie desyre honoure in their lyfe, and memozye after their deathe: therefore I saye, that they come to honoure by hyghe, noble, and heroicall factes, but the memozye is lesse, by the good and legitymate chyldren: for the chylden whiche are bozne in adulterye, are begotten in sinne, and with greate care are nouryshe.

The seconde benefite of maryage is, that they auoyde adulterye, and it is no small matter to auoyde this vyce. For the adulterers are not onely taken in the chrystian religion for offendours: but also amongst the gentiles, they are counted infamous. The sage Solon in the lawes that he gaue to the Athenians, commaunded vpon straighe pceptes, that they should mary, to auoyde adulterye vppon payne, that the chyldre that shoulde be bozne in adulterye, shoulde be made the common slaue of the cite. The romaynes (as men for seing all thinges) ordeyned in the tables of their lawes, that the chyldren, whiche were bozne in adulterye, shoulde not be heires, of the goods of their fathers. When the oratoure Elchines was banyshe oute of Athens, as he came by the Rhodes, he toke no such paynes in anye one thing, as he dyd in persuadynge the Rhodians to marye them selues, and not to liue in adulterye: for amonge those barbarous, matrimony was not common: but onely among them, which were officers of the common wealth. Cicero in a sampletty epytelle sayeth, that the greate Romayne Marcus Porcio, being gouernour in the common wealth, neuer agreed,

that an vncle of hys, shoulde be master of the Romayne cheualrye, vnesse he were maryed: whiche office was promysed hym by the senate. Hys name was Rufus, a stoure and balyaunte man in warre: this notwithstandinge, Marcus Porcio sayde, that he prayse which Rufus deserued for being balyaunte and hardye: he losse agayne for lyuynge in adulterye: and that he would neuer graunte hys voyce, nor be in place, where they committed anye charge in the warres, to a man that had not a lawfull wyfe. I saye therefore, that if the gentiles, and infideles, esteemed mariages so muche, and despyse the dedes of the adulterers so greatlye: muche moze Chyistians shoulde be in this case ware and circumspecte. For the gentyles feared nothinge, but onely infamy: but the Chyistians oughte to feare, bothe infamy, and also paine. Since that of necessitye mans seede must increasse, and that we see men suffer them selues to be overcome with the fleshe: it were much better they shoulde inaynttine a householde, and lyue byghtelye with a wyfe: then to waste their goods, and burden their conscience, with a concubyne. For it is oftentimes seene, that that whiche a gentylman consumeth abrode vppon an harlotte with shame, woulde keape his wyfe and chyldren at home with honestye.

The thirde commoditie of mariage is, the laudable and louynge companie, the whiche is, or oughte to be, betwene them, that are maryed. The aunclente Philosophers, defining what man was, sayed, that he was a creature, the whiche by nature was sociable, communycable, and rispyble; whereof it foloweth, that the man being solitary and close in hys conditions, cannot be in hys stomache but enuyous. We that are men lone the good inclynation, and doe also commend the same in beastes: for all that the sedycious man and the restle bozse eate, we thinke it euyl spente. A sad man, a sole man, a man shut in, and solitary, what profite

profyte can be doe to the people: for if every man shoulde be locked by in hys house, the common wealth would forthe with peryshe. My intencion is to speake agaynst the bacabondes, whiche withoute takinge vpon them anye craft, or state, passe the age of fortye, or fiftye yeres, and woulde not, nor wyl not, marrye as yet: because they woulde be vntuous, all the dayes of their lyfe. It is a greate shame, and conspencion to manye men, that neuer determyned with them selues, to take vpon them anye estate, neyther to be married, chaste, secular, or ecclesiastycall: but as the corke vpon the water, they swyme, whether their sensualitye leadech them. One of the mosse lawdable, and holye compaignes, whiche is in this lyfe, is the compaignie of the man and the woman, inespaciallye, if the woman be vertuous: for the noble and vertuous wyfe, withstandeth al the sorowes from the harte of her husbände, and accomplisheth his desires, whereby he lyueth at rest. When the wyfe is vertuous, and the husbände sage, we ought to beleue, that betwene them two is the trewe loue: for the one not being suspecte with the other, and hauyng chylde in the myddest, it is vnpossible but that they shoulde lyue in concord. For al that I haue red, and sene, I woulde say, that if the man and the wyfe doe lyue quyetlye together, a man maye not onelye call them good married folkes, but also holye personnes: for to speake the treweth, the yoke of matrimony is so greate, that it cannot be accomplished withoute muche merite. The contrarye oughte, and maye be sayed of those, whiche are euyl married, to whome we wyl not call a compaignie of sayntes: but rather a house of deuylles. For the wyfe that hath an euyl husbände, maye saye she hath a deuyl in her house: and the husbände that hath an euyl wyfe, let hym make accompte, that he hath hel it selfe in hys house. For the euyl wyues are woyle, then the infernal furges. For in hell there are none tormented, but

the euyl oult: but the euyl womā tormenteth, bothe the good, and the euyl. Concludynge therefore this matter, I saye also, and affirme, that betwixte the husbände and the wyfe, whiche are wel married, is the true and verie loue: and they enclue, and no others, maye be called perfitte and perpetual frendes. The other parentes and frendes, if they doe loue and praye vs in oure presence, they hate vs and despyse vs in oure absence. If they giue vs faire wordes, they beare vs euyl hartes: finallye they loue vs in oure prosperytye, and forsake vs in our aduersytye: but it is not so amongst the noble and vertuous married personnes. For they loue, bothe within, and withoute the house, in prosperytye, and in aduersytye, in pouertye, and in ryches, in absence, and in presence, seing the selues merry, and perceauing them selues sad, and if they do it not, trulye they oughte to doe it: for when the husbände is troubled in his fore, the wyfe oughte to be greued at her harte.

The fourthe commodytye of maryage is, that the men and women married haue more aucthoritye and grauitye, then the others. The lawes which were made in olde tyme in the sauoure of maryage, were manye, & dyuers. For Chapharoneus, in the lawes that he gaue to the Egyprians, commaunded, and ordeyned vpon greuous paines, that the mā y was not married, shuld not haue any office of gouernement in the common wealth. And he sayde furder, that he that hath not learned to gouerne hys house, can euyl gouerne a common wealth. According to the lawes that he gaue to the Athenians, he perswaded all those of the common wealth, to marrye them selues voluntarily: but to the heddes and capytaynes, whiche gouerne the affaires of warre, he commaunded to marrye of necessitye, sayeng that to men, whiche are lecherous, God seldome gyueth victories. Licurgus, the renowned gouernour, and gener of the lawes of the Lacedemonians,

THE DIAL

commanded, that all Cappraynes of the armyes, and the priestes of the Temples shoulde be married: sayeng that the sacrifices of married men were moze acceptable to the Gods, then those of any other. As Plinie sayeth, in an epistle that he sente to Falconius hys frende, rebukynge hym for that he was not married, where he declareth that the Romaynes in olde tyme hadde a lawe, that the dyctatoure, and the Pretor, the Censour, and the Quæstor, and all the knyghtes shoulde of necessitye be married: for the man that hath nor a wyfe, and children legitymate in hys house, cannot haue nor holde greate authoryte in the common wealthe. Plutarche, in the booke that he made of the prayse of maryage sayeth, that the priestes of the Romaynes dyd not agree to them that were unmarried, to come and sytte downe in the temples: so that the yonge maydes prayed withoute, at the church doore, & the yong mē prayed on their knees, in the temple, onely the married men were permitted, to sitte, or stande. Plinie in an epistle that he wrote to Fabatus hys fader in lawe sayeth, that the Emperoure Augustus had a custome, that he neuer suffered anye yonge man in his presence to sitte, nor permitted anye man married, to tel hys tale on fore. Plutarche in the booke that he made in the prayse of women saith, that since the realme of Corinthe was peopled moze with Bachelours, then with married men: they ordeyned, that the man or woman, that had not bene married (if they lyued after a certayne age) after their death should not be buried.

The.ii. Chapter.

✽ The auctour folowving his purpose, declareth that by meanes of maryages, manye mortall enemies haue bene made good and perfite frendes.



Y the sundry examples that we haue declared, and by all that whiche remaineth to declare, a mā may know well enough, of what excellēte matrimony is, not only for the charge of conscience, but also for þe thinges touching honoꝝ: for to say þe truth, the men that in the comon wealch are married, giue smale occasiō to be slandered, & haue moze cause to be honozed. We cannot deny, but that matrimonye is troublesome, and chargeable to them that be married, for two causes. The one is in bringynge by their chyldren, and the other in suffering the importunities of their mothers. Yet in fine we cannot deny, but that the good and vertuous wyfe, is she that setteth a staye in the house, and keapeth her husbāde in estimatiō in the common wealthe: for in the publyke affaires, they giue moze faith and credite vnto those, that are charged with chyldren, then vnto others, that are laden with yeaer.

The fiftie commoditie that ensueth matrimonye, is the peace and reconciliations that are made betwene the enemies, by meanes of mariage. Men in this age are so contentious, so importune, & malicious, that there are verie fewe, but haue enemies, wherby groweth contention and debate: for by our weakenes, we fall daylye into a thousand occasiōs of enmittees, & scarcelye we can finde one, to bringe vs agayne into frendshipp. Considering what men desyre, what thinges they procure, and wherunto they aspyre, I maruelle not, that they haue so few frendes: but I much muse, that they haue no moe enemies. For in thinges of weyght, they marke not who haue ben their frendes, they consider not they ate their neighbours, neither they regarde that they are christians: but their conscience layde a parte, and honestly set a side, euery man seeketh for hym selfe, and hys owne affaires, though it be to þe prejudice of all his neighbours. What frendship can there be among
ge

gest proud men, since the one will go before, and the other disdaineth to come behind. What friendship can there be amongst envious men, since the one purchaseth, & the other possesseth: what love can there be betwene two covetous men, since the one dare not spend, and the other is never satisfied, to hoard, and heape by. For all that we can reade, se, go, and traualle, and for all that we may do, we shall never se, nor here tel of me, that have lacked enemies: for either they be vicious, or vertuous. If they be evil and vicious, they are alwaies hated of the good: and if they be good and vertuous, they are continually persecuted, of the evil. Many of the ancient philosophers spent a great parte of their time, & lost much of their goods, to serche for remedies & meanes, to reconcile them if they were at debate, & contention, and to make them by gentlenes good frendes & lovers. Some said it was good & profitable, to forget the enimities for a time: for many things are pardoned in time, which by reason could never take end. Others said, it was good to appease his enemies, it was good to offer money, because money doth not only break the feminine and tender hartes, but also the hard and craggy rocks. Others said, the best remedy was, to let good men to be mediators betwene them, in especially, if they were sage & wise men: for if honest faces, and stout hartes, are ashamed, when they are proffered money, & the good do humble themselves by intreaty. These meanes well considered, and the remedies well sought out, to make friends, there are none so ready, & so true, as marriages: for if marriage doe sacramentallie, is of such, & so great excellency, that betwene some it causeth perfite friendship, & betwene others it appeaseth great iniuries. During the time if Julius Cesar kepte hym selfe as father in law to the great Pompeius, and that Pompeius helde him selfe his sonne in lawe, there was never puel will, nor quarels betwene them: but after if Pompeius was deuorced from the house of Cesar hated, envied, and

enemies, ingendered betwene them in such sorte, if they contended in such & so cruel warres, that Pompeius against his will losse his hed, & also Julius Cesar shortened his life. When those if dwelled in Rome ravished, and robbed the daughters of the Sabines, if after they had not changed their counsel, & of thence to become husbands, without doute, the romaines had ben all destroyed: for the Sabines had made an othe, to adventure bothe their goods and their lynes, for to revenge the insurges done unto them, their daughters, and wyues: but by the meanes of marriage, they were confedered in great amity and love. For the romaines received in marriage the daughters of the Sabines, whome before they had ravished. Greater enemy they cannot be, then that of god towards men, through the sinne of Adam, notwithstanding ther never was, nor never shall be, greater friendship then if, whiche was made by the godly marriage: and for greater authority to confirme the marriage, the sonne of god would, if his mother should be married, & afterward, he hym selfe was present at a marriage, where he turned the water into wyne, though now a daies the evil married men do turne the wine into water. He dothe not speake here of religious persons, nor men of the church, neither of those whiche are closed in deuoute places: for these (fleeing the occasions of the world, and chosinge the wayes lesse dangerous) haue offered their soules to God, and with their bodies haue done hym acceptable sacrifices. For there is difference betwene the holie religion of Christ, and the sinful Synagoge of the Jewes: for they offered kyddes and mortons, but here are not offered, but teares and sighes. Leauinge therefore all those secretes aparte, whiche men oughte to leaue to God: I saye and affirme, that it is a holy and commendable counsel, to vse his profyte with the Sacramente of marriage: the whiche, though it be taken of all voluntarye, yet Princes and great

THE DIAL

* lordes, oughte to take it necessarily. For the Prince that hath no wyfe nor children, shall haue in his realme, muche grudgyng and dyspleasure. Plutarke in the booke whiche he made of maryage, sayeth, that amongst the Lidians there was a lawe well obserued and kepte, that of necessitye their kynges and gouernours shoulde be maryed: and they had suche respecte to this thinge, and were so circumspecte in this matter, that if a Prince dyed, and lefte his heire an infante, they woulde not suffer hym to gouerne the realme, vntyl he were maryed. And they greatly lamented, the daye of the departinge of their Quene, out of this lyfe: for with her deathe, the gouernemente ceased, the royal authorite remained boyde, and the common wealthe withoute gouernement, so longe tyme as the kyng deferred to take another wyfe; and so they were some tymes, without kyng, or gouernement. For Princes are, vnto oughte to be, the myrrour and example of al, to liue honest, and temperate, the whiche cannott welbe done, vnlesse they be maryed, or that they see them selues to be conquerors of the fleshe, and being so, they are satisfied: but if they be not maryed, and the fleshe doeth assaulte them, then they remaine immediately conquered. Wherefore of necessitye they must goe by their neighbours houses, or els by some other dishonest places, scattered abrode, to the reproche, and dishonour of them, and their kindred: and oftentimes to the greates peryll and danger of their personnes.

The.iii. Chapter.

* Of sondry and dyuerse lawes, vvhiche the auncientes had in contracting matrimony, not onely in the choise of vvomen, but also in the maner of celebrating maryage.



Nal nations, and in all the Realmes of the world, marriage hath alwayes bene accepted, and meruelously commended: for otherwyse, the world had not bene peopled, nor yet the number of men multiplyed. The auncientes neuer dysagreed one from another, in the approbation and acceptiō of maryage: but there was amongst them great difference, and strife, vpon the contractes, ceremonies, and blages of the same. For they vsed as muche difference in contractinge matrimonye, and chosyng their wyues: as these Epicures do desyre, the variety of sundry delycate meates.

The deuyn Plato, in the booke that he made of the common wealthe, byd counsel, that all thynges shoulde be common, and that not only in brute beastes, in mouables, and herytages, but also that women shoulde be common: for he saide, that if these two worldes, thine, and mine, were abolyshed, and oute of vse, there shoulde not be debates, nor quatelles in this world. They call Plato deuyn, for manye good thynges whiche he spake: but nowe they maye call hym worldelye, for the counsell profane whiche he gaue. I cannot tell what beaueynes it maye be called, nor what greater reuoluenes maye be thought, that the apparrell shoulde be proper, and the wyues common.

The brute beaste dothe not knowe that, which came oute of her bellye, longer then it sucketh of her breastes.

And in this sorte it woulde chauce to men, yea and wyse to, if women were common in the common wealthe.

For though one shoulde knowe the mother, which hath borne him: he shoulde not knowe the father, that hath begotten him. The

Tharentines

Tharentines (which were well renowned amongst the ancientes, & not a litle feared of the Romans) had in their Citle of Tharente, a law and custome, to marye the selauens with a legitimate wife, and to begette children: but besides her, a man mighte yet chose. 2. others, for his secret pleasures.

Spartianus said, that the Emperour Helius Verus, as touching women, was verpe dissolute: and since his wife was yong and fayre, and that she did complaine of him, because he ledde no honeste lyfe with her, he spake these wordes vnto her. My wife, thou haste no cause to complayne of me, for I remayne with the bestylle suche tyme, as thou art quicke with chylde: for the residue of the tyme, we husbandes haue licence, and priuilege, to take oure pastimes wpyth other women. For this name of a wife, conteyneth in it honour: but for the residue, it is a greuous burden, and painefull office. The like matter came to Ptolomeus king of Egypt, of whom, the quene his wife dyd greatly complaine. Admyt that al the Grekes haue bene esteemed to be verpe wyse, amongst al those, the Athenians were esteemed of most excellent vertut: for the sages that gouerned the common wealth, remained in Athens with the philosophers, which taught the sciences. The sages of Athens ordeined, that al the neyghbours and inhabitants shoulde, and might kepe. 2. lawfull wyues; and furthermoze, vpon paine of greuous punishmentes did comande, & none shoulde presume, nor be so hardye, to mainteine any Concubyne: for they sayde, when men haunte the companie of lyghte women, comonly they misuse their lawfull wyues. As Plutarche saith in his polittiques, that the cause why the Grekes made this law was, considering that man could not, nor ought nor to liue without the company of a womā: and therfore they would, that man shuld marye wpyth. 2. For though one were diseased, yet the other mighte serue in bedde, waite at the table, & do other

busynes in the house. Those of Athens, had an other great respect, and consideration to make this lawe, whiche was this, that yf it chaunced the one to be barrayne, the other shoulde bringe forth the children in the common wealth: and in suche case, she that brought forth chylde, shoulde be esteemed for maistres, and the other that was barrayne, shoulde be taken for a seruauant. Vnhe this law was made, Socrates was married with Xantippa, & to accomplishe the lawe, he tooke an other called Mitia, which was the daughter of the philosopher Aristides: and sth those. 2. womē had great quarrels, and debates together, and that thereby they flaudered their neyghbours, Socrates saide vnto them. My wyues, you see righte well, that my eyes are holow, my legges are withered, my handes are wyckled, my head is balde, the bodye is lytell, and the beeres are whete: why do ye then that are so fayre, stande in contentions, and stryfes, for me that am so deformed? though Socrates saide these wordes (as it were in ieste) yet suche wordes were occasion, that the quarrelles and stryfes betwene theim ceased.

The Lacedemonians (that in tyme of peace and warre, were alwayes contrarye to the Athenians) obserued it for an inuoluntarie lawe, not that one man shoulde marye wpyth two wyues, but that one woman shoulde marye wpyth two husbandes: and the reason was, that when one husbāde shoulde goe to the warres, the other shoulde staye at home. For they sayde, that a man in no wyse shoulde agree, to leue his wife alone in the common wealth.

Plinie wyrtynge an Epistle to his frend Locratius, and saint Hierome wyrtynge to a frend called Rusticus sayeth, that the Athenians dyd vse to marye the byetherne with the sisters: but they dyd not permytte the Auntes to marye wpyth the nephewes, neither the vnckles w the neices. For they saide, that brothers and sisters to

marpe

THE DIAL

marpe together, was to marpe wth their s^e-
table: but for vnckles, to marpe nieces, and
auntes wth nephewes, was, as of fathers to
doughters, & of mothers to sonnes. Mel-
ciades which was a man of great renowne
amongest the Grecians, had a sonne called
Cymonius who was married to his syster
called Pirrice, & being demaunded of one,
why he toke his sister in mariage, he aun-
swered: my sister is fayre, sage, rich, & made
to my appetite, and her father & mine, dyd
recomaunde her vnto me, and since by the
commaundement of the gods, a mā ought
to accōplye the cōmaundementes and re-
questes of fathers: I haue determined (since
nature hath geuen her me for my syster)
willingly to take her for my lawfull wyfe.
Diodorus Siculus saith, y^e before the E-
gyptians receiued any lawes, euery mā had
as many wyues as he would: and this was
at the libertie of both parties, forasmuch as
if the world go, the went liberally, and for-
sooke the man: and likewise he left her, whē
she displeased him. For they saide, y^e it was
impossible for men, & women, to lye longe
together, without much trouble, contenti-
ons, & bawlinges. Diodorus Siculus said
one thing, speaking of this matter, y^e I ne-
uer red in any booke, nor hard of y^e auncies
entes past, whiche was, that amongest the
Egyptians ther was no differēce in childre:
for they accepted the al legitimate, though
they were children of slaues. For they said,
that y^e principal doer of the generatiō, was
the father, & not the mother, and that ther-
fore the children which were borne amonge
them, toke onely the flesh of the mother, but
they did inherite the honour and dignitie of
the pate of the father. Julius Cesar in his
cōmentaries saith, y^e (in the great Britain,
called now Englande) the Byptons had an
hīe, that one woman was married vnto fīue
mē, the which beastlines is not red, to haue
bene in any nation of tīmes past: for if it be
sclander for one man to haue diuers wy-
ues, why should it not also be a scanderous

and shamefull thing, for one womā to haue
many husbandes. The noble and vertuous
women ought to be married for 2. causes.
The first, to the end God should giue them
children, and benedictiō, to whom they may
leauē their goodes, and their memozy.
The seconde, to the ende that they shoulde
cōme euery one into her house, accompani-
ed and honoured with their husbandes. For
otherwise, I say for a truth, that the womā
that is not contented, and satisfied with her
owne p^{ro}p^{er} husbande, will not be conten-
ted nor satisfied, with all men in the world.
Plutarche in hys apothemes saythe,
that the Cymbres did vse to marpe wth
their p^{ro}p^{er} and naturall doughters: the
which custome was takē from them, by the
Consul Marius, after that he did ouercom
them in Germany, and that of them he had
triumphed at Rome. For the child whiche
was borne of suche mariage, was sonne of
the doughter of one sole father, and was
sonne and brother of one only mother, and
they were also Cousins, Nephewes, and bro-
thers, of one only father, and brother. Tru-
ly suche custome proceeded rather of wilde
beastes, then of reasonable creatures: For
many, or the moste part of female beastes,
disdayne to take them for their husbandes,
whiche the laste yeare were their sonnes.
Stabo in the situation of the world, and
Seneca in an Epistle saie, that the Lydes
and the Armenians had a custome, to send
their doughters to the Ryuers and banes
of the sea, to gette their marriages, sellinge
their owne bodies to strangers: so that
those whiche woulde marpe, were f^{or}ce
forced to sell their virginittie, to purchase
them frendshyppe. The Romaynes (whiche
in all theyr affayres and busynesses, were
more sage and modeste, then other natio-
ons) vsed much circumspection in all theyr
marriages: For they kepte it as an aunc-
eyente lawe, and vse accustomed, that e-
uerie Romayne shoulde marpe with one
woman, & no mo, for euen as to kepe two
wiues

wises among the christians, is a great science: so was it demed amongst the Romaines much infancy. Amongest the auncient and renowned oratours of Rome, one was called Metellus Numidicus, & which one day making his oration to the Senat, sayd these wordes. *Worthy Senatours, I let you vnderstand, that I haue greatly studied, what the counsellors should be, & I ought to giue ye, touching marriage: For the chiefe* *sell* *rashe and sodayne, oftentimes is not profitable. I do not perswade you at all to mary, neither do say that ye shal not mary: but it is true, that if ye can liue without a woman, ye shalbe free from many troubles. But what shal we do, O ye Romains, since that nature hath made vs such, that to kepe women, it is a greate trouble: and to lyue without the, it is moze daunger. I dare say (if in this case my opinion might be accepted) it should not be euyl done to resyst the luste, since it commeth by fyres: and nor to take wiues, which are continual troubles. These were the wordes, whiche Metellus Numidicus spake, the which were not very acceptable, nor pleasaunte to the fathers beinge in the Senate: for they would not & he should haue spokē such wordes against marriage. For there is no estate in this life, wherin fortune sheweth her face moze: the in this state of matrimonye. A man maye proue them in this sorte, that if the fashions and blages of the auncientes were diuerse, as concerning ordinaunce: truly ther was no lesse contrariety, in their contraites, & ceremonies. Boccale & florentine, in a booke that he made of the mariages of the auncientes, reciteth many & sodayn customes, that they vsed in making the mariages, wherof he telleth some, not for to allow, nor mainteyne them: but to reprove and condemne them. For the wynters did neuer wynte the vices of some, but onely to make & vertues of others, moze clerely to be knowne.*

The Cymbres had a custome, that whē they would marpe (after the marriage was

now agreed vpon) he that was made sure, should pare his nayles, and send the to his wife that should be: and the in like sorte, sent hers vnto him. And then, when the of hym, & he of her, had receiued the nayles the one of the other, they tooke them selues married for euer: and did afterwarde lyue together, as man and wyfe.

The Theutoniens had a ceremony, that the man that was sure, rounded the heere of her, to whom he was made sure, and she did the lyke vnto him: & when the one suffered the other to do so, immediately they celebrated marriage.

The Armeniens had a lawe, that the bridegrome should pinche the right eare of the byde, & the byde should likewise pinche the least eare of the bridegrome: and then, they tooke them selues married for euer.

The Elamytes had a custome, that both parties which were made sure, pycked one the others lytel spnger vntill they bled: the which bloud they did sucke naturally, and thys done, they were married.

The Numidians vsed, & the bridegrome and the byde should gather together a peece of yearth, & with their spetell they spered it, and therewith the one annointed the forehead of the other: so & the marriage betwene them, was to annoynte the one & the other, w a litel clay. When those of Dace would be married, the bridegrome & the byde, eche one by them selues, were brought in Chariottes, the one meeting the other: & whē they came together, & the bridegrome gaue a new name to the byde, & she likewise to him, & from y time forthward, they liued as in lawfull matrimony. When those of Hungarie would marpe, the one sent vnto the other, a famillier god made of siluer, whom they called Lares, and when they had receyued the God of eche other, the marriage was finished, and they lyued as man and wyfe.

The Siconians hadde a custome and lawe, that when they should marpe, the one sente to the other a shoe: and that

 receiued

THE DIAL

receiued of both, they agreed to þ marriage.

The Tharentyns had a custome, that when they did marie, they sette them selues at the table to eate, & the one dyd feade the other: so that if by mishappe the one should chauce to feade him selfe, that marriage was not esteemed for constant, nor good.

The Scithes had a custome, and they kept it as a law, that when men and women should marie, as now they touche the handes, the one of þ other: so did they the touche with their feete, afterwarde they set together their knees, then they touched with their handes, and then they sette their buttockes together, and so their heades, and in the end, they embraced the one the other. All these ceremonies done, the marriages were assured, and sufficiently confirmed: & so we mighte say of many others, but to auoide tediousnes, we wil folow our matter.

The.iiii. Chapter.

How the Princessys and great Dames ought to loue their husbandes, if with the they will liue quietly, and such loue ought not by coueraciō, and enchatēmetes to be procured, but by wisdom, honesty, and vertue desired.



ALL men that desyre to achieve and obtēne any woorthy thing in this life, inuente and serche many meanes, to come therunto: for men by good prouision and circumspectiō, compasse soddy thinges, whiche otherwise they should loose, onlesse they woulde by force take them. As in the marriages of our christian religion, wher in we do not suffre, that the man & the wyfe be parentes, and nigh of blood, that the one is a man & the other a woman, that the one

is strong, & the other weake: so ofte tymes it chaunceth, that there is betwene the man & the wyfe, moze contrarietie in condicions, then diuersitie in linage. I would say therfore (for healthful counsell, and necessary aduice) to the great dames, & Princessys, and to all other wyues (synce that necessarily they ought to eate, to drinke with their husbandes, & that they ought to sleape, to treat, to be conuersant, to talke, and finally, to liue and die with their husbandes) that they should vse much diligence to beare wth theyr condicions: for to say the truth, the wyfe ought in al thinges to folow the condicions of her husband, and the husband in some thing, to beare with the condicions of his wyfe. So that she by her patience, ought to suffer the imperfections of him, and he likewise by his wisdom, ought to dissimble the importunities of her: & in suche sorte they ought to agree, and lone togethers, that all those of the comon wealth shuld reioice, at their behauiours. For married men, which are quarrellers, and seditious personnes, the neighbours, in steade of weeping & wailing, for the depriuaciō of their life, demaund gistes the one of the other, for bringyng newes of their death. Admyt that the husband be couetous, & unthyrifte, that he be defourmed in his bodye, that he be reuolde in condicion, base of linage, rathe in his speache, in aduersities fearefull, in prosperities carelesse, in the end being (as he is) husbände, we can not denye, but in the house he ought to be chiefe master. For the whiche it is also necessary, & we giue now vnto the wyues some helthfull counsell, wherby they may beare & suffer quietly suche great troubles. For at this daye, ther is no husbände so louyng, nor so vertuous, in whom þ wyfe shal not finde some euyl condicions.

Firste of all, wyues oughte to endeuour them selues, to lone their husbandes vnfaedly, yf they desyre theyr husbandes shoulde loue them withoute dissimulation: For as we see by experyence, marriage

is seldome broken throughte pouertie, nor yet continued with riches. For the euill married folkes, throught debate, and strife, be separated in one weeke, whereas by good and true loue, they are preserved al þe daies of their lyfe. For to eate dyne and vnsauory meates, they vse to take salte for to amende it. I meane, that the burdens of matrimony are many, and troublesome, the whiche all with loue onely maye be endured. For as Plato the deuyne Philosopher sayeth, one thinge ought not to be called moze painefull then an other, for the labour, we thereunto employe: but for the great or smal loue that thereunto we haue. Though some sondrye thinges be troublesome and redious, yet when with loue it is begonne, it is easelye folowed, and ioyfully achieved: for that trauayle is nothings nopsome, where loue is the mediatour. I knowe right well and doe confesse that the counsell which I geue to women is sharpe, that is: for an honeste woman to loue a dissolute man, for a sage wyfe, to loue a foolyshe husbände, for a vertuous wyfe, to loue a vicious husband. For as dayly experience sheweth, ther are some men of so foolyshe condicions, and other women of so noble conuersation, that by reason apparant, they ought to take them for mistresses, rather then they shoulde accepte them for husbādes. Although this, in some particuler cases is true, I say and asserme, that generally all women are bound to loue their husbādes, since that willingly, and not by compulsion, they were not enforced to take them: for in like manner, if the mariage pleased not the woman, she hath not so muche cause to complayne of her husbāde, for askeinge her: as she hath reason to complayne of her owne self, that accepted hym. For the misfortunes that by our follye do chaunce, yf we haue cause to lament them, we ought also to haue reason to dissemble them. Be the man neuer so wild, and euill brought up, it is impossible, if the wyfe loue him, but he muste needs loue her

again. And throughte perchance he can not force his euill condicion to loue her, yet at the leaste he shall haue no occasion to hate her. The whiche ought not to be litle esteemed, for there are many wyues, not onely of the Plebians, but also of the noble dames, that coulde be content to forgiue their husbādes al that, that hereafter they shoulde doe, and also al the loue that they ought to shew: yf they woulde refraine their tonges, from speaking insurions wordes, and kepe their handes, from dealinge lousome stryppes. We haue manye notable examles in histories, of many noble and stout Dames (aswel Grekes, as Romaines) whych after they were married, had so great faithfulness, and bare such loyaltye to their husbādes: that they not onely folowed them in theyr trauayles, but also deliuered them in their daungers. Plutarke in the booke of noble women declareth, that the Lacedemonians, keeping many nobles of the Athenians prisoners, betwene who at þe time were cruell and mortall enemies, and beinge Iudged to dye: their wyues concluded, to go to the prisonne, where they laye, and in the ende, they obayned of the Capteyn thereof, that they myghte goe in, and talke with their husbādes: for in dede the teares were manye, that before them were shed, and the gyftes were not fewe, whiche vnto them were offered. The wyues therefore enteringe into the prisonne dyd not onelye chaunge their apparell with their husbādes, but also the libertie of their personnes: for they wente out as women, and the women in their steades remained there as men. And when they brought out these innocent wyues fro prisonne, to execute iustice, supposing they were men, the Lacedemonians vnderstandinge the faithfulness of the women, determined that they shoulde not onely be pardoned: but also þe they shoulde be greatlye rewarded, and honoured, for the good examles of other women, to whom they were married.

The

THE DIAL

A The ancient, and great renowned Panchaea, when newes was broughte her, that her husbände was dead in the battayle, the her owne selfe determined to goe seeke him out, with hope, that as yet he was not utterly dead: and findinge him deade, wyth the bloud of him she washed all her body, & likewise her face, strykinge with a knife her selfe to the heart, and embracinge her husbände, she yelded the ghost, and so together they were caried to the graue. Porcia, the daughter of Marcus Porcia the great, when she harde that her husbände Brutus was taken, and slayne, she felte for that newes so great sorrow, & all her frendes seeing her take the matter so greuously, hyd from her all Iron, wherewith she myghte kyll her selfe: and did laboure to kepe and preserue her from daungers, wherein she might fal and shorten her life. For she was so excellent a Romaine, and so necessary to the common wealth, that if they had lamented the death of Brutus her husbånd, wyth teares of their eyes: they ought to bewaile the losse of his wyfe Porcia, with droppes of bloude in their hartes. Porcia therefore feelinge in her selfe a wofull and afflicted harte, for the death of her entserlye beloued husbände, to declare that that which she did was not fained, nor for to please the people, but to satisfie her greate and marvellous loue: synce she founde neyther sworde, nor knyfe to kyll her selfe, nor corde to hang her selfe, neyther welle to drowne her in, she went to the fyre, and with as greate pleasure did eate the hote fyre coles, as an other woulde haue catē any delicate meates. Wee maye say, that suche kynde of deathe was verie straunge and newe, whiche the Romaine found to encrease, augment, and manylest her loue: Yet we can not deny, but that she wanne to the posteritie of her name, a perpetuall memozye. For as a noble Dame she woulde quenche with coles of fyre her burnyng harte, that enflamed was with fyre bondes of loue. As Dio-

dorus Siculus sayeth, it was a lawe and custome amongeste the Indians, to marye them selues with many wyues: and whan by chaunce their husbādes died, the wyues which they had, met together, and fought in some plaine place. And the women whiche remained onelye alpye, and of the conspycte had the victozye, caste them selues into the graue of their husbādes: so that those women then foughte for to dye, as men now we spght for to lyue.

The.v. Chapter.

Of the reuengement that a woman of Grecia toke of him, that had killed her husbānd, in hope to haue her in mariage.

In Lutarche in the Booke that he made of the noble and worthy women, declareth a thinge worthy of reherfall, and to be had in memozye.

In the Citty of Galacia were two renowned cytezens, whose names were, Sinatus, and Synoris, whiche were by blood Cosins, and in familiaritie frendes: and for the loue of a Grekes daughter, being very noble, beautifull, and exceeding gracions, they both stryued to haue her in mariage, and for to attaine to their desires, they both serued her, they both solowed her, they both loued her, and for her, bothe of them desired to dye. For & darr of lone, is as a stroke with a clodde of yearth: the whiche beinge throwen amongeste a company, doth hurte the one, and blynde the others. And as the fatal destinye had ordeyned it, Sinatus serued this lady, called Camma, in suche sorte, that in the end, he obtained her in mariage for his lawfull wife: whiche thyng when Synoris percepued, he was ashamed of his doynges, and was also wounded in
bys

his harte. For he lost not only that, whiche of so longe time he had soughte, loued, and serued: but also the hops to attayne to that, whiche cheselye in hys lyfe he desired. Sinatus therfore seing that his wyfe Camma was noble, meke, gracious, faire, and lounge, and that in all thinges she was comely and wel taught: decreed to offer her to the goddessse Diana, to the ende that she woulde preserue her from peril, and keape hym from infamye. Trulye we cannot resproue the knyghte Sinatus, for that he dyd, nor we oughte to note him, for rather in his counsel: for he sawe that hys wife was very faire, and therfore much desired. For with

* greate dyfficultye that is kepte, whiche of manye is desired. Thoughe Camma was nowe maryed, and that she was in the protection of the goddessse Diana: Yet notwithstanding, her olde frend Sinoris, dyed for her sake, and by all meanes possyble he serued her, continuallye he importuned her, daylye he solowed her, and howeuerly he required her. And all this he dyd, bypon certeine hope he had, that suche dylygent seruice shuld suffice, to make her chaunge her sacred mynde: and as she had chosen Sinatus for her husbände openlye, so he thought she should take hym, for her frende secretly. For manye women, are as men withoute taste throughe sickenes, the which eate more

* of that that is hurtful and forbidden: then of that, which is healthsome, and commaunded. Not withoute a cause, Camma was greatlye renowned, througheoute all Galatia for her beautye: and muche more amonge the bectious csteamed, for her honestye. The whiche evidentlye in this was sene, that after she was maryed, Sinoris could neuer cause her to receiue any felwel, or other gifte, nor that she woulde here him speake any woode, nor that she would shewe her selfe in the wyndowe, either to hym, or to anye other, to the ende to be sene in the face. For it is not sufficent for Ladies, to be pure good: but also to gyue no occa-

sion for men, to iudge (that if they durste) they woulde be euyl. At it is trewe in dede, that the harte which is intrangled with loue, dare boldelye aduenture hym selfe in many kynde of daungers, to accomplyshe that whiche he desireth: so Sinoris, seing that with faire woordes he coulde not flatter her, nor with anye gyftes wyne her, determyned to kyl Sinatus her husbände, bypon hope, that when she shoulde be wydowe, he myghte easelye obteyne her in matrimony. For he thoughte, althoughe Camma was not euyl, it was not for that she wanted desyer to doe it: but because she had no commodious place, to accomplyshe it.

And to be shorte, Sinoris woulde needes erecute, and bying to effecte, his deuellyshe and damnable intente: so that sone after, he bylve slewe hys sayde compaignon Sinatus. After whose deathe, the noble ladye Camma was of Sinoris greatlye despyred, and by hys parentes muche importuned, that she woulde condyscende to take and marye hym, and that she woulde forgue hym the deathe of her husbände Sinatus, whiche then was buried. And as she was in all her doinges such a princely woman, she imagened with her selfe, that vnder the pretence of marriage, she might haue opportunitie to accomplyshe her desiers: wherfore she answered vnto his parentes, that she dyd accepte their counsell, and sated to Sinoris, that she dyd choose hym for her husbände, speakinge these woordes more for to comferte hym, then with intente for to pardon hym. And as amongst those of Galatia there was a custome, that the new-maryed folkes should eate togethers in one dyshe, and drinke in one cuppe: the day that the maryage was celebrated, Camma determyned to prepare a cuppe with popson, and also a lute, wherwith she began to play, and singe with her proper voyce, befoze the Goddessse Diana in this maner.

THE DIAL

To the Dial, whose endles reigne doth stretch
 Above the boundes, of all the heavenly route
 And the whose aide, with royall bande to retche
 Chief of all gods, is most proclaimed oute.

¶ I sweare, and with, vnspotted faith praest
 That though ye till now, I haue referu'd my breth
 For no entent it was, but thus distrest
 With vraitfull ende, to wreke Sinatus deeth.

¶ And yf in mynde, I had not thus decreed
 Whereto shoulde I, my penysse daies haue spent
 With longer doules for that firepass'd dede
 Whose of record, newe sorowes still bath bent.

¶ But oh since him, their kindled spite hath slaine
 With tender loue, whom I haue vvaide so deere
 Since he by fate, is rest from fortunes vayne
 For whose decaye, I a dredelesse perill be here:

¶ Since him by whom, my onely lyfe I ledd
 Throughe wretched handes, the gaping earth nowe haue
 Ought I by wysse, to hye in euerystedd
 But closde with him, together in the graue?

¶ O bright Dian, since sinceles him I see
 And makeles I, here taryaine alone,
 Since he is graud, where greedy wormes nowe bee
 And I saratue, surmounted with my sone,

¶ Since he is prest, with lumps of wretched soyle
 And I thus charg'd, with flame of sosen care:
 Thou knowest Dian, howe harde with refiles toyle
 Of boote abhorryng mynde, my lyfe I spare.

¶ For howe can this, vnquiet breth resarue
 The faintinge breth, that strynes to drawe his last
 Since that euen then, my dyngge harte chyd saratue
 VVhen my dead phere, in swalowinge earth was cast.

¶ That first blacke day, my husbandle slept in graue
 By cruell vvorde, my lyfe I thought to spende
 And since a thousande tymes, I sought to haue
 A stretchinge corde, my sorowes vvarth to ende.

¶ And yf till now, to waste my pininge daies;
 I haue deserde, by slaughter of my hande
 It was but loe, a fitter cause to raise
 VVhereon has sharpe reuenge, might iustly stande.

¶ Now since I may in full suffisinge wyse
 Redeme his breath, (if vva ywarde vwill vould let)
 More depe offence, by not reuenge might rise
 Then Sinoris erst, by gailles blod did get

¶ The therefore my brie loue, I iustlie craue
 And the thy danghter chaste in thankfull sorte
 That loe the offeringe, whiche of my selfe ye haue
 Ye will vouchsafe, into your heavenly sorte.

¶ Since Sinatus, with soone enflamed eyes
 Amongst the Achaian routes me chiefly newd
 And the amidst the prease of Greckes lykewise
 Chose for his phere, when factly he had sewd,

¶ Since at my will, the froth of wastinge welch
 With glad some mynde, he trained was to spende
 Since that his youth, whiche sleppeth loe by slech
 To waste on me, he freely did commende.

¶ Since he such heapes, of hyngringe harmes did waf
 Aye to contente, my wanton youthly will
 And that his breath, to fate did passe so fast
 To glis their thrust, that thus his blod did spill.

¶ Though be great the dutie be, whiche that I owe
 Vnto his graued ghost, and cindred mould
 Yet loe me seames, my duetie well I shoue
 Perfourminge that, my feeble power could.

¶ For since for me, vruined was his threede
 Of gailles lyfe, that ought to purchase breath
 Can reasons doome conclude, I ought to dreede
 For his decaye, to chyme the steppes of death.

¶ In wretched earth, my father graued lies
 My deere mother, hath vonne her rase of lyfe
 The pride of loue, no more can darw mine eyes
 My wasted goades, ar stronke by fortunes strise.

¶ My honours sonne, eclipsed is by fate
 My yonger delight, is loe fordone by chaunce
 My brok n lyfe, these passed happes so hate
 As can my graued harte no more aduance.

¶ And nowe remaines, to duetie with my phere
 No more but refuse loe, my yoke some lyfe
 With willunge minde, floued the with dreere
 Whiche I resigne, as fittit for a wyfe

¶ And thou Sinoris, whiche I thus yoke doest craue
 To presse my corpe, to feede thy liking lust
 The route of Homers gods, the graunt to haue
 In steade of roiall seates, a throne of dust.

¶ In change of cosly robes, and rich arate
 A simple windinge sheete, they deigne the gine
 And the in stede, of honest wedlockes flane
 They singe thy dirge, and not vouchsafe the line.

*In place of himens beynfil bedde
They laie the vp, in closure of thy graue.
In stead with precious meates, for to be fedde
They make the wormes, for fitter praiſe the bane*

*In ſteed of ſonge, and muſikes tuned ſonne
They waite on the, with loude lamentinge voice.
In change of myſull life, and his renowne
Thy cruell death, may ſprede with wretched noiſe,*

*For you, great gods, that ſtalled be on his
Shoulde not be iuſt, ne yet ſuche titles claime
Vnles this wretche, ye ruiſles cauſe to die
That liueth now, to ſclaunder of your name.*

*And thou Dian, that hauented Cortes doſt ſtooth
Knowſt, with what great delight, this life I leaue
And when the race, of ſpendinge breth is done
Will perſe the ſale, that did my pſbere receaue.*

*And if perchance, the paled ghoſtes deſpiſe
Suche ſatall ſine, with grudge of thankes minde
Yet at the leaſt, the ſhameſull liuynge eies
Shall haue a glaſſe, rare wiſely giſtes to ſynde
Wherein I will, that Lucres ſecte ſhall glaſſe
But none that lye, like Helens lye in blaſſe*



AND when the prayer was ended, that this faire and vertuous Camina made, the dranke, and gaue to drinke to Sinoris, of this cuppe of poiſon, who thought to drinke no other but good wine and water: and the caſe was ſuche, that he dyed at none dayes, and the lykewyſe in the eueninge after. And truly her death of al Grece, with as great ſorow was lamented: as her lyfe of all men was deſired.

The Princeſſes and great Ladyes, may moſte euidently perceiue, by the exam- ples herein conteyned, how honeſt, and ho- nourable it is for them to loue, and ende- uoure them ſelues, to be beloued of their huſbandes: and that not onely in their life, but alſo after their deathe. For the wyfe to ſerue her huſband in hys lyfe, ſeamerh ofte tymes to proceade of feare: but to loue

hym, and honour hym in hys graue, pro- ceaderh of loue. The Princeſſes and great ladyes oughte not to doe that, which many other women of the common people doe, that is to wete, to ſeke ſome drinkes, and inuente ſome ſhamefull ſorcereis; to be be- loued of their huſbandes: for albeit it is a greate burden of conſpens, and lacke of ſhame in lyke maner, to uſe ſuche ſuperſti- tions, yet it ſhoulde be a thinge to vniuſte and betraye ſlaunderous, that for to be be- loued of their huſbandes, they ſhould pro- cure to be hated of God.

Trulye to loue, to ſerue, and contente God, it is not hurtfull to the woman, for that ſhe ſhoulde be the better beloued of her huſbande: but yet god hath ſuffered, and dorhe permytte ofte tymes, that the wo- men beinge ſeble, deſoꝝmed, pooꝝe, and nec- lygent, ſhoulde be better beloued of their huſbandes, then the dyligent, faire, and ryche. And this is not for the ſeruyces they doe to their huſbandes, but for the good in- tention they haue, to ſerue, and loue God, whiche ſheweth them this eſpecial fauour: for otherwyſe God dothe not ſuffer, that he beinge with her dyſpleaſed, ſhe ſhould lye with her huſbande contented. If women woulde take this counſel that I gyue them in this caſe, I wyl teache them furthermoꝝe a notable enchauncement, to obtaine the loue of their huſbandes, whiche is: that they be quyet, meke, pacyente, ſolptarye, and honeſt; with the whiche ſiue herbes, they maye make a confection, the whiche neyther ſene, noꝝ taſted of their huſbandes, ſhall not onely cauſe them to be beloued; but alſo honoured. For women oughte to knowe, that for their beautye they are de- ſyred: but for their vertue onely, they are beloued.

The.vi. Chapter.

l.ii.

That

THE DIAL

✱ That princes and greate Ladies oughte to be obedient to their husbandes, and that it is a great shame to the husbande, vvhhen the vvyfe speaketh vnto hym thinges not decente.



Any auncient historiographers trauesled greatiye, and consumed longe tyme in wryttinge, to declare what aucthority the man ought to haue o-
 * tier the woman, and what seruitude the woman oweth to the man: and some for to auance the dignitie of the man, and others to excuse the frailtye of the woman, alleged suche bayne thinges, that it had bene moze
 * Honour for them not to haue wryten at all, then in such sorte, as they dyd. For it is not possyble, but the wryters should erre, which wryte not as reason teacheth, but rather as their fantasie leadeth. Those that defende the frailtye of the women saied, that the woman hath a bodye as a man, she hath a soule as a man, she hath reason as a man, dieth as a man, and was as necessarye for generation as man, she lyueth as a man, and therefore they thought it not mete, that she should be no moze subiecte to man, then man to her: for it is not reason, that that
 * whiche nature hath made free, should be by anye lawes of man be made bonde. They sayde furthermoze, that god created not the creatours, but for to augmente the generation of mankynde, and that in this case the woman was moze necessary, then the man: for the man engendereth without paine, or traunyle, but the woman is deliuered with payll and daunger, and wryth payne and traunyle, noyssheth vp the chyld. Wherefore it seemeth greate unkyndnes and cru-

eltye, that the women (which are deliuered wryth peryll, and daunger of their lynes, and brynge vp their chyldren with labour, and toyle of their bodyes) should be vsed of their husbandes as slaues. They sayed further, that men are those that curse, that moue sedytions, that make warres, that maynteyne enmytye, that weare weapons, that sheade mans bludde, and commit sundrye other myscheaffes, whiche the women doe not: but in steade of kyllyng men, shea- dyng bludde, and other notorious euyles that men doe, they imploye them selues to increace men. And since it is so, then women, rather then men, oughte to haue dominyon, and commaunde in the common wealthe: for women increace the common wealthe, and men dymynysh the it. For neyther deuine, nor humayne lawe commaundet, that the foolyshe man should be free, and governe: and that the wyse woman should be bonde, and serue.

Those of Achaia affirmed this opynion, and groundeth them selues vppon this reason, and obserued it as a custome: that the husbandes should obey, and the wyues commaunde. And so they dyd, as Plutarke sayeth in the booke of consolation: for the husband swept and made cleane the house, made the bedde, washed the backe, couered the table, dressed the dynner, and went for water. And of the contrarie parte, his wyfe gouerned the goode, answered the affaires, kepte the money, and if she were angrye, she gaue hym not onely soule wo-
 * des: but also ofte tymes, layed her handes on hym, to reuenge her anger. And hereof came this aunciente proverbe, the which of manye is redde, and of fewe vnderstanded: that is to wete, Vita Achaia, the lyfe of an Achayan.

When in Rome the husbande suffered, to be rebeld, and commaunded of his wyfe, the neyghbours woulde saye vnto hym in maner of a repyoche, Vita Achaia: whiche is as muche, as if a man would say, goe goe
 as

as thou arte, since thou lynest after the lawe of Achaya, where men haue so lytell dyscretioun, that they suffer them selues to be gouerned (be it well or euill) of their wyues, and that euery woman commaundeth her husbände.

Plinie in an epytelle that he wrote, re-
proued greatlye his frende Fabatus, for
that he kepte in his house a wyfe, the which
in all his doinges ruled and commaunded
him: wherein he tolde him, that he durst do
nothyng, withoute her commaundement.
And to make the matter seme more he-
nous, in the latter ende of his Epytelle he
sayde these wordes, *Me valde poenitet quod tu
solus romepolles vita achia*: whiche is, it gre-
ueth me much, if thou alone in rome shuldest
leade the lyfe of one of Achiaia, Iulius Ca-
pitolinus sayeth, that Anthonius Caras-
calla, beinge in loue with a faire Ladye of
Persia, and seinge that he could not entoepe
her, nor obteyne his desyre, promysed to
marrye her, accordyng to the lawe of A-
chiaia: and trulye, she shewed her selfe more
wyfe in her aunswere, then he dyd in his
demaunde, tellyng him, that she woulde
not, nor myghte nor marrye, for because
she had promysed her selfe to the Goddesse
Vesta, and that she had rather be a ser-
uaunt of the Gods, then a mistresse of men.

The Parthes had a lawe contrarie to
them, and lykewyse those of Thrace, the
whiche so lytel esteemed women, that their
husbandes vsed them none other wyse, then
lyke seruantes.

And in this case, men had so greate ly-
bertye, as to saye better, lyghthenes: that af-
ter a woman had bozne and brought forth
twelue chyldren, the chyldren remayned in
the house, and the husbandes solde their
wyues to them that woulde gyue moste, or
els they chaunged them, for others, that
were more yonge.

And the chyldren agreed to the sellyng
of their owne mother, to thintent that their

father myghte refreshe him selfe, with ano-
ther that was more yonge: and the olde and
baron woman, shoulde eyther be buryed
quicke, or els serue as a slaue.

Dionisius Halicarnaseus sayeth, that
the Lides had a lawe, and the Numidians
in like maner, that the women shoulde com-
maund thynges withoute the house, and the
man shuld provide for those that were within.
But accordyng to my pooze iugemente, I
cannot tell, howe this lawe was kepte, nor
howe they coulde fulfill it, for by reason,
the wyfe shoulde not goe oute of the house
but verie lytell, and therefore me thinketh,
that they oughte not to commaunde anye
thyng abroade, nor the husbände shoulde en-
ter into another mans house, for to com-
maunde there.

Ligurgus in the lawes that he gaue to
the Lacedemonians sayeth, that the hus-
bandes shoulde prouyde abroade, for al thyng-
es necessarye for the house, and that the
wyues shoulde keape and dyspose them
with in: so that this good Philosopher de-
uided the trauayl betwene the mā, and the
woman, but yet notwithstandinge he re-
serued the rule and authoptye to the man.
For to saye the trueth, it is a most ferous
thyng, that the wyfe shoulde commaunde
the husbände in his house.

Under oure Chyistian releygion, there
is neyther deuyne, nor humayne lawes,
but wyll preferre man aboue al other thyng-
es: and though some Philosophers woulde
dyspute to the contrarie, and that manye
men woulde haue solowed hym, yet me
thinketh, that a man shoulde not prayse
nor commende them for their oppnyons.
For there can be nothyng more bayne, nor
lyghte: then by mans lawe to gyue that
authoptye to a woman, which by nature
is denyed her.

We see by experyence, that women of
nature are all weake, frayle, fearefull, and
tender and synallye, in matters of weight,

THE DIAL

not beraye wyse . Then if matters of gouernement requyre not onely science , and experyence , but also strengthe , and corage , to enterpryse doubtfull thinges , wyse dome for to knowe them , force to execute them , dylygence for to folowe them , pacyence to suffer them , meanes to endure them , and aboue all , greate strengthe , and hope to compasse them : why then wil they take from man the gouernement , in whom all these thynges abounde , and gyue it to the woman , in whome all these thynges do wante : The ende why I spake these thinges before , is to requyre , to counsell , to admonyshe , and to perswade Pryncesses , and greate Ladies , that they thinke it spoken (if they wyl be happye in maryage) to thend they shoulde be obedyente to their husbandes : for speaking the trewthe , in that house where the wyse commaundeth the husband , we maye call her a masculyne woman , and hym a feminine man .

Spanye women are decepued , in thynge that in commaundyng their husbandes , they lyue moze honozablye , and be better esteamed : but trewlye it is not so , for all those that see , and perceyue it , accompteth the women for bayne , and the men in lyke maner for folye .

I knowe , and can tell ryghte well , that there are some husbandes , so excessyue in spendyng , and so wanton in lyuing , that it were not onelye good that their wyues shoulde rule them , but also chastyce them : but yet in the ende I saye , that notwithstandinge all this , it is better ; and moze tollerable , that all the goods be losse , then betwene them ; anye malyce , hate , or dyslection shoulde ryse .

If a womans chyldren dye , she maye byyng for the others , if she lose her goods , she maye gette them againe , if her seruantes goeth from her , she maye fynde others , if she see her selfe sad , God maye comforte her , if she be sycke , she maye be healed , but

if she be at debate with her husband , I can not tell what she shall doe : for the wyse that forsaketh the frendshyp of her husbande , gyueth to all men occasyon , to speake of her follye . Withe women naturallye are all gelouse , and that of gelousye procedeeth suspition , I counsell them , if they wyl not that their husbandes commit a faulte , that they do not anger , nor chafe them : for if in gage she haue hys harte , no other woman shall haue hys bodye , bycause from that whiche he woulde not absteyne for conscience , he wyl refrayne for shame . Ofte tymes the husbandes come home , chafed , troubled , wrathfull , angrye , and vexed : and then women oughte to take hede , that they ouerthwarte them not , for (if they doe) it can not be other wyse , but that they shal haue either euyl wordes with hys tonge , or els suffer sore blowes with hys fysses . Truly it is not mete , neyther in anye case profitable , that the Pryntesses and greate dames shoulde ouerthwarte their husbandes with froward wordes , nor that they shoulde vse to stryue against them , but rather that the wife in all cases shoulde be obedyent , and louyng to her husband : for it maye happen , and daylye it doth chaunce , that they begin to argewe in tesse , and afterwarde they ende in earnest . The woman whiche is sage , wyse , and betwixt , oughte to wey with her selfe , that eyther her husbande haue occasyon so to raunte her , or els peraduenture he dorhe it of a wyl .

I saye , that in this case if he haue occasion , she ought to suffer , and endure him : if he doeth it of wyl , she ought to dyssemble with hym .

For other wyse , it myghte so take her in the hed , that she woulde burden hym with manye euyl wordes : so that he begynnyng then the debate shoulde remayne exasperated , and she bringe wythoute faulte at the begynnynge , myghte in the ende be condemned .

Ther

There is nothinge, wherein a woman sheweth her wysedome moze, then to endure a rashe husbände. A woman in nothinge sheweth her sagesnes moze, then to dissemble wyth a foolyshe husbände. Her honestye in nothyng can be shewed moze, then in sufferynge a wanton husbände. She cā shew her woorthines in nothing so much, as in bearynge wyth an unwoorthye husbände. I meane, though she vnderstoode that her husbände hath litel, that he knoweth lytell, and that he were woorthye lytell: yet she shoulde make men beleue, that he hath muche, that he knoweth enoughe, and can doe muche. For all the honour whiche she shall gyue so to her husbände, shall holpe agayne redounde on her selfe. It is an euill thinge (me thynketh) that women shoulde be so bolde, to speake against their husbādes: for they can not save euyl of them, but that they muste witnesse dyshonour of them selues.

For if her husbände be a bronkard, they wyll saye that she is a bronkardes wyfe, and yf he be a foole, that she is the wyfe of a foole, and what moze: when the husbände shall come to amende, and to moderate him selfe, the woman in the ende shalbe blamed. For yf she burden hym wyth euyl wordes, he acquyeth her wyth sharpe stryppes: but if she toucheth hys honour, it maye chaunce he taketh awaye her lyfe.

If perhappes the husbände should commaunde the wyfe any vniuste thyng, I woulde be of opinion, that she should obey hym, but not respyse hym: and after that hys ragynge surye were passe, and hys coler qualified, then she myghte saye vnto him, that he was verie rashe to commaunde, and she very wyfe so to obey.

For yf she be quicke of tonge, to answer to euerye worde that he shall speake, withoute doubte, they wyll not lyue one daye in conioynde. Readinge therefore that whiche I haue redde, hearinge that which I haue hearde, and hauyng sene also that

I haue sene, I woulde counsell womē, that they shoulde not presume to commaunde theyr husbādes: and I woulde admonyshe the husbādes, that they woulde not suffer theyr wyues to rule them. For in doyng the contrarie, it is none otherwyse, then to eate wyth the feete, and trauayle with the handes, to goe with the syngers, and to serue them selues with theyr tootes. My mynde is not here to speake agaynst the women, nor agaynst the Princesses and greate Ladies, whiche of their patrimonye and heritage possesse many Townes, and Cyties: for to such, I wyll not take awaye the seruices, whiche are due vnto them by theyr subiectes, but I do perswade them to the obedience, whiche they ought to haue to their husbādes.

It is no marueyle, though that women of meane estate haue some tymes quarrelled wyth theyr husbādes: for they haue small ryches to loose, and lesse honour to aduenture, then the Princesses and greate Dames haue, the whiche synce they do aduenture to commaunde manye, why wyll they not humble them selues to obey one? speakinge with due reuerence, It is for aboundaunce of follye, and wante of wise dome: that a woman shoulde haue presumption to gouerne a whole Realme, and that she hath not grace to obeye one husbände. Seneca in a Tragedye sayeth, that in the ryne of the warre of Mithridates, it chaunced in Rome, that the Consulles sente to the olde knyghtes, and commaunded that they shoulde all be in a redynes, to goe wyth Sylla the Consull into the warres. And it happened, that when they came to one house in Rome, to warne them to be redye, and askeynge for the man, the wyfe answered, and sayde: that her husbände was now olde, and that he coulde not, nor shoulde not goe to the warres.

Wyth this answer, those that hearde it, were greatlye abashed, and the whole

THE DIAL

hole senate no lesse offended: wherfore they commaunded them to be banished, and her to be imprisoned, not for that she excused her selfe, but because she commaunded her husband, and because he suffered him selfe to be commaunded of her. The Senate dyd this to that ende, that from that time forwards, no woman should presume to commaunde, or contende with her husbände, and that no husbände should giue any occasion to do the same.

The.vii. Chapter.

That women, and especiallye Pryncesses and greate Ladies should be very circumspecte in goinge abroade oute of their houses, and that throughe the resort of them that cometh to their houses, they be not euill spoken of.



AMong all the countesses, that maye ought to be giuen to Pryncesses, and greate Ladies, this is the first: that they doe what they can, to haue rest in their owne houses, and that they goe not as strapes, to the mansions of other men: For if suche Ladies are good, they get much reputation, and if perchance they be euill, they take from men all occasions. Whether the husband be present, or he be absente, it is a necessarye, & an honest thing, that the wife be the most part in the house: For by this meanes, the household shall be well gouerned, and from the harte of the husbandes shall be withdrawen all kinde of suspicions. Sythens the office of the husbande is to gather goodes and riches, and the office of a wyfe to kepe and

preserue them: the houre that she goeth out of the house, she ought to thynke, that the handmaydes will strape abroade, the children will runne out to playe, the varlettes and seruantes will be oute of order, the neyghbours will take occasions to speake euill, and that whiche is worst of all, some will steale the goodes oute of the house, and the others will speake euill of the reputation of the wife. Wh, god giueth a goodly gifte and grace to the man, whiche hath suche and so good a wife, that of her owne nature loneth to kepe her selfe within the house. And truly I say, that such one dothe excuse many griefes, and sauerh much money. For she spendeth not the goodes in apparel, nor giueth occasion to men, to iudge euill of her persone.

The greatest debate that is betwene man and wife, is for that he desireth to get and kepe his goodes to byinge by his children, and to mainteine his family: and on the other parte, that she desireth to spende all vpon apparell. For women in this case are so curious in louing of them selues, that they woulde abstayne from meates, that they shoulde mainteyne their lyfe, onely to bye a newe gowne to set oute their pryde.

Women naturally doe loue to kepe, and wyl not spende any thinge, excepte it be in apparell: For euerye houre (that is in the daye and the night) they desyre to haue a newe gowne to change.

My entencion is not to speake of apparell onely: but to perswade the Pryncesses and greate Ladies, that they woulde kepe them selues in theyr houses, and in so doinge, they shoulde excuse these superfluous wastes and expences.

For her neyghbour seynge her better apparelled, then she is, loketh vpon her husbande, as she were a Lyon. It chaunceth often tymes (I woulde to God I had no cause to speake it) that yf by chaunce there cometh any greate or solempne feast, or marriage, she wyl neuer looke lousingly

louingly on his face, before he hath geuen her a newe gowne to her backe: and when the poore gentilman hath no money to pay, of necessitie he muste runne in credyt.

And when the vanitie of the woman is passe, then the time of paymente draweth nere, and they come to arrest all his goodes: so that they haue cause to lamente one hole pere, for that whiche they haue spent in one houre. Men seldome contende, for that one is fairer, more nobler of lynage, better married, or more vertuous then an other: but onely for that an other goeth better appa-
 * railed then she. For touching apparell, there is no woman can endure, that an other meaner woman should make comparison with her, nor that in like maner, her equall should excell her. Lyncurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemonians, commaunded that their wiues should not go out of their houses, but at diuers sollepne feastes in the yeare. For he saide, that the women ought to be making their prayers,
 * in the Temples to the gods, or els in their houses, noythinge their children. For it is not honest, nor commendable, that the wife should passe her time abroade, trottinge from strete to strete, as common women. I saye, that the Princesses and greates Ladies, are muche more bounde to kepe them selues at home in their houses, then other women of meaner degree: & without a cause I speake it not, for thereby they shall get them more reputation. For there is no vertue, wher-
 * by the woman winneth more reputation in the commē wealth, then alwaies to be sene resident in her house. I say also, that a wyfe ought the most part of her time to kepe her house, because she hath lesse occasion then other haue, to goe abroade. For if the poore wife, the plebeyan, goe out of her house, she
 * goeth for no other cause, but for to seeke meate: but if the riche, and noble woman goeth out of her house, it is for nothing, but to take her pleasure. Let not princesses meruell, nor let not great ladies wonder, if

they dispose their feete to trotte, and occupie their eyes to behold, though their enemies and neighbours with cankered hartes doth iudge them, & with euil tonges defame them: for the sonde dedes that women do, maketh men to be rather of iudgement. I like it wel,
 * that the husbands should loue their wiues, that they should comfort them, & make much of them, and that they should put their trust in them: but I do discōmend, that the woman should goe gadding a broade in visitacion, from house to house, & that their husbands dare not gaine say the. For admyt, if they be good in their personnes: yet in this doing, they giue occasion for men, to esteeme them
 * vaine & light. Seneca saith in an epistell, if the great Romaine Cato the censo: ordeyned, if no woman should go out of her house beinge alone, & if perhappes it were in the night, she should not go alone without company, & that the company should not be such as she would choose, but such as her husband or parent would assigne: so that with the same countenance we behold now a com-
 * men woman, with the selfe same lookes she we beheld her, if went oft out of her house. Noble ladies, the which loue their honour,
 * ought greatly to consider, & way the greates incōueniēces that may ensue, by often gadding abroade: for they spend much to appa-
 * rrell the, they loose much time in trimming them, they kepe gentillwomen to wayte vpon them, they will strue with their husbands to goe, and whiles she is oute of the doores, the house shall be euill kept, and all the enemies & frendes therby haue matter wher-
 * upon to talke: finallye I saye, that the woman that goeth oute of her house, dothe not wey the losse of her honour so muche, as she doth the pleasure she taketh abroade.

Presuminge (as I presume) to wypte wyth grauitye, I saye, that I am ashamed to speake it, yet for all that, I wyll not re-
 * frayne to write of the walkes of these dames that visite, & desire to be visited: amongeste whom, there is moued ostentymes suche
 * vaine

THE DIAL

vaine communication, that it causeth theyr husbandes to become enemies, and on the other parte, they remember moze the golpings, that they haue to go, then their sinnes, which they ought to lament.

The. viii. Chapter.

Of the commodities and discommodities, vvhiche folowve Princeesses and great ladies, that goe abroad, or abyde in the house.



LVcretia by the consent of all, was counted the chasteſte of all other Patrones of Rome, and not ſo; that that ſhe was moze faire, moze wiſe, of greater parentage, or moze noble: but by cauſe ſhe did withſtand her ſelfe from company, and abode ſolitary. For ſhe was ſuch a one, that in the heroicall vertues, there coulde be nothing moze deſired: nor in womens weakenes, there was nothing in her to be amended. The hiſtoyre of the chaſte Lucretia, is euident in Titus Liuius, that when the husbandes of diuers Romanes came home fro the warres to their houſes, they founde their wyues in ſuche ſorte, that ſome were gaſſinge out of the windowes, others deuyſinge vaineſy at theyr doores, others in the ſielde wanderinge, others in their gardeyns banquettinge, others in the market byeng, and others in the middeſ of the ſtreates, here & there gadding: but the famous Lucretia was found in her houſe alone, weeing in ſylke, ſo that ſhe ſpyeng company, ſo; that ſhe woulde not be ſene, made her ſelfe in her honour and renowne better to be knowne. I wyll gyue an other counſell to the Princeſſes and greate La-

dies, the whiche, as I am willinge to giue, ſo I wyſhe they woulde be as deſyous to receiue, that is to wete: if they wyll be eſteemed and counted for honeſte women, that they muſte kepe them ſelues from euil company. For though the ſynckinge carreine doth no harme, becauſe we eate it not: yet the vnfanoyme ſent therof, annoyeth vs by ſmellinge.

The honour of women is ſo delicate a thinge, that if we giue them licence to goe abroad to viſite women: we muſte alſo giue them leue to be viſited of men. For that one Dame ſhoulde viſite an other, it ſemeth much charitie: but that men ſhoulde viſite women, I can not but thynke it muche diſhoneſtye. In the preſence of their husbandes, and nere kynneſſes, they maye be viſited, and talked with all, and this is to be vnderſtoode, of appoynted and honeſt perſonnes: notwithſtandinge I ſay, yf the husbande be not at home, I woulde it ſhoulde be compted ſacrilege, yf any man paſſe the treſſheholde of the doore, to viſite the wiſe. Plutarke ſaith in the booke of the prayſes of women, that the wyues of the Numydians, when their husbandes were gone out of their houſes, kepte theyr gates ſhut, and locked them ſelues in their houſes: and they had a law, that what ſo euer he were that knocked at the doore beynge ſhut, withoute callinge, he ſhoulde haue his right hande cutte of.

Cicero in the booke of his lawes ſaith, that amongſt the Romanes ther was an auncient lawe, and muche vſed: that yf perchance any woman did owe any moneye to any man, and that the husbande beynge the better were oute of his houſe, the creditour ſhoulde not aſke his wiſe the debt, bycauſe that vnder the couller of redoueringe the goodes, he ſhoulde not diſhonour her in her ſame. I woulde ſaye therefore, that yf the creditour was not permytted in Houſe to recouer his good, ſo; yf the wiſe was not of her husband accompanied: muche leſſe

lesse they woulde giue licence, to visite a woman alone. For it were moze reaso, that the creditour shuld entre for to reconer his goodes: then thou shouldest entre onely for thy pastime. The deuine Plato in the bookes of his common wealch sayeth, and by profound reasons perswadeth the wyues of Grece, that they haue no secret frendes, but that euery one kepe this saying in memory, for a principall: that the womā ought not to haue any other frend but her husband.

* For women oughte not to haue licence to make frendes: nor condicions to make enemies.

Pryncesses and greate Dames oughte to consider, that euery one of them geueth their bodles, their goodes, and their libertie to their husbandes.

Then synce it is so, I saie, that with the libertie, she ought also to giue him her wyll. For it litell auaileth the man and the wife, that their goodes be comen, if their willes be priuate: For to the end that God be serued, and the people edified, bothe oughte in one house to abide, at one table together to eate, in one bedde to slepe, & besides this, they both ought one thinge to loue. For if the man and the wife, in loue doe differ, in their liues, they shall neuer be quiete. I admonishe, desire, and counsell all women, if

* they will be well married, that they thinke it good, that their husbande will, that they praise, all that he praiseth, that they proue, all that he proueth, that they content themselves with that, wherewith their husbandes are contented, and aboue all, that they loue no moze, then their husbandes shall loue: for otherwise, it might be that the wife should sette her eyes vpon one, and the husbande ingage his harte to an other. Plutarke in the booke of his pollicies sayeth, that a woman after she is married, hath nothinge propre: for the daye that she contracteth marriage, she maketh her husbande the onelye Lord of her goodes, her libertie, and of her personne.

So that if the wife willet any other thinge, than that whiche the husbande willet, yf she woulde loue any other thinge then that that her husbande loneth, we will not call her a true louer, but an open thefe: for theues doe not so much harme to robbe the husbande of his money, as the wyfe doth, in withdrowinge from him her hart. If the woman will liue in peace wyth her husbande, she oughte to marke wherunto he is enclined, for so much as if he be mery, she ought to reioyce, and if he be sadde, she must temper her selfe, if he be conetous, she shoulde kepe, if he be prodigall, she shoulde spende, if he be impatient, she shoulde dyssemble, and if he be suspected, she must be ware,

For the woman whiche is wyse, and sage, yf she can not, as she woulde, she oughte to wyll what she may. Well, whether the husbande be euill inclined, or in his condicions euill manered, I sweare, that he can not suffer that his wife should haue any other louers: For though he be of a meane stocke, he had rather alwayes that his wife should loue him alone, then the beste of the nobilitie in the towne.

One thinge I can not dissemble, bycause I see that god is therewith offended. Whiche is, that manye Ladies make their excusles throughe sykkenes, because they would not passe once in the weeke come to her masse, & yet we see the busye daye, trotting aboute to visite their frendes, and the worst of all is, that in the moynynge, for colde they wyll not tye, to go to the churche, and yet afterwarde in the heate of the daye, they goe a gaddinge from house to house, whereas they are often tymes vntill nyghte.

I woulde that the Ladies woulde consider with them selues, before they shoulde goe oute of their houses on visitation, to what ende they goe abroade: and yf perchance they goe abroade to be looked on, lette them knowe for a scwertye, that

THE DIAL

The.ix. Chapter.

that there be fewe that wyll praysse theyr
beauty, but there be manye that wyll dys-
commend their gadding. And wherfore do
these Dames assemble together, for some
grauematters I warraunt you, that I tell
you, it is either to banquet with some de-
lytful dysches, to talke of their petigrees, to de-
uise of their husbandes, to see who hath the
best gowne, to note who is euill attired, to
flatter the saye, to laugh to scozne h soule,
to murmure of their neighbours, and that
which is worst of all, that they them selues
which speake euill of them that are absent,
doe gnawe the one the other with enuye.
Seldome times it chaunceth, that the Da-
mes chide not with their husbandes, after
that in this sorte they haue bene together:
for so muche as the one noteth the euill ap-
parell, the other babblinge, they note the
one to be a foole, and they accuse the other
to be simple, so that it semeth not, that they
are mette to bysitte the one the other: but to
loke, and accuse the one the other. It is a
straunge thinge, for the sage woman to
think, that she shuld take pleasures abroade,
synce she hath her husbande at home, to
whom she maie talke: and hath her children
to learne, her daughters to teache, her fa-
mily to orde, and her goodes to gouerne:
she hath her house to kepe, and her paren-
tes whom she oughte to please: then synce
she hath within her house suche pastyme,
why doe they accepte company of straunge
men? That maryed women shoulde haue
pryuate frendes, and loue to be dyspyted: it
soloweth ostentymies, that God is offended,
the husbande insurped, and the people flaun-
dered: and the woman that is maryed, tas-
keth lytel profite, and it hindereth the ma-
riage of her, that is to marie. For in suche
a case, though she some desyre her, for her ry-
ches: yet mo wyll forsake her, for her euill
fame,

That women great with child,
inspecialle the Princessys and
great Ladies, ought to be verye
circumspecte, for the daunger
of the creatures.



NE of the most
necessarpe thynges,
for him that taketh
in hande any greate
tozney, ouer any dan-
gerous countreys, is
that at the beginning
he ought to learne the way, which he ought
to go: for it is a thinge no lesse troublesome
then perillous, that when he shoulde come
to rest, of necessitie he shoulde be enforced
to trauell. No man can denye, but that mans
lyfe is a longe and tedious tozney, the whi-
che beginneth at our birthe, and endeth at
our death: for in the end, to haue a longe or
shorte life is none other, but to come soner,
or later, to the graue. The chiefe ffolly of
all (in mine opinion) is this, that some in
their owne opinions, thinke they haue cou-
nsell ynough for others: and to all others
it semeth, that they wante for them selues.
For of right he may be called a foole, that
condempneth all other as fooles: and awa-
unceth him selfe to be wise. Euerie man
oughte to let his neyghbour liue in peace,
and though he doe esteeme him selfe to be
wise, yet he ought not to thinke his neygh-
bour a foole: for there is none so wyse, but
that he may occurre it al. For we neuer saw
any man so wise of him selfe, but that he
needed the counsell of an other. And if this
want be in those that be very olde, truly it
is much moze in them that be yonge: whose
fleshe is not dyre, but grene, the blonde not
colde, but hore, no deadlye heate, but verie
liuely, the bestiall motions not mortified,
but

but quickened, & hercof ensueth, that yonge men loue their owne aduice and oppnyon, and despise the councelle of al other. When the trees are tender, they bynde them together bycause they maye growe right, they bypdel the hofse when as yet they are but coltes, to the ende they may be easye heres after to the bypdel. They take the haukes in the neast, to make them moze samplere: & when the beastes are litel, they take the, to teache them. I meane, that a man ought to instructe his chylzen, to the ende they may knowe, to liue wel hereafter. I admonishe, and tell the mothers that haue daughters, that there is no remedye to reforme the euil inclinacion of oure chylzen, but to teache them, and to bynge them by well in their youth: for there is no wound, but is dangerous, if in tyme, the playster be not layed therevnto. Returning now to our purpose, since that in all thinges there is order and measure, we wyl declare presently, how the male childe oughte to be taughte: and firste of all, we wyl treat, how a man oughte to prouide when the infant is begotten, and whē as yet it is aloue in h mothers wombe, to the entent princeesses and greate ladyes should liue very circumspectlye, when they knowe they are conceyued with chylde. I should be excused to speake of this matter, since it is not my profession, and that as yet I was neuer marryed, but by that I haue red of some, and by that I haue harde of others, I wil, and dare be so bolde to say one word. For the sage oftentimes, geueth a better accompte, of that he hathe red: then the symple doe: of that he hathe proued.

This thinge seemeth to be true, betwene the agente and the pacient: for where the pacient suffereth the euyl, he ofte tymes demaundeth the agente, what hys sickenes is, and where it holdeth him, and what it is called, and what remedye there is for his disease: so that the agente knoweth moze by his science, then the pacient by his experyence. A man ought not to deny, that the

women, & in especially greate ladies, knowe not by experyence, how they are altered when they are quicke, and the great paynes they suffer when they are deliuered: we coulde not deny, but that there is greate daunger in the one, and greate perill in the other, but they shal not know, from whence all cometh, and from whence al proceedeth, and what remedye is necessary. For ther are manye whiche complayneth of robbereis, but they know not what the theues are, y haue robbed them. First, according to my iudgement, and opinion, that whiche the women quicke with childe ought to do, is that they go softly and quietlye, and that they eschue running, either in comyng or going: for though the litel esteeme the helth of her person, yet she ought greatly to regard the life of the creature. The moze precious h licker is, and the moze weaker the vessel is which containeth it: so much the moze they ought to feare the daunger, least the licoure shed, and h vessel breake. I meane, that the complectio of women being with child, is very delicate, and that the soule of the creature is precious, and therefore it ought with greate diligence to be preserued: for al the treasure of the indes is not equal in valewe, so that which the woman beareth in her bowelles. When a man planteth a vineyard, so: with he maketh a ditche, or some fence about it, to the ende that beastes shoulde not crosse it, while it is yong: nor that trauelers shoulde gather the grapes, when they are ripe. And if the labourer doth this thinge for to get a litel wine only, the whiche for the soule and the bodye is not alwayes profitable: howe muche moze circumspection ought the woman to haue, to preserue her child, since she shal render an accōpt to the creatour of her creature, vnto the church of a christian, and vnto her husband of a chylde. In my opinion, where the accompt at the hower of death is so freight, it is requisite, y in h time of her life she be circumspecte: for god knoweth e uery thinge so wel in our lyfe, that there is

THE DIAL

none that can begile hym, in rendering his accompte at his death. There is no wight that can suffer, nor harte dissemble, to see a man haue his desire, that is to saye, to haue his wife greate with childe, and redy to bringe forth good frute, and afterwarde to see the woful mother, thorough some smal trise, to perishe, and the innocent babe, not to be bozne. When the woman is healthful, and bigge with child, she is worthy of great respect, if either by runnyng, leaping, or dauncing, any myschaunce hap vnto her. And truly the husband hath greate cause to lament this case: for withoute doubt, the gardiner scaleth greate greefe in his harte, when in the prime time hys tree is loden with blozomes, and yet by reason of some sharpe and bitter froste, it neuer beareth frute. It is not only euyl, that women shuld runne, and leape, when they are bigge, and greate with child, but it is also dishonest, and specially for great ladies: for alwayes women that be comen dauncers, are esteemed as lighte housewyes. The wyues in general, princesses and greate ladies in particuler, ought to goe temperately, and to be modest in their mouinges: for the modest gate, argueth discretenes in the person. Al women naturally desire to be honoured, and reuerenced: touching that, I let them know, that there is nothing whiche in a common wealth is moze honoꝝ for a woman, then to be wysse, and wary in speakinge, moderate and quiet in going. For it is vnpossible but that the woman whiche is lyghte in her going, and malycious in her talking, shuld be dispised, and abhoyred. In the yere of the foundation of rome. 466, the romaines sente Curius Dentatus to make warre against king Pirrus, who kepte the cytye of Tharēt, & dyd much harme to the people in rome: for hys romaines had a great corage to conquere straunge realmes, & therfore they could haue no patience to suffer any straunger to inuade theirs. This Curius Dentatus was he, whiche in the end ouercame king

Pirrus, and was the first, that brought the oliphantes to rome in his triumphe, wherfore the fiercenes of those beastes, astounded the roman people much: for they weyed by the sight of the kinges lode with irons, but to see the Oliphantes (as they dyd) they wodered much. This Curius Dentatus had one only sister, the whiche he intirely loued. They togher seuen chyldren, two of the whiche died in the warres, and other thre by pestilence: so that there was none lesse hym, but that sister, wherfore he loued her with al hys hart. For the death of vnchastyte chyldren, is but as a watche for chyldren vnprouided of fauoures. This sister of Curius Dentatus was married to a romayne consull, and was conceiued, & passed .7. monethes with child: and the day that her brother triumphed (for to of her brothers honoꝝ) she leaped & dashed so much, that in the same place, she was deliuered, and so vnluckely, that the mother toke her death, and the childe neuer lynced, where vpon the feast of the triumphe ceased, & the father of the infant, for sorow, lost his speache. For the harte whiche sodainly feelth greefe, incontynently loseth vnderstandinge. Tibullus the Cretan, in the thirde booke De calibus triumphis, declareth the history in good stile, how, & in what sorte it chauned. Nine yeaeres after that kyniges of rome were banished, for hys rape that Tarquyne dyd to the chaste Lucretia, the romaines created a dignite whiche they called Dictatura, & the Dictatour hys office, was aboue all other, lord, and cheefe: for the romaines perceued, that the common wealth could not be gouerned, but by one head alone. And bycause hys Dictatour had so great authorite, as hys emperour hath at this present, & to spend they shuld not become straungers: they prouided, that hys office of the Dictatorship should last no lenger then .6. monethes in hys yere, the whiche past, & resolved they chose another. Truly it was a good order, hys they were Semesires: for oftentimes princes thinking to haue perpetual authorite,

type, become intelligent in blessing iudice.

The first dictator in rome, was Largius Mamillus, who was set agaynst the Volces, the whiche at that tyme were þ greatest enemies to þ romaines: for rome was founded in such a signe, that allwayes it was beloued of fewe, and abhorred of manye. As Titus Livius saith, this Largius Mamillus banquished the Volces, & triumphed ouer them, & in the end of þ warre, destroyed their mighty citie called Curiola, and also destroyed & ouerthrew many places, & fortresses, in that prouince: for þ cruel hartes

* do not only destroye the personnes, but also take vengeance of the stones. The hurtes which Largius Mamillus dyd in the country of the Volces were maruelous, and the men which he slew were many, & the treasures he robbed were infinite, and the captiues which he had in hys triumphe were a great number, amongst whō in especial he brought captiue, a noble mans daughter, a beautiful gentillwoman, the which he kepte in his house, for the recreation of hys person: for the auncient romaynes gaue to the people, all the treasures to maynteyne the warre, and they toke to them selues all the vicious thinges, to heape in their houses.

N The case was, that this damsel being with childe, Largius Mamillus brought her to solace her selfe in his orchard, where were sondry yong frutes, and as then not ripe to eate, wherof with so great affection she did eate, & for this she was deliuered in þ same place of a creature: so þ on the one parte she was deliuered, & on the other parte the childe dyed. This thing chaunced in the gardeins of Volcan, the dates after the triumphe of Largius Mamillus, a ruful & lamentable tale to declare, forasmuch as both the childe that was borne, and the mother þ ther was deliuered, & also the father that begat it, the selfe same day dyed, & were buried al in one graue: & this thing was not, without greete wailing, & lamenting throughout all rome. For if it were teares their liues might haue ben

restored: without doubt none of them shuld haue ben buried.

The first sonne of rome which rebelled against rome, was Tarquin the proude.

The second þ withstode rome (being as yet in Lucania) was Quintus Marcius.

The third that went against rome, was the cruel Silla. The damages which these thre dyd to their mother rome, were such, and so great, that þ thre feneral warres of affricke were nothing to be compared, to those thre euyl childre: for those enemies could scarcely se the walles of rome, but these vnnatural children, had almoste not lefte one stone vpon another. A man ought not greatly to esteeme those buildings, that these titanes threw to the ground, nor the buildings that they destroyed, neither the men þ they slew, nor the women þ they forced, ne yet the orphanes which they made: but aboue all thinges, we oughte to lament for that, that they brought into rome. For the comen wealth is not destroyed for lacke of riches, & sumptuous buildings: but because there vices abound, and vertues want. Of these thre romaynes, he whose name was Quintus Marcius, had ben consul thise, once Dictator, & foure times Censor, & in the ende, he was with much shame banished fro rome, wherfore to reuenge his iniury, he cam with a great power, & army, against rome: for the proude harte, wounded with iniury, is neuer quiet in his life tyme, vntil he se his enemies destroyed, or þ on them he hath take vengeance. Quintus Marcius being very nigh to the gates of rome, was most insidely required, þ he would not destroye his mother rome: but he toke no regard, ne would condescend to any request, vntil such time þ his mother issued w a niece, whome he loued entierly. At whose intercession, & teares, he lefte his anger, & raised hys siege fro rome: for many are overcome soner with teares, then w importunate, & resonable requestes. The ladies of rome used much, to haue their heares long, and yellow, and to weare their

THE DIAL

waistes high, & streight. And as the piece of Quintus Marcius was great & bigge with child, & daye & the peace was made betwene Quintus Marcius, & rome, lacing her selfe to hard in her attire, to seme moze proper, and comely, she longe befoze her tyme was deliuered of a creature: and the case was so woful, & vnfortunate, that the creature deliuered dyed, the mother lost her life, and the mother losing her life, sodenly her graūd: mother fell dedde to the grounde, though which occasion, all the ioye and mirth was turned, into sorow & sadnes. For it is comenly sene, when the world is in the greatest ioy, then fortune sodenly turneth it into sorow. The auctours hereof, are Tibullus, and Porphyrius, both Cretians,

The .x. Chapter.

✱ The auctour folowith, and declareth other inconuenyences, and vnluckye chaunces, vvhich haue hapened to vvemen vvith chylde.



He vvarres of tarent being ended, immediatelp beganne & warre of Carthage, of the which so long & tedious warres, the possession of the Isles of Maiorica, & Minorica, were occasion, for so much as the one would take it, and the other defende it. This warre ended well nigh the space of .40. yeares, for oftentimes the waistes, & damages whiche are done in the warres are greater: then & profite is of that, for the whiche they contend. The first captayne in this warre of the romans, was Gaius Duellius, & the first of the Carthaginians was Hamiton, the which with their shippes fought on & sea of Sicili, the whiche was very cruel: for there they feared both & fury of the sea, & also the cruelty of the pike, & whiche 2. thinges put mans life in great daunger. Of this cruel

battle, the roman captaine remained victorious, forasmuch as he drowned .14. shippes, & toke other .30. he slew .3. thousand men, and brought .3. thousand Carthaginians prisoners: & this was the first victorie, & the romans had by sea. And that that the romans most reioyced at was, & by lande they saue them selues inuincible, and that by sea also they remayned conquerers. The captayne Gaius Duellius departynge from Sicili, came to rome, where he had a sister no lesse vertuous, then riche, and betwixful, in whose house he lodged, where he made a costlye supper to al & senators of rome, & to al the captaines, which came with hym from the warres: for & vicious men know not, wherein to shewe their loue to their frendes, but by inuiting them to costly banquettes. The sister of & captayne Gaius Duellius, for ioye of his coming, & for the pleasure of the banquet & feast, which was made in her house, dyd eate moze then she was accustomed, and also moze then it behoued one in her case, so that in & presence of al, she began to annoy the bidden gesses: for she not only vomited out the meate of her stomake, but also the blud of her vaines, & therewithal most vnluckely brought forth her frute, which she had in her intrailles, wherewith immediately after, the soule departed from & body, & so died. Truly this case was no lesse lamentable, then the others, for so much as Gaius lost his sister, the husband lost his wife, and his child, and the wife, and the child, lost their lyues: & for that that rome lost so noble and excellent a roman, & about al, for & it chaunced in such a tyme, of so greates ioye and pleasure. For there can come no vnluckier newes, then in the tyme of muche mirth, to here tell of any great mischaunce. Of this matter mention is made, in Blundus, in the booke of the declination of the Emperre.

The seconde warre of Affrike whiche was betwene Rome, & Carthage, was the 54. yeares after the foundation of Rome, wherein were captaines, Paulus Emillius, and

and Publius Varro: the which. 2. consules fought the great & famous battaile of Cannas in the prouince of Apulia, 3. sape famous, because roine neuer lost such nobilitie, & roman youth, as she lost in that daye. Of these. 2. consules, Paulus Emilius in the battaile was slayne, & Publius Varro overcome, and the couragious Hannibal remayned conquerour of the feld, wherein dyed. 30. Senatours, and. 300. officers of the senate, and aboute. 40. thousand souldiers, and 3. thousand horsemen, finally, the end of all the roman people had ben y day, if Hannibal had had the wit to haue followed so noble a victorie, as he had the courage to giue so cruel a battaile. A litle before that Publius Varro departed to go to y warres, he was married to a faire & yong roman called Sophia, and within. 7. monethes was quicke and as newes was broughte her that Paulus Emilius was ded, & her husband overcame, she dyed sodenly, the creature remayning aloue in her body. This case aboute all was very pitifull, in that that after he him selfe was vanquished, & that he had seene his compaignon, the consul Emilius slayne, with so great a number of y roman people, fortune would, that with hys owne eyes he shuld behold the intrailles of his wife cut, to take out y child, & likewise to se y earth opened, to bury his wife. Titus Liuius saith, that Publius Varro remained so sorrowful in his hart, to se hym selfe overcome of hys enemies, and to se his wife so sodainly and so vnluckely stricken with death, that at the tyme that hys lyfe endured, he neyther comed his beards, slepte in bed, nor dyed at the table: & hereat we ought not to marvelle, for a mā in his hart may be so wounded in one hower, that he that neuer reioyce at y daies of his life. If we put no doubt in Titus Liuius, the romans had long and tedious warres agaynst the Samnites, which endured for the space of. 63. yeares continually, vntill suche time as the consul Ancus Rutillius (which was a verruous

man) dyd set a good appointment of peace betwene the Samnites and the romans: for the noble and stout hartes, ought alwayes by vertue to bring their enemyes to peace. These warres therfore being so cruel, and obstinate, Titus Venurius, and Espurius Posthumus (which were roman captaynes) were overcome by Pontus, the valyaunt captaine of the Samnites: who after y victory dyd a thing, neuer sene nor hard of before. That is to wete, that all the Romayne prisoners whome he toke, he put aboute their neckes a pocke, wherin were written these wordes,

In spight of Rome, the Romaines shalbe subiecte to the yoke of the Samnites.

Wherewith in dede the Romaynes were greatly instructed, wherefore they soughte stoutely to be reuenged of the Samnites: for y hartes that are haughty, & proud, cannot suffer y others haue thei mindes loste and highe. The romans therfore created to be captaine of the warre, one named Lucius Papirius, who had commissiō to go against the Samnites. This Lucius was more fortunate in hys doinges, then comly of his pathe, for he was deformed of his face, notwithstanding he did so good service in y warre, & fortune fauored him so wel, y he did not only overcome and vanquish, but also destroyed them: and though the injury which the Samnites dyd to the romans was great, yet truly the injury which the romans did to the Samnites was much greater. For fortune is so variable, y those which yesterday we saw in most prosperitie, to daye we see in greatest aduersitie. This Lucius Papirius therfore did not only vanquish the Samnites, kepte them prisoners, & made yokes for thei neckes: but also bound them w cordes together, in such sorte, y they made them ploughe the grounde, drawing. 2. and. 2. a ploughe. And yet nowherewith contēted, but with gaddes they picked & tormented them. If the Samnites had had pity of the romans being overcome, the romans likewise would haue ra-

ken compassion of them, when they were conquerers. And therefore the prosperous haue almuch neede of good counsell: as the miserable haue neede of remedye. For the man whiche is not mercifull in his prosperitie, ought not to meruaile though he fynde no frendes in his necessity. This Lucius Papirius had a daughter married to a senator of Rome, who was called Torquatus, & she was called Ypolita. And about y^e time y^e she shuld haue ben deliuered, she w^{ent} fourth to receiue her father, the whiche she ought not to haue done: for the throng of the people in receiuing him being great, and she her selfe being great with chylde, by a heuy chance, as she woulde haue passed in at a narrowe gate, she was so prest in the throng, that she chaiged her life, for death, & her father turned his mirth and ioy, into sorow, and sadness. For he toke the deathe of hys daughter veray heauily, & so muche the more, because it was so sodeine. I saye he toke it heauilye, since he was so stout a man, & so sage with all, that all Rome thought muche, that anye suche sodeine chaunce shuld haue dysmayed so wise a man, that of his wisdom he could take no profite: but hereat let no man meruel, for there are many y^e harsh hartes to shed the blood of their enemies, & yet cannot with hold the teares of their eyes. Amius Severus in the third booke De infelice fortuna saith, y^e the day y^e this woful mishap chaunced to Lucius Papirius, he liue by his eyes to y^e heavens, & weeping saied, O fortune, dectress of al mortal men, thou madest me to conquer in warre, to content thou wouldest overcome me in peace. My mind was to declare vnto you al these auncient hystories, to shew al may know, how tender & delicate women w^{ith} child are, & how diligent their husbandes ought to be to preserve th^ems: thus there is nothing so tender to be kept, nor any glasse so easy to be broken. For ther is moche glasse, y^e though it fall to y^e ground, yet it doth not breake: but a woman w^{ith} child, only for treading her foot a wy, we be in daunger to be deliuered.

That women great with child, and especialle princesses and great ladies, ought to be of their husbandes gently vsed.



Y^e vve vnderstande the chapter before, we shal find, y^e women with child haue bene in great daungers, some thorough leaping, some by dauncing, other by eating, others by baqueting, others thorough gadding, other by strait lacing: & all this proceedeth thorough their owne follies, that seeketh to be destroyers of their owne bodies. I rulye herein, Princesses and great ladies are worthy of great rebuke, when thorough their owne follies, they are not safely deliuered of their creatures. And I would gladly they take example, not only of reasonable men, but also of brute beastes: for ther is no beast so brute in the wilde mountaynes, but escheweth that, which to his life & death wil be hurtful. The beares, y^e lionesse, & the wolves, neuer gett out of their caues & dennes, so long as they be bigge: & this they do, to auoyde y^e daunge of the hunters, because at that tyme they would not be coursed. Then since these thinges are done by brute beastes (whose longynges are alwaies hurtful to me) to content that their greede whealpes might safelye be broughte fourth, to deuoure one innocent cattel: how muche more then ought the womā to be careful for her frute, which is the increase of Christian congregation? Of women broughte not fourth, and chyldezen were not borne, though there be yearthe, yet there shoulde be none to people it: for GOD created al thinges to fortifie the creature, and created the creatures to serue their errand. Let women with childe

childe take example by the chessenuttes, and walnuttes, how, and in what sorte they defende theyr fruite, after that of their blowmes they are depriued: For the chessenuttre defendeth his fruite, with a rough and harde huske, and the walnutte kepeth her fruite, with a thicke shale in like maner, so that the water can not wette them, nor the wind shake them. Now since that the trees, which are but vegetatiue, & beasts which are but sensitiue, take such hede to them selues, when they seele them selues readye to bring forth their fruite: much more women with childe ought to take hede to them selues, since they haue reason, and vnderstanding, least through their negligēce, the creature should perishe. Let euery man iudge howe litell he looeth, when he looseth nuttes and chessenuttes: and for the contrary, let euery man iudge what the church looeth, when the women with childe do not bringe forth their fruite, into the lyght of baptisme. For our mother the holy church bewaileth not, for that the vines are frozen: but for the soules whiche are lost. To the ende that the man may se the fruitfull blessing whiche he desireth, & that the woman with childe may se her selfe well delivered: the husband ought to beware, that he enforcereth her not much to labour, & the woman likewise ought to be circumspect, & she take not to muche ydelnes. For in women with childe, this is a general rule, that to muche trauaile, causeth the before their time to deliuer: to much idleness, putteth the in danger. The man is cruell, that wyll haue his wife trauaile, & take as much paines when she is bigge, as he woulde haue her at another time when she is not with childe: for the man which is clothed, can not runne so swift, as he is naked. Aristotle in his first booke de Animalibus saith, when the Lyonette is bigge with whealpe, the Lyon doth not onely hunt for her & him selfe: but also both night and day, he wanderech continuallye about to watche her. I meane, that princes

ses and greate Ladies, when they be with childe, should be of their husbandes both respected and serued: for the man can not doe the woman, so great a pleasure before her lieng downe, as she dothe to him, when she bringeth forth a sonne. Considering the danger that the womā abyderth in her deliuerance, and beholding the paines that the husband taketh in her seruice: without comparison, that is greater which she suffereth, then that which he endureth. For when the woman deliuereth, she doth more then her power: and the husband though he serueth her wel, doth lesse then his dutie. The gentle and louing husband, ought not one moment to forsake his wife, specially when he seeth she is great: for in the law of a good husband, it is write, that he should set his eyes to behold her, his handes to serue her, he should spend his goods to cherishe her, & should giue his hart to comfort her. Let not me thinke it poyntes to serue their wiues, when they are with childe: for their labour consisteth in their strenght, but the travail of their wiues, is in their intrasles. And that which is most pitifull is, when the sorrowfull women will discharge their burden on the earth, they often times bring the selues vnto the graue. The meane women of the Plebeians oughte no lesse to be respected, for that when they are with childe, they woulde be exempted from all busines of the house: the which neyther they them selues ought to despye, nor yet their husbandes if to suffer. For Idelnesse, is not only an occasion not to deserue heauen: but also it is a cause, whereby women ofte times haue perished in their trauaile. For consideringe bothe the depriued Ladys with childe, that hath her pleasure, and doeth lytell, and on the other side the poore maids wyse, whiche moderately laboureth: you shall see, that the greate Ladies for all theyr pleasures abyderth more danger, then the other dothe withall her labour. The husband ought to kepe his wife from taking to much paines, for so ought he to do:

and

THE DIAL

and the wyfe lythelyf oughte to flee to much pleasure, for it becometh her, for the meane trauaile is no other, but occasion of a safe deliuerie. The women wyth chylde also ought to take hede to them selues, and inespially noble and greate Ladyes, that they be not to greedy, no: hasty in eatinge. For the woman beinge wyth childe, ought to be sobre: and the woman whiche is a greate eater, with greate paines shall lye chaffe. Women with childe ofte times doe disorde: them selues in eatinge lyctuous meates, and vnder the coullour of feedyng them selues and their infante, they take to excessiueli: whiche is not onely vnholysome for the childe, but also dishonour for theyr mothers. For truly, by the greate excess of the mother being with child, cometh many diseases to the infant when it lyueth. The husbandes also oughte neyther to displease no: grieve their wyues, specially whē they se them grea with child: for of truth, ofte times she deliuereth with moze daunger, by reason of the offences y men do vnto the: then by the aboundaunce of meates which they do eate. Though the woman, whē she is with childe, in some thinges doth offend her husband, yet he like a wise mā ought to forbear her, hauing respect to y child wher to she is greate, & not to the iniurye y she hath comitted: for in the end, the mother can not be so great an offendour, but y the childe is much moze innocent. For the profe of this, it needeth not booke to reade, but only our eyes to se: how the brute beastes for y moste parte (when the females are bygge) do not touche them, no: yet the females suffer the to be touched. I meane, that the noble and high estates ought to absteine the selues fro their wyues carnally, beinge greate wyth child: & he that in this case shall shewe him self moste temperate, shal of al men be deemed most vertuous. I do not speake this, to the end it shuld bynd a man, or y it were an offence then to be the cōpany of his wyfe: but vnto men that are vertuous, I giue it

as as counsel. For some thinges ought to be done of necessity, & others ought to be eschewed for honestie. Diodorus Siculus saith, that in the Realeme of Mauritania there were so few men, & so many women, that euery man had. 5. wyues, where there was a lawe amongeste them, that no man should marie vnder. 3. wyues: furthermoze they had a wonderfull & foolish custome, that when any husbāde died, one of these women should cast her selfe quicke in to the grane, and be buried with him. And if that within a moneth she dyd it not, or that she died not, by iustice she was then openly put to death: sayeng that it is moze honestie to be in company w her husbād in the grane, then it is to be alone in her house. In the Isles of Baliares the contrary is sene, for there increase so many men, and so few women, that for one woman there was. 7. men: and so they had a custome, specially amongeste the poore, that one woman shuld be married with. 5. men. For the riche men sent to seke for women in other straunge Reales, wherfore then marchauntes came hense laden with womē, as now they do with marchaundise to sel. Upon which occasion, ther was a custome in those Isles, that (sofar as there were so few women) when any woman wyth childe dyed nere the seuen monethes, they were seperated from their husbandes, and shut and locked vp in the Temples, wher they gaue them such thinges, as were for them necessarye, of the common treasure. For the auncientes had their god in such veneratiō, that they would not permyt any persone to eate that which he brought: but of that which vnto the goddesse of the Temple was offered. At that tyme the Barbarous kept theyr wyues locked in the Church, because the Gods hauing them in their temples, shuld be moze mercifull vnto them in their deliuey, and also to cause the to auoyde the dangers at that tyme: & besides y, because they tooke it for a great vilany, y the womē during that tyme

time should remaine with their husbands. The famous & renowned philosopher Pulo, in the first booke De moribus antiquorum saied, y in the Realme of Pannonia (which now is Hongarie) the women that were great with child, were so highly esteemed, that when any man went oute of his house, all those whiche met with her, were bounde to returne backe with her, & in such sorte as we at this present do reuerence the blessed Sacrament: so did these Barbarous then, the women with child. The women of Carthage being with child (when Carthage was Carthage) had as great privileges, as now our sanctuaries haue, for the safegarde of misdoers: for in times past, all suche offendours as coulde enter into the house wher a woman lay in child bed, shuld haue ben free from correction of iustice. As Fronto saith, in his booke of the ueneration of the gods, the Gallois Transalpins, did not onely honour, and reuerence y women with child, but also with much care, and diligence, watched her deliuerie: for it

* litell anapleth the shippe to haue passed safe the dangerous seas, if at y shore she be cast away. The case was in this sort, that al the auncient gentils honoured some Gods in their temples, and kept other in their houses, the whiche were called Lares, & Penates: & when any ought to be deliuered, & the neighbour brought his familiar God vnto her, to presence her withall, because they thought, that the more gods there were, of so much more power they were to kepe her fro perilles. Speaking like a christian, truly those gods were of smal value, since they could not helpe the woman safely to be deliuered, that was in trauaile.

The. xii. Chapter.

VVhat the philosopher Pisto vvas, and of the rules he gaue, cōcerning vvomen vvith child.



IN the time of Octavia, ther was a Philosopher called Pisto, whiche was of the sect of Pythagoras, & whē Rome flozished, he was very famillier to the emperor Octavian, & welbeloued of all the people, whiche ought not to be a litell esteemed: for he whiche of y prince is most fauoured, cōmonlye of the people is most hated. This emperor Octavia was a prince very desirous of al vertuous thinges, so that whē he dyed to his captaynes, he spake of warre, when he sapped with the sages, he reasoned of sciences, & he that bittered any dishonest, or yde worde in his presence, he alwaies afterward toke him as his enemy. This Pisto was verie graue in weyghtie affayres, and very pleasaunt in iestes and scoffes, and ofte times he was demaunded many questions of the emperor, whereof the answers of some (acordinge to the demaundes and questions) here foloweth.

The Emperor saide to Pisto, of all these that lyueth, whom takeste thou to be moste foole: to whom the Philosopher answered. In my oppynyon, I take him to be moste foole, of whose worde there cometh no profite: for truly he is not so very a foole that slingeth stones into the winde, as he that bittereth vaine wordes.

Tell me Pisto, whom ought we of right to desyre to speake, & whom of ryght, to cōmaund to be sylet: he answered. It is good to speake, when speache dothe profite, and good to kepe sylenece, when speache is hurtful: for bycause the one desyareth to mainte he y good, & the other to defend the euill, y warres beginne throughout all the world.

Tell me Pisto, from what thyng ought the fathers moste to kepe their chyldren: he sayde. In my oppynyon, parentes oughte

THE DIAL

ought in nothing to watche so much, as to hope them from being vicious: for the father
 * ought rather to haue his sonne dye well, then to liue euill.

Tell me Pisto, what shall a man do if he be broughte to thys extremitie: that if he speake truth, he condempne him selfe: and if he make a lye, he saue him selfe. The vertuous man (saide he) oughte rather to choose to be ouercome by truthe, then to
 * ouercome by lyes: for it is impossible that a man which is a lye, shoulde continue long in prosperitie.

Tell me Pisto, what shal man do to obtaine rest: he answered. As I thinke, the man can not haue rest, vnlesse he forsake wo:ldly affaires: for the men that are occupied with weightie affaires, ca not be without great cares, and cares are alwaies accompanied of great troubles.

Tell me Pisto, wherein a man sheweth him self to be most wise: he answered. Ther is no greater p:ofe to knowe a wyle man, then if he be paciēt to suffer the ignoraunt: for in suffering an insury, the harte is moze
 * holpen by wisdom, then by knowlege.

Tell me Pisto, what is that thing, that the vertuous man maye lawfullye desyre: he answered. All that that is good (so that it be not to the p:eiudice of any other) may honestly be desired: but in my opinion, that
 * onely ought to be desired, whiche openly without shame may be demanded.

Tell me Pisto, what shall men do with their wyues, when they are greates wylth childe, to cause that the child in safetie may be deliuered: he answered. In the wo:ldes there is nothinge moze peryllous, then to haue the charge of a woman with childe.

For yf the husbände serue her, he hath payne and trauaile: and yf perchaunce he doe not contente her, she is in daunger.

In thys case, the Romans, and their husbādes also, oughte to be verie dyligent, and to the thinges folowing moze careful, the whyche I shewe them, moze for coun-

sell, then for commaundement: For good counsell ought to haue as muche auctoritie in the vertuous, as the commaundement bath in the vicious. Thou Octavian, as thou arte a mercifull and a pitifull Emperour, and that kepest thy Niece Costancia great with childe, I knowe thou desirest, that she had presently good and luckye deliuerie, and that she were deliuered of her paine: all the whiche thou shalt see, if thou doest marke these thinges that I wyl shewe the here folowinge.

Firste, the woman oughte to beware of dauncinge, leapinge, and running: for leapinge oftentimes maketh man to loose his speache, & women with childe to loose their life, wherfore it is not reason, that the folly of the mother shoulde be permitted, to put in hazarde the life of the childe.

The seconde, the woman beinge wylth childe oughte to beware, that she be not so hardye to enter into gardeyns, wher there is much frute, and that for eating to many, she be not yll deliuered: for it is no reason, that the likerousnes of the mother be punished, with the death of the childe.

The thirde, the woman with childe oughte to beware of ouer harde lacinge her selfe about the midle: for many Roman Dames for to seme p:opre, do weare their gownes so streighte, that it is an occasion to kyll their creatures, which is a heynous mater, that the ponge babe shoulde loose his life, by cause his mother shoulde seme p:etie.

The fourth, the woman with childe oughte to beware of eating in a great banket: for oftentimes there commeth a sodaine deliuerance, onely through eating without measure, and it is not mete, that for tastinge a thinge of litell value, the mother and the childe shoulde both loose their liues.

The fyfte, the woman beinge wylth childe oughte to beware, that she greue no care to any sodayne newes: for she is in moze daunger, for hearinge a thing that greue her, then for suffering long sickness that

that paineth her, and it were vnjust, that for knowing of a trifeling matter, the mother that is to be deliuered, & the child y is to be borne, should bothe in one moment perishe.

The sixte, the woman with child ought to beware that she goe not by any meanes to any feastes, wher ther shalbe any greate assembly of people: for oft times the womā with child, seing her to be to much thrust & pzeall, being not able to say, I am here, may immediatly dye in the place, & it is not reason, but an vnjust thinge, that the woman for the desire to see the children of others, should make of her owne orphanes.

The seuenth, the husband ought to be aware that the being with childe, be not denayed any honest thing that she do mindet for in granting her, he cā not lose much, & it shold not be iust, that since in her bring-
 ing forth she honoereth and increaseth the common wealth of Rome, that Rome shuld condescende, that any woman with childe shoulde receyue shame.

These be the answers y Pisto made to the emperor Octavian, the which he gaue as rules to women with child, which being so kept, I do assure you, that the great Ladies should deliuer them selues from many perilles, & the husbandes also should escape from many sorowes. Concluding therfore, that which aboue is spoken, I saye, that the princesses and greate ladies when they are with child, ought to be moze ware & circūspect, then other meane women: for where man hopeth to haue most profit, there oughte he moste to be carefull. The autour of this is Pulio in his third booke De moribus antiquorum and sextus Cheronensis in hys.5. booke de legibus domesticis.

The.xiii.Chapter.

Of the counsellors vvhich Lucius Seneca gaue vnto a secretary, his friend, vvho serued the Emperour Nero.



He Emperour Nero had a Secretary called Emilius Varro, the while he beinge in Rome buylded a sumptuous house, topninge vnto the gate of Salaria, whereunto he invited one day, Lucius Seneca, for to banquet, to the end the house might be moze fortunat: for the Romans had a Prophecy, that according to the good or yll lucke of him that firste entred into a newe house, so should it continually be luckye, or vnlucky. Lucius Seneca graunted to the requeste of his frende, Emilius Varro, and when they had well eaten, they went bothe to see this newe building, thewying vnto Lucius Seneca all thinges, at the laste the Secretary saide thus vnto Seneca. Those betwene bothe are for gesses, those haules are for marchauntes and suetoys, these secrettes are for womē, those chambers are for knigh-
 tes, those galleries which are couered, are to auoyde the sonne, this lowest parte here is for horses, the Cellers are for the buttrye: in the end he shewed hym the whole house, for the furnishinge whereof, there lacked not one tittle. After the Secretary Emilius Varro had shewed him all his house, he looked vnto his gesse Seneca would greatly prayse and commende it, but he, as though he knewe nothyng, sayde vnto Emilius Varro as he wente out of the doores, whose house is this & wherunto Emilius answered, howe nowe Seneca, canst not thou tel: I haue employed al my goodes in buyldinge this house, and haue ledde the all about to see it, and I haue tolde the that it is mine, and yet dost thou aske me againe, whose it is: Lucius Seneca answered, Thou hast shewed vs the house for straungers, the house for slaves, the house for women, the house for horses, & in al this house thou hast not shewe me one litle part for thy self, but that an other mā dorh enter in to it: so if y hast any interestte, therein they haue

THE DIAL

haue the best therof, which is the possession. I do not accompt the fo: a wise man, I doe not accompt the fo: a man of vnderstanding, and yet I know, that withal thy hart thou art my frende: and since I haue bene bydden to say by the, it is but reason, that fo: to rewarde that which thou hast done to me, I do some seruice vnto the, which shal be to giue vnto the some good counsell. For strangers vse to pay the bydden with money, & vaine men with telling lies, dablers by counting vaine tales, children by flatteries: but vertuous men ought to pay, by geuing good counselles. This house hath cost the muche paine, great griefes, and muche money, and if it coste the so muche, it is but reason that thou inioy the same. Take therefore these my thre counselles, and it may be thou wilt finde thy selfe better contented with those, then with the money of strangers: for many haue wherewithall to builde a house, but they haue not vnderstandinge to gouerne the same.

The first counsell is, though that thou loue thy frende verpe well, or thy wife aswell, yet that thou neuer discouer all the secrettes of thy harte, neither to thy frend, nor to thy wife: But that thou alwaies reserve some particuler vnto thy selfe. For Plato saith, to whom a man committeth his secrettes, to him also he giueth his libertie.

The second counsell is, that neither in the private busines, nor in the publicke affaires, thou occupye thy selfe so much, but at the leaste thou dost reserve, 3. houres in the day, for thine owne rest.

The thirde counsell is, that thou haue in thy house some secret place, wherof thou alone shalt haue the key: and therein thou shalt haue bookes, wher thou maiest study of thy affaires, and also talke with thy friends. Finally, this place shalbe a secretozy of thy counselles, and a rest for thy trauelles. These were the wordes that Lucius Seneca spake to his frende Emillius Varro, which wordes were suche, as he him selfe

was, that is to wete, of a sage and excellent personnage: and though the banquet was riche, yet the paymente of Lucius Seneca was muche more worth. For the minde seeth more taste, in the good and ripe counsell: then the bodie doth, in sauory and delicate meates. I haue tolde you this example of Lucius Seneca, for to tell an other that happened to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, with his wife Faustyne. And to the end that the order of the matter be not troubled without breaking our History, first we will declare here the order which this Emperour obserued in his life. For the comen wealth shall neuer be well gouerned, but wher the prince gouerneth well his life.

Princes of necessitie ought to be well ordered in their life, because they may profite the affaires of the Empire, with the particulars of their house, and because they should vse the particulars of their house, to the recreation of their personne: & all these thinges ought to be deuised, according to time. For a good prince, ought to lacke no time to do that thinge well, which he hath to do: nor he ought to haue any vacant time, to employe him selfe to vices. The worldly call that time good, the which is, or was prosperous vnto them: they call that time euill, which is, or hath bene contrary, and vnsortunate vnto them. The Creator will neuer, that this sentence be approued by my penne: but I call that time good, which is employed in vertues, & that time euill, that is lost in vices. For the times are alwaies as one, but men do tourne from vice to vertue, from vertue to vice. The good Emperour Marcus Aurelius did deuise the time, by time, so that though he had time for him selfe, he had time likewise to dispatche his owne and other affaires: for the man that is willing, in a small time dispatcheth much busynes, and the man which is negligent, in a longe time doth lytle. This was the order, that the Emperour Marcus Aurelius toke, in spendinge his time. He slepte. 7. houres in the night.

night, and one howe reasted hym selfe in the day. In dyning & suppyng, he consumed onely .2. howers: and it was not so: that he toke great pleasure to be long in eating, but because the philosophers which disputed before his presence, were occasion to prolong the time. For in .17. yeares they neuer saw him at meat, but one or other red vnto him some boke, or els the philosophers reasoned before hym philosophye. As he had many realmes and prouinces, so he appointed one howe for the affaires of Asia, for A strike one holder, & for Europe another howe, and for the conuersacion of his wife, child, & family, he appointed other .2. howers of time: he had another howe for extraordinary affaires, as to here the complaints of the greued, the quarrelles of the poore, the complaints of the widowes, and the robberies done to the orphans. For the merciful prince geneth no lesse care vnto his poore, * whiche for want can doe lytel: then to the riche, which hath inough, and can do much. He occupied all the residue of the day and night, to rede boke, write woordes, to make meters, & in studyng of other antiquities, to practise with the sage, and to dispute with the philosophers: and synally, he toke no taste of any thing so muche, as he dyd to talke of science. Unless the cruell warres dyd let hym, or suche lyke affaires troubled him, ordynarily in winter he went to bed at 9. of the clocke, & wooke at .4. and because he would not be idle, he had alwaye a booke vnder his beddes hed, and the residue of the daye he bestowed in readinge. The romans had an auncient custome, to beare syer before them, that is to wete, a torch lighte in the day, and a lampe burnyng in the night: so that waking they burned ware, and slepyng they bourned oyle. And the cause why the romans ordeyned that the oyle should be made of olyue, and the ware made of beere (which was vsed to be borne before the princes) was to the end they should remember, that they ought to be as gentell and

louinge, as the oyle of Olyue is swete: and as profitable to the common wealth, as the Bees are. He did rise at 6. of the clocke, and made hym selfe readye openlye, and with a gentle countenance he asked them that were aboute hym, wherein they had spent all the nyght, and declared vnto them then, whache he had dreamed, what he had thought, and what he had red: when he was readye, he washed his face with odiferous waters, and loued veraye wel swete sauoures. For he had so quicke a sent, that he was muche offended, when he passed by any stinking place. In the moynyng he vsed to eate .2. morsels of a lectuarie, made of Sicades, and drinke .3. sponesfull of malmesey, or els to dropes of Aqua Vite, because he had a colde stomacke, for that he gaue hym selfe so muche to studye in tymes passe. He se it by experyence, that the greates students are persecuted more with sicknes, then any others: for in the sweetenes of the science, * they knowe not how theyr lyfe consumeth. If it were in the somner season, he wente in the moynyng to recreate hym selfe to the ruer of Tiber, and walked there a fote for .2. howers, and in this place they talked with hym, that had busynes: and trulye it was a greates polycpe, for where as the Prince doeth not syt, the selwtour alwayes abideth his talke. And when the daye began to waxe hotte, he went to the hygh capitol, where all the Senate tarped for hym, and from thence he went to the Coliseo, where the ambassadours of the prouinces were, and there remainned a greates parte of the daye: after wardes he wente to the chappel of the bestall virgines, and there he harde euery nation by it selfe, accordyng to the order whiche was prescribed. He dyd eate but one meale in the daye, and it was veray late, but he dyd eate wel: not of manye and dyners sortes of meates, but of fewe and good, for the aboundance of dyuete and straunge meates, breaderh sondrye diseases. * They sawe hym once a weke goe thowse. b. l. rough

THE DIAL

rough Rome, and if he wente anye moze, it was a wonder: at the whiche tyme he was alwayes withoute companie, bothe of hys owne, and also of straungers, to the entente all pooze men myghte talke with hym of their busynes, or complayne of hys officers: for it is vnpossible to refozme the common wealthe, if he whiche oughte to remedye it, be not informed of the insurges whiche are done therein. He was so gentle in conuersacyon, so pleasaunte in wordes, so noble amongst the greates, so equall with the least, so reasonable in that he dyd aske, so persyte in that he dyd worke, so patient in insurges, so thankfull of benefittes, so good, to the good, and so seuer to the euil: that all loued hym for beyng good, and all the euyl feared hym for being iuste. A man oughte not lytel to esteeme the loue that the people bare to this so good a Prince, and noble Emperoure, for so muche as the Romans haue bene thus: that for the felicity of their estate, they offered to their gods greater sacrifyce, then they dyd in anye other prouinces. And Sextus Cheronensis sayeth, that the Romans offered moze sacrifyces to the gods, because they should lengthen the lyfe of the Emperour, then they dyd offer for the prosyte of the common wealthe. Trulye their reason was good, for the Prince that leadeth a good lyfe, is the harte of the common wealthe. But I doe not marnayle, that the Emperour was so wel wylled, and beloued of the Romayne empire, for he had neuer poster to hys chamber, but the .2. holwers whiche he remained with his wyfe Faustine, Al this being paste, the good Emperour went into hys house, into the secretest place he had (acordyng to the counsell of Lucius Seneca) the key whercof, he alone had in hys custodie, and neuer trusted anye man therewith, vntill the howre of hys death: and then he gaue it to an old auncient man called Pompeianus, sayeng vnto hym these wordes. Thou knowest ryght wel Pompeianus,

that thou being bafe, I exalted the to honoz. Thou being pooze, I gaue the riches. Thou being persecuted, I delyue the to my pallas. I being absente, commytted my hole honoure, to thy truste, thou being olde, I maryed the wyth my doughter, and doe presentlye gyue the this key. Beholde that in geuyng the it, I gyue the my harte and lyfe. For I wyl thou knowe, that death greuethe me not so muche, nor the losse of my wyfe and chyldren, as that I cannot carie my bookes into the graue. If the Gods had geuen me the choyse, I had rather choyse to be in the graue inuyroned wyth bookes: then to lyue accompanied wyth fooles: for if the deade doe rede, I take them to be as lyue: but if the lyuyng doe not rede, I take them to be deade.

Under this key whiche I gyue the, remayneth manye Greke, Hebreue, latyne, and Roman bookes, and aboue all, vnder this key remayneth all my paynes, sweet, and trauayles, all my watchynges, and labours, where also thou shalt fynde bokes by me compyled: so that though the wormes of the yearth do eate my body: yet men shall fynde my harte hole, amongst these bokes. Once agayne I doe require the, and saye, that thou oughtest not a lytel to esteeme the key, the whiche I gyue the: for wyse men at the howre of their death, alwayes recommend that whiche beste they loue, to them which in their liues they haue most loued: I doe confesse, that in my studye thou shalt fynd many thynges, with mynt owne hand wyrtten, and wel ordered: and also I confesse, that thou shalt fynde manye thynges, by me left vnperfyt. In this case I thinke, that though thou couldest not wyte them, yet thou shalt worke them wel notwithstanding: and by these meanes, thou shalt get rewarde of the Gods, for workinge them. Consider Pompeian, that I haue ben thy loide, I haue ben thy father in law, I haue bene thy fathet, I haue bene thy aduocate, and aboue all, that I haue bene thy sperryall frend,

friend, which is most of all: for a man ought to esteeme more a faithful frende, then al the parentes of the woꝛld. Therfore in the faith of that frendshipp, I require, that thou kepe this in memoꝛy, that euen as I haue recom mendid to others my wife, my chyldezen, my goods, and ryches: So I doe leaue vnto the in singular recommendacion my honoure.

* For prynces leaue of them selues no grea ter memoꝛy, then by the good learning that they haue wyrtten. I haue bene .18. yeaꝛes emperour of rome, and it is 60. and .3. yeaꝛes that I haue remayned in this woꝛfull lyfe, during which time, I haue ouercome many battaylles, I haue slayne many pirattes, I haue builde diuers buildinges, I haue exal ted many good, I haue punished many euil, I haue wonne many realmes, & I haue dystroyed many strautes. But what shal I do, woꝛful man y I am, seke al my coꝛpagnions which were witnesses w me of al these woꝛ thy seates, shalbe my compaignons in the graue wth the greedy woꝛmes: A thousand yeaꝛes hence, when those y are now alyue, shal then be dead: what is he that shal say, I saw Marcus Aurelius triumphe ouer the Parthians, I saw him make the buildynges of Auentine, I saw hym welbeloued of the people, I saw him father of the orphanes, I saw him the scourge of tirautes: truly if al these thynges had not ben declared by my bookes, or of my frendes, the dead woulde neuer haue ryfen agayne to haue declared them. What is it for to se a prynce (from the time he is boꝛne, vntill the tyme he come to dye) to se the pouerety he passeth, the perilles he endureth, the enuy that he suffereth, the shame that he dyssembleth, the frendshipp that he sayneth, the teares whiche he sheddeth, the sighes that he fetcheth, the promy ses that he maketh, and doeth not endure for anye other cause the mysteries of this lyfe: but onely to leaue a memoꝛy of hym after hys death: There is no prynce in the woꝛlde, that desireth not to keape a good houle, to keape a good table, to apartel him

selfe rychely, & to paye those that serue hym in hys houle: but by this wayne honoure, they suffer y water to passe thozough their lippes dꝛynckyng thereof. As one that hath proued it, it is reason that I be beleued in this case, and that is: that the entent of pꝛin ces to conqueꝛe straunge Realmes, and to permit their owne to suffer wronges, is for no other thyng, but because that the com mendacions which they speake of the pꝛin ces passe, they shoulde lykewyse talke the same of them that be to come. Concluding therefore my mynde, and declarynge my intencion, I saye that the wyghte that is noble, and desireth to leaue of hym selfe some fame, let hym see what he is, that those can wyꝛte of hym, whiche wyꝛte hys hystorye: for it pꝛospyghereth ltel, that he atchieue greate affayres by the swerde, if there be no wyꝛter to set them fourth wth the penne, and afterwarde to exalte them wth the tonge.

These woꝛdes thus spoken by the noble Emperoure Marcus Aurelius, he gaue the key of the stadꝛe to the honourable olde man Pompeianus, that toke all the woꝛ tynges, and put them in the high Capitol, where the Roimans honoured them, as the chꝛystians doe vse to keape the holpe relyques: all these wyrtynge, besydes many o thers, perished in rome, when by the Bar barous it was dystroyed. For the Gothes vntrely to ertinguisse the name of rome, dystroyed not only the walles thereof, but also the bokes that were therein: and trulye in this case, the Gothes shewed more cruel ty to the Romans, then if they had slayne the chyldezen of their bodyes, or bet downe the walles of their Cyties. For wthoute double, the lyuelye letter is a more seuerer wytnes of renowme, than allwayes spea keth: then is either the lyne, sand, or stone, wherwith fortresses are buylded.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

THE DIALL

Of the importunate sute of the
Empresse, concerninge the key
of her husbandes closet.



VE Haue declared, howe the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius had hys studye in the secretest place of al the palace, and howe that he hym selfe dyd kepe the key. It is to be vnderstande, that he would neuer let hys wyfe, hys children, nor any other of his familyer frendes come into it, for he sayde: I had rather suffer that they shoulde take from me my treasures, then that anye man shoulde turne the leaues of my bookes. It chaunced, that on a daye the Empresse Faustine being greate with chylde, importuned the Emperour much by al the meanes she could, that he woulde be so favourable vnto her, as to gyue her the key of hys studye, and it is no meruaile: for naturallye women dyspyse that whiche is geuen them, and lust for that that is denyed them. Faustine instantly besought hym, not once, but manye times, not onely with fayer wordes, but with abundant teares, alleagynge vnto hym these reasons. I haue requyred the sonnyne tymes, that thou wouldest gyue me the key of thy chamber, and thou haste by iestynge made frustrate my request, the whiche thou (my Lorde) oughte not to haue done, consideringe that I am with chylde: for oftentimes it chaunceth, that that wherefore the husbande reioyceth this daye, to morrow he doeth lamente. Thou oughtest to remember, that I am that Faustyne the renowned, the whiche in thy eyes am the fairest; and of thy tonge haue bene moste commended, of thy parson I was best beloued, and of thy harte I am moste desyred: then since it is true, that thou haste me so depely

in thy harte, why then doubttest thou to shewe me the wytynges of thy studye? Thou doest communicate with me the secretes of the empire, and thou hydest from me the bookes of thy studye. Thou haste geuen me thy tender harte of fleshe, and nowe thou deniest me thy harde key of yron: now I must needs thinke, that thy loue was fayned, that thy wordes were doble, & that thy thoughtes were others, then they seemed. For if they had ben otherwyse, it had ben impossible thou shouldest haue denyed me the key, that I do aske the: for where loue is vnfayned, though the requeste be merilye asked, yet it is wyllynge graunted. It is a common custome, that you men vse to deceiue vs simple women, you presente vs greate gyftes, you gyue manye fayer wordes, you make vs fayer promyses, you saye you wyl doe maruelles, but in the ende, you doe nothinge but deceiue vs: for we are persecuted moze of you, then of anye others. When men in suche wyse importune the women, if the women had power to deny and withstande, we shoulde in shorte space bringe ye vnder the yoke, and leade you by the noses: but when we suffer oure selues to be overcome, then you beginne to forsake vs, and despise vs. Let me therefore (my Lorde) see thy chamber, consider I am with chylde, and that I dye, onlesse I see it. If thou doest not to doe me pleasure, yet do it at the least, because I may no moze importune the. For if I come in daunger throughte this my longing, I shall but lose my lyfe: but thou shalt loose the chylde that should be borne, and the mother also that oughte to beare it. I knowe not why thou shouldest put thy noble harte, into suche a daungerous fortune, whereby bothe thou and I at one time shoulde perishe: I in dyeng so yonge, and thou in losynge so lounge a wyfe.

By the immortal gods I do beseeche the, and by the mother Bereynthia I curse the, that thou geue me the key, or that thou let me enter into the studye: and stycke not
with

wyth me thy wyfe in this my smal request, but chaunge thy oppynion: for all that which
 * withoute consideracyon is ordeyned, by impo-
 rtunate sewte maye be renoked. We see
 daylye, that men by reading in bookes loue
 their chyldren, but I neuer sawe harte
 of man fall in suche sorte, that by readinge
 * and lokyng in bookes he shoulde despyse
 his chyldren: for in the ende, bookes are by
 the wordes of others made: but chyldren are
 with their owne proper blood begotten.

Befoze that anye thinge of wysedom is be-
 gonne, they alwayes regarde the inconue-
 nyences that maye followe. Therefore if
 thou wylte not geue me this keye, and that
 thou arte determyned to be stoberne styl in
 thy wyl, thou shalt lose thy Faustine, thou
 shalt lose so lounge a wyfe, thou shalt
 lose the creature wherewith she is bigge,
 thou shalt lose the authoitye of thy pa-
 lace, thou shalt geue occasyon to all Rome
 to speake of the wickednes, and this grefe
 shall neuer departe from thy harte: for the
 harte shall neuer be comforted, that kno-
 * weyth that he onelye is the occasyon of his
 owne grieke. If the Gods doe suffer it by
 their secrete iudgementes, and if my wo-
 full myshappes deserue it, and if thou (my
 Lorde) desirest it, for no other cause, but
 even to doe after thy wyl, for denyeng me
 this keye, I shoulde dye: I woulde wyllyng-
 lye dye. But of that I thinke thou wylt re-
 pente: for it chaunceth oftentimes to wyse
 * men, that when remedy is gone, the repen-
 taunce commeth sodeinlye. And then it is
 to late (as they saye) to shutte the stable
 doore, when the steade is stoln.

I marueil muche at the my Lorde, why
 thou shouldest shewe thy selfe so frowarde
 in this case, since thou knowest that al the
 tyme we haue bene togethers, thy wyl and
 myne hath bene one, if thou wilt
 not geue me thy key, for that I am thy wel-
 beloved Faustyne, if thou wylte not let me
 haue it, sinse I am thy deare beloved wyfe,
 if thou wylte not geue it me, for that I

am greate with chyld. I beseeche the geue
 it me in vertue of the aunyent lawe: for
 thou knowest it is an inuolate lawe amonge
 the Romaynes, that a man cannot des-
 naye his wyfe with chyld her desiers. I
 haue sene sondrye tymes with myne eyes,
 manye women setwe their husbandes at
 the lawe in this behalfe: and thou Lorde
 commaundest, that a man shuld not breake
 the ppylleges of women.

Then if this thinge be true (as it is true
 in dead) why wylte thou that the lawes of
 straunge chyldren shoulde be kepte, and that
 they shoulde be broken to thine owne chy-
 lden? Speakyng accordeynge to the reue-
 rence that I owe vnto the, thoughe thou
 wouldest, I wyl not, thoughe thou doest
 it, I wyl not agree therunto, and though
 thou doest commaunde it, in this case I
 wyl not obeye the. For if the husbände
 doe not accept the iuste request of his wyfe,
 the wyfe is not boorde to obey the vnjust
 * commaundement of her husbände. You
 husbandes desier that youre wyues shoulde
 serue you, you desier that your wyues shuld
 obey you in all, and ye wyl condiscende to
 nothyng that they desyer. Ye men say, that
 we women haue no certainte in our loue,
 but in dead you haue no loue at all. For by
 this it appeareth, that youre loue is fained,
 * in that it no longer continueth, then your
 desires are satisfied. You saye surdermore,
 that the women are suspitious, and that is
 true in you al, men maye see, and not in vs:
 for none other cause there are so manye e-
 uel married in Rome, but because their hus-
 bandes haue of them suche euil oppynyons.
 There is a greate dyfference betwene the
 suspition of the woman, and the ielousye
 of the man: for if a man wyl vnderstande
 the suspition of the woman, it is no other
 thinge, but to shewe to her husbände that
 she loueth hym with all her hearte. For the
 innocent women knowe no others, desire
 no others but their husbandes only, & they
 woulde that their husbandes shoulde knowe

THE DIAL

none others, nor serche for anye others, nor loue any others, nor wyl anye others, but them onelye: for the harte that is bente to loue onelye, woulde not that into that
* house shoulde enter anye other.

But you men knowe so manye meanes, and vse so manye subteltyes, that you praise youre selues for to offende them, you vaunt youre selues to deceiue them, and that it is trefwe, a man can in nothinge so muche shewe hys noblenes, as to susseyne and fauoure a comen woman. The husbandes please their wyues speakynge vnto them some merue woordes, and immediate ly their backs beinge tourned, to another, they geue bothe their bodyes, and their goods. I sweare vnto the (my Lorde) that if women had the lybertye, and aucthoritye ouer men, as men haue ouer women: they shoulde fynde moze malyce, dysceyptfulnes and crafte, by them commytted in one daye, then they shoulde fynde in the women all the dayes of their lyfe. You men saye, that women are euil speakers, it is true in dede, that youre tonges are none other, but the stunges of serpententes: for ye doe contempne the good men, and defame the woman women. And thinke not (if you speake euil of other women) to excuse your owne: for the man that by his tonge dyshonoreth straunge women, doeth not so muche iuel, as he doeth by defamyng his owne wife by suspition. For the husbände that suspectith hys wyfe, geueth al men licence to accompt her for noughte. Sythe we women goe lytel oure of the house, we trauayle not farre, and sith we see fewe thynges, thonghe we woulde, we cannot be euil tonged: but you men, heare much, you see muche, you knowe muche, you wander abrode much, and continually you murmur. All the euil that we selp women can do, is to listen to our frendes when they are beted, to chide oure seruantes when they are negligent, to enuye our neighbours if they be saier, & to curse those that doeth vs iniury: finallye, thonghe

we speake euil, we cannot murmur, but at those that dwelleth in the same streate, where we dwel. But you men, defame your wyues by suspition, you dishonoure youre neighbours in youre woordes, you speake againste straungers with crueltye, you neuer keape faith, nor promyse to your wyues, you shewe your selues extreme againste youre enemyes, you murmoure bothe at those that be presente, and also at them that be absente: finally, on the one parte you are so dole, and on the other parte you are so vnthankfull, that to those whome you desire, you make faire promyses, and those whose bodyes you haue enioyed, you lytell esteame. I confesse, that the woman is not so good as she oughte to be, and that it is necessarye that she shoulde be kepte in the house, and so she shal leade a good lyfe, and beinge of a good lyfe, she shal haue good renowne, & hauinge good renowne, she shal be wel willed: but if perchaunce any of those do want in her, yet for al that she oughte not to be relected of her husbände. For the frailnes that men finde in women, is but lytel: but the euyls that women taste in men, is veraye greate. I haue talked lenger then I thought, and haue sated moze boldly then I ought, but pardon me (my lord) for mine intention was not to bere h, but to perswade the. For in the end he is a fool, that taketh that for iniury, whiche passeth betwene the man & the wyfe in secret. I like alwayes to my firste poynt, & if it heade, once againe I require the, that thou wylte geue me the key of the studye: and if thou doe otherwise (as thou maist) thou shalt doe such a thyng, as thou oughtest not to doe. I am not angrye so muche for that thou doest, as for the occasyon thou gehest me.

Therefore to auoyde the peryll of my deluery, & to take from me al suspition, I pray h (my lord) deliuer me h key of thy studye: for otherwyse I cannot be perswaded in my harte, but that yen haue a woman locked in your study. For men that in their youth

you have bene vnconstant, though the apparell that they haue be not woꝛne: yet notwithstandinge they desire to haue new. Therfore once againe to pꝛeserue me from perill in my delinerpe, and to lighten my hart of this thought, it shalbe but wel done that you let me enter into your studie.

The.xv.Chapter.

The aunsvvere of the Emperour to his vvife, concerninge her demaũde, and of the great trouble that some men haue vvith their vvives. And howe certaine Barbarous people separated them selues from their vvives.



He Emperour hearing the wordes of Faustyne, and seeinge that she spake them so earnestly, that she bathed her wofull wordes with bitter teares: determined also to aunsvvere her as earnestly, and said vnto her these wordes. Wif Faustyne, thou hast told me all that thou wouldest, and I haue heard all thy complaint. Therfore I desire the now to haue as much patience, to here my aunsvwer: as I haue had paine, to heare thy demand. And prepare thy eares, to here my wordes: as I haue listned mine, to heare thy folly. For in like matter, when the tonge doth applye it selfe to speake any word, the eares oughte immediately to prepare them to heare it, for to make aunsvwere. For this is moste sure, that he that speaketh what he woulde, shall here what he woulde not. Before I tell the what thou arte, and what thou oughtest to be, I will firste tell what I am, and what I oughte to be; for I wyll thou vnderstande

Faustyne, that I am so euill, that I to which mine enemies dothe repoꝛte of me, is but a trifle in respect of that, which my familiars and frendes woulde saye, if they knew me. To the end the pꝛince be good, he ought not to be couetous of tributes, neiether proud in commaundementes, nor vnchancefull of seruices, nor to be forgetful of the temples: he ought not to be deaffe to heare griefes, complaints, and quarelles, nor cruell to orphanes; nor yet negliġt in affaires. And the man that shall want these vices, shall be both beloued of mē, & fauoured of the gods.

I confesse, firste of all, that I haue bene couetous: For in dede, those which with troubles annoy pꝛinces lest, and with money serue them moste: are of all other men beloued best.

Secondarily, I confesse I am proude: For ther is no pꝛince at this day in this world so brought vnder, but when fortune is most lowest, he hath his harte very haughtie.

Thirde, I confesse that I am vnthankful: for amongst vs that are pꝛinces, the seruices that they do vnto vs are greate, and the rewardes that we geue vnto them are litel.

Forthly, I do confesse that I am an euill fonder of temples: for amongst vs pꝛinces, we do not sacrifice vnto the gods very oft, vnlesse it be when we see our selues to be inuironned with enemies.

Fifthly, I confesse that I am negliġt, to heare the plaintes of the oppressed: for flatterers haue towarde their pꝛinces moze easy audiece by their flattery, then the poore, pleading to declare their complaints by truth.

Sixtly, I confesse that I am carelesse for the orphanes: for in the courtes & pallaces of pꝛinces, the riche and mightie are moste familiar, but the miserable and poore orphanes are scarcely hearde.

Seuenthy, I confesse that I am negliġt, in dispatching poore mens causes: for pꝛinces ofte times, not prouidinge in tyme for their affaires, many and greate perilles ensue to their Realmes.

THE DIAL

Marke here Faustyne, how I haue told
the, what (according to reason) I ought to be,
e what accordinge to the sensualitie I am:
and meruaile not though I confesse mine
error. For the mā that acknowledgeth his
* faulte, getteth hope of his amendement. Let
he now come to talke of the, and by that I
haue spoken of me, thou maifest iudge of thy
selfe: For wee men are so euill conditioned,
that we beholde to the uttermost the offen-
* ces of an other, but we wyll not heare the
faultes of our selues. It is a true thing, my
wife Faustyne, that when a woman is mes-
rye, she alwaies speaketh moze with her
tonge, then she knoweth in her harte: For
women lighte of tonge, speake many thin-
ges in companie, the whiche they doe las-
* ment after when they are alone. Al the con-
trary commeth to wofull men, for they doe
not speake the halfe of their grefes: because
their heauye and wofull hartes commaunde
derh their eyes to weepe, and their tongs to
be silent. Waine and foolish men, by vaine
and foolish woordes, do publishe their vaine
and light pleasures: and the wise men, by
wise woordes, doe dissemble their greuous
sorowes. For though they fele the troubles
of this life, they dissemble them as men.
Amongest the sages he is most wisest, that
presumeth to know least: and amongest the
simple he is most ignoraunt, that thinketh
to know most. For if ther be found one that
* knoweth much: yet alwaies there is founde
an other, that knoweth moze. This is one
difference wherby y wise men are known
from those that be simple, that is to wete,
that the wise man, to one that asketh hym a
question, aunswereth slowly and grauely:
and the simple mā, though he be not asked,
* aunswereth quicke and lightly. For in the
house where noblenesse and wisdom are,
they giue riches without measure, but
they giue woordes by ounces. I haue tolde
the all this Faustyne, because thy woordes
haue wounded me in suche sorte, thy teares
in suche wise haue compelled me, and thy

vayne Iudgements haue werped me so
muche, that I can not saye what I would,
nor I thinke thou canste perceyue what I
say. Those whiche wrote of mariage, wrote
many thinges: but they wrote no so many
troubles in all their bookes, as one woman
causeth her husbände to feele in one day.

The auncentes spake well when they
reasoned of mariages: For at all tymes
when they talked of mariage, at the begin-
nings they put these woordes, Onus Ma-
trimonij. That is to saye, the yoke of ma-
riage. For trulpe if the man be not well
married, all the troubles that maye happen
vnto hym in all the tyme of his lyfe, are but
small in respect to be matched one day with
an euill wyfe.

Doeste thou thinke Faustyne, that it
is a small trouble for the husbände to suf-
fer the brawlinges of his wife: to indure
her vayne woordes: to heare wth her sonde
woordes: to gyue her what she requyret:
to seeke that she desyret: and to dyssemble
wth all their vanities: trulpe it is so in-
patient a trouble, that I woulde not des-
pyre any greater reuengement of my ene-
mye, then to see him married with a braw-
linge wyfe.

If the husbände be proude, you doe hum-
ble him: For there is no proude man, what
so euer he be, but a sperre woman wyll
make him stoupe. If the husbände be
foolyshe, you restore him his senses a-
gaine: For there is no greater wyledome
in the worlde, then to knowe howe to en-
dure a brawlyng woman. If the husbände
be wylde, you make him tame: For the ty-
me is so muche that you occupie in braw-
linge, that he can haue no tyme to speake.
If the husbände be slowe you make hym
runne: for he desyret so muche your con-
tentacion in harte, that the wofull man can
not eate in quiete, nor sleape in rest. If the
husbände be a greare talker, in shorte space
you make him dome: For the floutes and
mockes y you giue him at euery worde, are

so many in nobze, that he hath none other remedye, but to refraine his tonge. If the husband be suspitious, you make him change his minde: for the tryelles that you aske at euery houre, are such, and so many, and you therewith so self willed, that he dare not tell what he seeth in his owne house.

If the husband be a wanderer abroade, you make him foolishly to be abider at home: for you looke so pl to the house and goodes, that he findeth no other remedye, but to be alwaies at home. If the husband be vicious, you restraine him immediarly: for you burden his hart with so many thoughtes, that his bodie hath no delighte to vse any pleasures. Finally I say, that if the husbände be peacible, within shorte space you make him biqueete: for your paines are suche, so many, and so continuall, that there is no harte can wholpe dissemble them, nor tonge that bitterly can kepe them secret.

Naturallie women haue in al thinges the spite of contradiction, for so muche as if the husbandes will speake, they will hold their peace. If he go forth, they will tarye at home. If he will laughe, they will weape. If he will take pleasure, they will bere him. If he be sorrowfull, they will be merie. If he desire peace, they would haue warre. If he would eate, they will faste. If he would sleepe, they will wathe: & yf thou wilt wathe, they will sleepe. Finally I saie, that they are of so euill a condicion, that they loue al that we dispise: and dispise al that we loue. In mine opinion, the men that are wise, & wil obtaine that which they desire of their wiues: let them not demaunde of them that which they would obtaine, yf they will come to their desire. For to them which are diseased, the lettinge of

bloud is most profitable, when the balne in the contrarye side is opened. It is no other thinge to be let bloude in the contrarye side, but to aske of the woman with his mouth, the contrarye of that, which he desireth with his harte: for otherwise, neither by faire

wordes of his mouth, nor by the bitter teares of his eyes, he shall euer obtaine that which his harte desireth. I confesse Faustus, it is a pleasaunt spozte to beholde the yonge Babes, and thou canste not denaie me, but it is a cruell tozment to endure the importunities of their mothers.

Children, now and then minstre vnto vs occasions of pleasures: but you that are their mothers, neuer doe any thinge, but that which turneth vs to trouble. It is muche pleasure to the husband when he cometh home, to finde the house cleane sweapte, to finde the table couered, & to finde the meate ready dished: this is to be vnderstanded, yf all other thinges be well. But what shall we say when he seeth the contrary: and that he findeth his children weeping, his neighbours offended, his seruantes troubled, & aboue all, when he findeth his wyfe bawlinge. Trulye it is better to the wofull husbande, to goe his way fasting: then to tarye and eate at home, with bawlinge. I durste take vpon me, to cause that all married men would be content to forebeare all the pleasures of the children, with condicion, that they might be free from the annoyauce of the mothers: for in the ende, the pleasures of the children endeth quickly with laughter, but the griefes of the mothers, endureth all their lyfe with sorrowe. I haue sene one thinge in Rome, wherein I was neuer deceiued, which is, that though men committe greate offences in this worlde, yet God alwaies deferreth the punishment thereof vntill another: But if for any womans pleasure wee committe any faulte, God permitteth, that by the same women, in this worlde wee shall suffer the paine.

There is no crueller enemy to man, nor more troublesome to liue with all, then the woman is that he kepeth in his house: for if he suffereth her once to haue her owne wyll, then let him be assured, neuer after to bring her vnder obedyence. The yonge men of Rome

THE DIAL

Rome solow the ladies of Capua, but they
 * may well repent them: for there was ne-
 uer man that haunted of any longe tyme
 the company of women, but in the end, by
 their procurement, eyther by death, or with
 infamy, he was defaced. For the Gods e-
 steme the honour aboue all thinges, and as
 they suffer the wickednes of the euill men:
 so we se the sharpe punishmentes that they
 ordeyne for them. I am well assured Fau-
 styne of one thinge, and I do not speake it
 by here say, but by cause continually I haue
 proued it, and it is: that the husband which
 condescendeth to all that the wyfe desireth,
 causeth hys wyfe to doe nothing of that her
 husbande commaundeth. For there is no-
 * thinge that keperh a woman moze vnder o-
 bedience to her husbande: then when oft ti-
 mes he denayeth wth sharpe wordes her vn-
 lawfull request. In my opinion, it is much
 crueltie of the Barbarous, to kepe (as they
 do) their wyues like slaues: but it is muche
 moze folly of the Romains, to kepe them (as
 they do) like ladies. The fleshe ought not to
 be so leane y^t it be in eating dyte, nor yet so
 fatte, that there be no leane: but it woulde
 participate, bothe of the fatte & of the leane,
 to the intent it mighte giue the moze nou-
 rishment. I meane, that the man of vnder-
 standinge ought not to kepe his wyfe so
 thowte, that she shoulde seme to be his ser-
 uant: nor yet to giue her so muche libertie,
 that she becommeth his mistresse. For
 the husband that suffereth his wyfe to com-
 * maunde moze then she oughte, is the cause
 why he him selfe afterwarde is not este-
 med as he shoulde be. Beholde Faustyne,
 you women are in all thinges so extreme,
 that for a lytell fauour, you wate proude:
 & for a litel displeasure, you become greates
 enemies. There is no woman that willingly
 can suffer to haue any superiour, nor yet
 scarcely can endure to haue any equall: for
 we see y^t you loue not the hyghest, nor desire
 to be beloued of the lowest. For wheras the
 louers be not equall, there their loue can

not be partite. I knowe well Faustyne,
 that thou doest not vnderstande me, there-
 fore harken what I doe tell the, moze then
 thou thinkest, and moze the thou wouldest.
 O, what and howe manye women haue I
 sene in Rome, the whiche thoughte they had
 2, thousande ponne of rent in theyr houses,
 yet they hadde 3, thousande folleys in theyr
 heades: and the worst of all is, that ofteti-
 mes her husbande dyeth, and she looseth her
 rente, yet for all that ceaseth not her folle.
 Nowe lyffen Faustyne, and I wyll tel the
 moze. All women wyll speake, and they wil
 that others be silent. All will commaunde,
 and wyll not that they be commaunded. All
 wyll haue libertie, and they wyll that all
 be captiues to them. All wyll gouerne, and
 wyll not be gouerned.

Finally, they all in this one thinge agree,
 and that is, that they wyll cherishe them
 that they loue, and reuenge them of those
 that they hate. Of that which before is said,
 it maye be gathered, that they make fooles
 and slaues, of the ponge and bayne men
 whiche solowe them: and persecute the wise
 men, as enemies that flee them.

For in the ende, where as they loue vs
 moste, their loue maye be measured: but
 whereas they hate vs leasse, their hate ex-
 ceedeth reason. In the Annales of Pom-
 peius, I remember I haue redde, and doe
 note one thinge worthy of knowedge, that
 when Pompeius the greates passed firste
 into Asia, as by chaunce he came by the
 mountaynes of Rypheos, he founde in
 those places a Barbarous nation, that li-
 ued in the sharpe mountaynes, as wyld
 beastes: and doe not miruayle that I doe
 call them beastes, that liue in those moun-
 taynes.

For as the sheepe and colles, that feede
 on the fyne grasse, haue their wolles softe
 and fyne: so the men whiche are brought vp
 in the sharpe and wyld mountaynes, vse
 them selues after a rude behauiour. These
 Barbarous had therfore a law among the,
 that

that every neyghbour had in those mount-
taines. a. causes: for the sharpnes of the hyl-
les permitted not, that they shuld haue any
houses. Therefore in one caue, the husban-
des, the sonnes, and the seruantes were:
and in the other, his wife, his daughters, &
his hand maydes abode; They did eate to-
gethers twyse in the weeke, they slept toge-
thers other twyse in the weeke, and all the
residue of the tyme, they were seporate the
one from the other. The greate Pompeius
asked them what the cause was why they
liued so, such it was so that in all the worlde
there was neuer sene, nor redde suche ex-
treme lawe, nor so straunge a custome.

The Hystoꝛy saith in that place, that an
auncient man answered him, sayinge be-
holde Pompeius, that the gods haue geuen
shorthe lyfe vnto vs that be presente, in re-
specte of that whiche he gatte to our fathers
that are passe: and synce wee lyue but
40. or 50. yeaꝛes at the vttermoste, we desir-
e to enioye those daies in peace: for the life
is so shorthe, and oure trouble so longe, that
we haue small time to reioyce in peace af-
ter wee retourne from the warres. It is
true, that amongeste you Romans, whiche
enioye pleasure and richesse, lyfe seemeth
to shorthe: but vnto vs that haue toyle with
ponertie, lyfe seemeth to longe: For tho-
roughe out all the yeaꝛe we neuer heape
suche solempne feastes, as when one pas-
seth oute of this lyfe. Consider Pompeius,
that yf men lyued many yeaꝛes, they shold
be tyme to laughe and weepe, to be good
and to be euill, to be poore, and to be riche,
to be merie, and sadde, to lyue in peace
and warre: but why will men seeke conten-
tion in theyꝛ lyfe, synce it is so shorthe? In
kepyng with vs (as you doe) our owne wy-
ties, in linyng we shoulde dye, for the nigh-
tes shoulde passe in hearinge their coplain-
tes, and the dayes in sufferinge theyꝛ bꝛa-
wlynges: but kepyng them as we doe, we see
not their heauye countenaunce, wee here
not the cryenge of oure chyldꝛen, we here

not their greuous complaintes, nor lyffen
vnto their soowefull wordes, neyther wee
are troubled wth their importunate suites,
and yet the chyldꝛen are nourished in peace,
and the father soloweth the warre: so that
they are well, and we are better. This was
the aunswere that this olde man gaue, at
the request of the great Pompeius. Truly
Faustyne I saie, that though we call the
Messagetes Barbarous, in this case they
knowe moze then the Latyns, For he that
is free from a bꝛawling woman, hath esca-
ped no small pestilence. I aske the now
Faustyne, since those barbarous could not
agre, nor would not haue their wifes with
them in those sharpe mountaines, how shal
we other agree, and please you that liue in
these pleasures in Rome? One thing I will
tell the Faustyne, and I beseeche the Gods
that thou mayest vnderstande it, which is.
If the beastly motyons of the fleshe did not
force men to wyll, and also to desire wech,
I doubt whether there shoulde be any wo-
man in the worlde beloued or suffered. For
though nature giueth them giftes woꝛthy
to be beloued: yet they thorough their small
discretio, cause them selues to be hated. If
the gods had made this loue voluntarie, as
they made it natural, so that we might haue
loued as we would, and lest againe at our
pleasure: that man ought woꝛthely to haue
ben punished, which for the loue of any wo-
man, woulde put his life in daunger. The
gods haue kept this great secret vnto them
selues, and the misery that they gaue vnto
men, is very great: sincethat vnto so weake
fleshe, they gaue so stronge a hart, the which
dothe procure that whiche doth vs harme,
and solowe that whiche we oughte to ab-
horre.

This is a nother secret; that all men
knowe when they offend, but I see no man
that seeketh amendmente: For I heare
all complayne of the fleshe, and yet
I see all lyke Bochers solowe the fleshe
and when it canne doo leaste good,
then

* then it is most greedy. I enuy not the gods
lusing, nor the men that be dead, saue onely
for 2. thinges, whiche be these.

First, I enuy the gods, because they liue
without feare of the malicious

* Secondarilye, I enuy the dead, for y they
liue without hede of women. For the womē
are so corrupte, that they corrupte all: and
they be such mortal plagues, that both flesh

* and harte, by them are brought to an ende.
Faustyne, the loue of the flesh is so na-
turall to the flesh, that when from you the
body fleeth in spoyle, we leaue our hartes to
you engaged in earnest. And though reason,
* as reason, putteth the desire to flight: yet the
flesh, as flesh, yeldeth it selfe as prisoner,

The.xvi. Chapter.

* The Emperour folowinge his
matter, admoniseth me of the
greate daungers, vvhiche ensue
vnto them, by excessiue haun-
tinge the company of vvomen.
And reciteth certaine rules for
married men, vvhich (if they ob-
serue) maye cause them to lyue
in peace vvith their vvyyues.



Remember that in
my youthe, as I was of
flesh, I trebled for feare
of the flesh, vvith mynd
neuer to retourne as
gaine, and I do cōfesse,
that oft times I reuolued in my hart, many
holp and chaste meditations: but yet not
withstanding, I gaue my body immediatly
to sondrye fleshye vices. It is a naturall
thing, that when man hath committed any
vice, soothvvith he repēterh him: of his dede:
* and so againe after his new repentance,
he tourneth to his old vices, for durynge

the time that we lyue in the house of this
frayle flesh, Sensualitie beareth so greate
a rule, that the wyll not suffer reason to en-
ter in at the gate. There is no mā in Rome,
yf a man doth aske him, but wyll mercayle
to declare vvith his tōnge, the thoughtes
that he hath had in his hart, inspeciallye to
be chaste, to be true, to be patient, and to be
vertuous: and peraduenture ye talke vvith
those that somewhat communicate vvith the,
and let a man inquire of his neyghbours,
they shall finde that he is a deceyuer, a lier,
and a blasphemour. Finallye, they deceyue
men by their faire wordes, and offende the
gods by their euill workes. For prophety
lyrell to blase vertues vvith wordes, yf the
hande be negligent to worke them in dede:
for a man is not called iuste, onelye desy-
* ringe to be good in name, but for to labour
to be vertuous in workes. The trayterous
world, in no one thing begyleth worldlings
so muche, as by scadinge them vvith dayne
hope, sayeng y they shall haue tyme ynough
to be vertuous: So that these blinde men,
when they are once depely rooted in vices,
* vvhyles they hope for this light of amende-
ment, then sodainelye assaulteth them the
dreadfull darte of death. Oh, how manye
haue promysed vnto men, and bowed vnto
the gods, and determined vvith thei selues,
that before so many daies, they woulde be-
ginne to be vertuous: whom in shortly space
after, we haue sene to engage them selues,
to the hungrye wormes of the yearth. The
gods wyll, that we be vertuous: and for the
contrarye, the world and the flesh wylleth,
that we be vicious. We thynketh that it is
better to obey the gods, then to doe that the
world and the flesh desireth: for the prayse
of vertue is honour, and the payne of vyce
is infamy. If thou dost consider Faustine,
thou shalt see that the gods are on the one
parte, whiche procureth vs to vertues: and
on the other parte is the world, & the flesh,
whiche intyreceth vs vnto vices. My opinion
is we should say vnto the gods, that we de-
syre

fire to be vertuous, and that we should saye
 to the world and the flesh, that from hence-
 forth we wyl gyue our selues no more to be
 vicious. We ought in suche case to satisfie
 the gods with woorkes, and to enterteine the
 world, and the flesh with woordes: that we
 imploy so much time in leading a good life,
 that we have no tyme vacant to speake an
 idle worde. I let the wete Faustine, that al
 that I haue tolde the, I haue spoken it a-
 gainst my selfe: for alwayes from my yowth
 I had a good mynde, and yet for all that I
 haue bene ouerthrowen with vices. Oh how
 many times in my yowth I knew women,
 I accompanied with women, I talked with
 women, and beleued women, the whiche in
 the end haue deceiued me, misused me, and
 defamed me. At y last I withdrew my selfe
 and forsoke them, but I doe confesse, that if
 reason kept me fro the houses of daies, sensu-
 alitye kepte me with them. 12. weekes. Oh
 cruel gods, Oh wicked world, Oh frayle
 flesh, tel me what it meaneth, y reason lea-
 der voluntarily to vertues, and that sensu-
 alitye agaynst my wyl draweth vnto vices.
 Doest thou not thinke Faustine, that I co-
 sider what a great good it is for to be good,
 and what an euil it is to be euill: But what
 shall I doe, wofull man, sence at this daye
 there is not so cruel a scourge of my ho-
 noure, nor so greate an enemye of my re-
 nowne, as myne owne flesh is, the which
 agaynst me doeth make suche cruel war-
 res. Wherefore I beseeche the immortall
 gods, sith my beinge here is agaynst my
 wyll, that they doe defende me in this so
 cruel warre. The frayle flesh is some-
 what to blame, but muche more is the fol-
 lysh and lyght woman in faulte. For if
 men were certeine that women were chaste
 chamefaste, and solitarie, they would not
 dispose their hartes, their bodies, nor bende
 their bowes, to shoote at their buttes: they
 would not consume their tyme to folowe
 them, lose their goods to serue them, ney-
 ther would they suffer so manye shames

to slander them. For where the harte hath
 no hope to obtaine, there he wyl geue ouer
 his seure. But what shall we doe nowe
 Faustine (I praye the tell me) sence thou
 knowest better then I, that the shame of the
 Romaine women is nowe gone, and the
 women of Italie are so dissolute: that
 though men doe not regarde them, yet
 they doe entyse them. If the men flee, they
 call them: If men goe backe, they approche:
 If men are sad, they make them merke: If
 men are slyente, they force them to speake:
 and synallye, men begynne the loue in
 spoite, and they temper it in such sorte, that
 they tourne it al into earnest. I let the wete
 Faustine, that the meanes whereby na-
 ture worketh in man, is veraye straunge:
 but the shame whiche the Gods put in wo-
 men is more marvellous. And if it be true,
 (as it is true in deade) that the men doe not
 lose the slyng of the fleashe, and that the
 women do not lose the shame of the visage:
 I thinke it is impossible, that there should
 be a chaste or vertuous woman in Rome.
 For there is no common wealthe more
 done, then that, where the women haue lost
 their shame. O women, what reason haue
 they which flee from you, whiche are wery
 of you, whiche forsake you, whiche forget
 you, whiche make them selues strangers,
 and furthermoze, whiche are deade and bu-
 ried. For the hungrye wommes knaue in
 the graue onelye the frayle and slimy flesh
 of the deade: but you women destroye the
 goods, honoure, and life of the lyuyng. Oh,
 if the noble hartes knewe, what puel doeth
 followe them, for dallieng with women: I
 sweare vnto them, that they would not
 serue them continuallye, as they doe serue
 them: but also they would haue no luste,
 nor desier to beholde them. What wilt thou
 I saye anye more to the Faustine, but that
 some scape oute of your handes for: clem-
 nate and slandered, others hurte by your
 tonges, others persecuted with your wo-
 rdes, other deceyued with your countenances

THE DIAL

others despyled thownghe youre hatred, o-
thers desperate thownghe your inconstan-
ce, others condemned by youre lyghte
iudgements, others troubled thownghe
your unkindnes, synallye, those that escape
best, are of your hartes 'abhorred, and tho-
wnghe your folly destroyed. Then synse the
man knoweth, that he muste passe all those
daungers, I cannot tel what foole he is,
that wyl eyther loue, or serue you. For the
* brute beast y once hath felte the sharpe tech
of the dogge, wyl unwillynglye euer after
come nere unto the stake. Oh, unto what
perilles doeth he offer him selfe, which con-
tinuallye doeth haunte the company of wo-
men. For as muche as if he loue them not,
they despyse hym, and take hym for a foole.
If he doth loue them, they accompt hym for
light. If he forsake them, they esteame hym
for no body. If he follow the, he is accom-
red losse. If he serue them, they doe not re-
garde him. If he do not serue them, they dis-
spye hym. If he wyl haue them, they wyl
not. If he wyl not, they persecuted hym. If
he do aduance him selfe forth, they cal him
importunate. If he flee, they saye he is a co-
ward. If he speake, they saye he is a brag-
ger. If he holde his peace, they saye he is a dis-
sarde. If he laugh, they saye he is a foole. If
he laugh not, they saye he is solempne. If he
geueth them any thing, they saye it is lytel
worth: and he that geueth them nothing, he
is a pinchepurse. Finallye, he that haunteth
them, is by them slandered: and he that
doeth not frequent them, is esteamed lesse
then a man. These thinges so sene, so hard,
and so knowen, what shall the poore and mi-
serable man doe, inespically if he be a man
of vnderstandynge: For though he woulde
absent hym selfe from women, the fleashe
doeth not geue him licence: and thowghe he
would folow women, wisdom wyl not con-
discd. Some men thinke in al their thoug-
tes, that by seruices & pleasures, they maye
content women. But I let them knowe, if
they know it not, that the woman is neuer

contented, thowghe man doeth what he can
as mayde, and that he doe al that he oughte
to doe as a husband: though he taketh pay-
nes for her sake aboue his force, & thowghe
with the swerte of his browes, he releaue
her neade: thowghe euerye houre he putte
him selfe in daunger, yet in the end she wyl
geue him no thanks: but wyl saye, that he
loueth another, and that he doeth but that,
to please and satysfy her. It is a long tyme
synse I desired to tel the this Faustyne, but
I haue deferred it vntill this present houre,
hoping y wouldest not geue occasion to tel
it the. For amonge wise men, those wordes
ought cheselye to be esteamed, which fittely
to the purpose are declared. I remember
that it is .6. yeaeres, synse Anthonius Pius
thy father chose me to be his sonne in law,
and that thou chosest me for thy husbände,
and I the for my wyfe: all the whiche thin-
ges were done, my woful aduentures per-
mitting it, and Adrian my lord comman-
dinge it. The good Anthonius Pius gaue
his only doughter in mariage vnto me, and
gaue me lykewyse his noble Empire, with
great treasures: he gaue me also y gardens
of Vulcanaris to passe the tyme therein. But
I thinke that on both sides, we were decei-
ued. He in chosing me for his sonne in law,
and I in taking y for my wyfe. O Faustyne,
thy father, and my father in law, was called
Anthonius Pius, bycause to all he was
mercifull, saue onelye to me, to whom he
was mosse cruell: for wyth a lytel fleashe,
he gaue me manye bones. And I confesse
vnto the trueth, that nowe I haue no more
teethe to byte, nor heate in my stomacke
to dygeaste: and the worst of all is, that
manye tymes I haue thoughte, to rage
on my selfe. I wyl tell the one worde,
thowghe it doeth dysplease the, whiche is,
that for thy belouye, thou arte despered of
manye: and for thy yuel condicions, thou
are despyled of all. For the faire women,
are lyke vnto the golden pyles: the which
in syghte are veraye pleasaunte, and in
eating

gating veraye noysothe. Thou knowest wel
Faustyne, and I also, that we sawe on a
daye Drusio, and Braxillehys wyfe; which
were oure neyghbours, and as they were
hauylng together, I spake vnto Drusio
suche wordes: what meaneth this Lozde
Drusio: that beinge nowe the frasse of Be-
secinthia, and beinge as we are, adioynng
to her house, and presente before so honou-
rable assemblie, and furthermore thy wyfe
beinge so faire as she is, howe is it possy-
ble there shoulde be anye stryfe betwene
you: Open which are maried to deformed
personnes, to the ende that they mighte kyl
them quickelye, shoulde alwayes fall oute
with their wyues: but those that are mar-
ried to fayre women, they oughte alwayes
to lyue together in ioye, and pleasure, to
the ende they maye lyue longe. For when a
fayre woman dyeth, though she haue lyued
an hundred yeres, yet she dyeth to some:
and though a deformed woman lyueth a
small tyme, yet notwithstanding she dieth to
late. Drusio as a man beinge bereft, lyste
by his eyes into the heauens, fetchinge a
gretuous sygh, from the bottome of his
heart, sayde these wordes. The mother Be-
secinthia pardon me, and her holye house
also, and all the companye besydes for geue
me, for by the immortall Gods I sweare
vnto the, that I had rather haue bene mar-
ried with a wyde of Calde that is so foule,
then beinge maried as I am, with a romaide
beinge veraye fater: for she is not so fater and
whyte, as my lyfe is woful and blacke.

Thou knowest wel Faustyne, that
when Drusio spake suche a worde, I dyd
wype the teares from his eyes, and I gaue
hym a worde in his eare, that he shoulde pro-
ceede no further in this matter: for such wo-
men oughte to be chaffened in secrete, and
afterwardes to be honoured openlye. And
thou arte infortunat Faustyne, and the
Gods haue euill deuised with the, geuinge
the betwyte and ryches to vnde thy selfe:
and senapeng the best, which is wylledom,

and good condicions, to keape thy honour.
Oh what euill lucke cometh vnto a man,
when God sendeth hym a fayre daughter,
vnlesse furthermore the Gods do permitte,
that she be sage, and honest: for the woman
which is pong, folye, and fayre, distroiereth
the common wealthe, and defameth all her
parentage. I say vnto the agayne Faustine,
that the Gods were veraye cruel agaynst
the, sinse they swallowe the by the goul-
fes, where all the euyl perpereth: and toke
from the all the sayles and oiers, whereby
the good doe escape. I remayned .38. yeres
vnmariyd, and these .6. yeres only which
I haue bene mariyd, me thinketh I haue
passed .6. hundred yeres of my life: for no-
thinge can be called a torment, but the euill
that man doeth suffer, that is euyl mariyd.
I wyll ensuer the of one thinge Faustine,
that if I had knowen before, which now I
knowe, and that I had felt that, which now
I fele, though the gods had commaunded
me, and the emperoure Adrian my lord
desired me, I had not chaunged my pow-
er for thy ryches, neyther my rest for thy
Empire: but sinse it is fallen to thine and
my euill fortune, I am contented to speake
lytel, and to suffer muche. I haue so muche
dyssembled with the Faustine, that I can
no more: but I confesse vnto the, that no
husbande doeth suffer his wyfe so muche,
but that he is bounde to suffer yet more,
considerynge that he is a man, and that she
is a woman. For the man which willingly
goeth into the bylers, muste thinke before to
endure the pynches. The woman is so hard
dye, that doeth contende with her husbande:
but the husbande is more soole, which o-
penlye quarrelleth with his wyfe. For if
she be good, he oughte to fauoure her, to
the ende she maye be better: and if she be
vnhappye, he oughte to suffer her, to the end
she be not worse. Trulpe when the woman
thinketh that her husbande taketh her for
euyl, it is a greate occasyon to make her to
be worse: for women are so ambitious, that

THE DIAL

those whiche commonly are euill, will make vs beleue that they are better then others. Beleue me Faustyne, that if the feare of the Gods, the insaunce of the parson, and the speache of men, doe not refrayne the woman, al the chastisements of the worlde wyl not make her refrayne from vice: for all thinges suffereth chastisement and correction, the woman onely excepte, the whiche muste be wonne by intreatye.

The harte of the man is veraye noble, and that of the woman veraye delicate: by cause for a lytel good he wyl geue a greate rewarde, and for a greate offence he wyl geue no punishment. Before the wyse man marieth, let him beware what he doeth: and when he shall determyne to take the companye of a woman, he oughte to be lyke vnto him, that entereth into the warre, that determynerh with him selfe to suffer al that maye happen, be it good, or euyl. I doe not call that lyfe a warre wythoute a cause, whiche the euill maryed man leadyth in his house: for women do moze hurte with their tonges, then the enemyes doe with their swordes. It is a greate symplecitye, for a wyse man to make accompte, or esteeme the symplenes of his wyfe at euerye tyme: for if they woulde marke, and take hede to that whiche their wyfe doeth, or sayeth, I let them knowe, that they shal neauer come to an ende. O Faustyne, if the Romayne woman woulde alwayes one thinge, that they woulde procure one thinge, that they woulde be resolued in one thinge, though it were to our great charges, we woulde haue pleasure, to condescende vnto their desires: but what shall we doe, sinse that whiche nowe pleaseth you, a whyle after displeaseth you, that whiche you aske for in the mornynge, ye wyl not haue at none, that which you aske enioye at noone daies, doeth trouble you in the nyghte, that whiche in the nyghte you loue, ye care not for in the mornynge, that whiche yesterdaie ye greatly esteemed, to daye ye as muche despyse.

If ye desired to see a thinge the laste yere, this yere ye wyl not heare talke of it, that whiche before made you to resoyce, doeth nowe make you to be sad, that whiche ye were wonte and oughte to lamente, at the selfe same thinge a man seeth you laugh. Finallye, ye women are as chyldren, which are appeased with an apple, and casteth the golde to the yearth, nor wayeng it. I haue dyuers tymes thoughte with my selfe, if I coulde saye, or wyte anye good rule, in keepynge the whiche, I mighte teache men to be quiet in their house. And by my counte I kinde (hauinge experymented it also with the Faustyne) that it is impossible to geue a rule to maryed men: and if a man coulde geue them, they shoulde scarcelye profyte therewith, sinse their wyues lyue withoute rule. But notwithstanding that, I wyl declare some rules, howe the maryed folkes shoulde keape them selues in their houses: and howe they shall (if they lyffe) auoyde stryfes and debates betwene them. For the husbandes and the wyues hauinge warres together, it is impossible there shoulde be peace in the common wealthe. And though this present wytyngge haue not profited me, vnluckey and vnfortunate man: yet it maye profyte others, whiche haue good wyues. For oftentimes the medycen whiche profyterh not for the tender eyes, sufferyth to heale the harde heales. I knowe well Faustyne, that for that I haue sayed, and for that I wyl say vnto the, thou and others such lyke, shall greatlye enioye me. Ye wil marke the wordes that I speake, moze then the intentyon that I meane: but I protest before the Gods, that in this case my ende is for none other intent, but to aduertise the good, wherof there are a greate menyre: and to punish the euyl, which are manye moe. And though perchance, neyther the one, nor the other, wyl beleue that my intention in speakynge these thinges was good: yet therfore I wyl not cease to knowe the good from the euill, & to choole the euill from the good.

good. For in my fantasie, the good wyfe is as the scauunc, whose feathers we litle esteeme, and regarde muche the bodye: but the euyl woman is as the Parterne, whose faynne we greatlye esteeme, and vterlye despise the fleashe. I wyl therefore declare the rules, whereby the husbandes maye liue in peace wth their owne proper wyues.

The Rules are these.

The firste, the husband must needs haue patience and suffer his wyfe when she is displeased: for in Libia there is no serpent so spitesu, as an euyl woman when she is bered.

The second, the husbande ought to provide for his wyfe (according to his abylty) all that is necessarie for her, as wel for her personne, as for her house: for ofte tymes it chaunceth, that women, seeking thinges necessarye, finde thinges superfluous, and not beraye honest.

The thirde, the husbande oughte to provide, that his wyfe doe heape good companye: for women oftentimes are more troubled, wth the wordes that their euil neighbours speake againste them, then for any occasion that their husbandes geue them.

The fourthe is, that the husband oughte to vse a meane, that his wyfe be not too much a subiecte, nor that she straye too muche abroad: for the woman that gaddeyth much in the streetes, bothe loseth her good name, and spendeth his goods.

The fiftie, the husbande oughte to take heed, that he stricteyth not so wth his wyfe, that she be brought passe shame: for the woman that towardes her husbande is shamelesse, hath no respecte to her dishonour she committeth.

The sixte, the husbande oughte to let his wyfe vnderstande that he doeth trust her: for the woman is of such a condycion, that which a wise man would not she should do. She wyl do herselfe, and that wher she shal take paynes, she wyl doe nothing.

The seuenth, the husbande oughte to be circumspecte that he do not holpe trust his wyfe wth the goods and treasours of the house, nor yet vterlye distruste her: for if the wyfe haue the charge of the goods of the house, trulye she wyl augmente it lyele and if the husbande doe suspecte her, she wyl steale muche.

The 8. the husbande ought to loke vpon his wyfe merclye, and at other tymes a getne sadlye: for women are of suche condycion, that when their husbandes sheweth them a mery countenance, they loue them, and when they shewe them seluers demure, they feare them.

The 9. the husband ought (if he be wyfe) in this to take good aduysemente, that his wyfe quarrel not wth his neighbours: for we haue oftentimes sene in Rome, that for the quarrel of his wyfe agaynst his neighbour, the husbande hath losse his lyfe, he hath losse her goods, and a slaunders hath rysen thorough out the common wealch.

The 10. the husbande ought to be so patient, that if he sawe his wyfe committe anye fault, in no wyfe he shoulde correcte her openlye, but in secreete: for the husbande that correcteth his wyfe before witness, doth as he whiche spitteth into the element, and the spittle falleth agayne into his eyes.

The 11. the husband ought to haue much temperance, lesse he laye handes on his wyfe to punyche her: for traly the wyfe that wth sharpe wordes doeth not amend, wth all the chastysmentes of the worlde, wyl neuer be good.

The 12. if the husbande wyl be in quiet wth his wyfe, he ought to prayse her before his neighbours, and strangers: for amongest all other thinges, women haue this property, that of al they woulde be praysed, and of none corrected.

The 13. the husband ought to beware to prayse anye other then his owne wyfe, she being present: for women are of this condycion, that the same daye the husbande commendeth

THE DIAL

mendeth anye other woman, the same daye his wyfe wyll caste hym oute of her harte, thinking that he loueth another, and dyspleaseth her.

The. 14. the husband ought to make his wife beleue that she is saier, though in dede she be soule: for there is betwene them no greater strife, then to thinke that her husband forsaketh her, for being soule.

The. 15. the husband ought to put his wife in remembraunce of the infamy, that they speake of them that be euyl in the cite: for women are glorious, & bycause they would be loth that men should talke suche thinges by them, as they talke of others, peraduenture they will refraine from those vices that others commit.

The. 16. the husband ought to take hede that his wyfe accepte no newe frendes: for thorough acceptyng of newe frendes, there growe commenshe betwene them greates dyscencion.

The. 17. the husband ought to take hede that his wyfe beleue, & he loueth nor them whom she hateth: for women are of suche a condicion, that if the husbandes loueth all them that they hate, immediately they wyl hate all those which they loue.

The. 18. the husbande ought sometyme in matters, whiche are not pryncypall vnto hym, confesse hym selfe to be ouercome: for women desier rather to be coueted the best in reasonyng (though he be of no value) then to haue otherwyse a greater selme given them.

In this sorte Faustine, I will say no more to the, but wishe that thou shouldest se what I se, and fele what I fele, and aboue al, that my dissimulation shoulde suffice to amende thy lyfe.

The. xvii. Chapter.

The Emperoure aunswyvereth more particularly, concernyng the key of his studye.



Ovv Faustine, sinse I haue the olde benym from my harte expelled, I wyl aunswere to thy presente demaunde: for vnto demaundes & answers that passeth betwene the sages, the tong ought neuer to speake word, but that first he aske the harte licence. And it is a general rule amongst the phisicians, that the medicens doe not profite the sicke, vnlesse they first take awaye the opylacions of the stomache. I meane by this, that no man can speake to his frend (as he ought) vnlesse before he sheweth what thinge greueth hym: for it is better to repater the routes of the houses that be old, then to go about to build them newe.

Thou requestest me Faustine, that I geue the the key of my study, and thou dost threaten me, that if I geue it not vnto the, that thou shalt forthwith be despyered. I meruaile not at that thou sayest, neither I am abashed of that thou demaundest, nor yet of that thou wouldest do: for you women are beraye extreme in your desires, beraye suspicious in your demaundes, beraye obstinate in your willes, & as vnpatient in your sufferinges. I say not without a cause, that women are extreme in their desires: for there are thinges, wherof womē are so desirous, that it is wonder though they neuer liuing creature saw them, nor hard speake of them. I haue not sayed withoute a cause, that women are suspicious in their demaundes: for the Romayne women are of suche a condicion, that as soon as a woman desireth any thing, she forthwith commaundeth the tonge to aske it, the fete to seeke it, the eyes to se it, the handes to fele it, & likewise the harte to loue it. I saye not without a cause, that women are obstinate in their willes: for if a romaine womā beareth any malice to any mā, she will not beare to accuse him for any flauor, nor saile to pursue him for any power, nor feare to kill him for any

any Justice. I saye not wout a cause, y^e wo-
men are vnpacient to suffer: for manye are
of suche condition (I saye not all) that yf a
man giue not spedye that whiche they de-
syre, they chaunge their coullour, their eyes
looke reade, their tonges runne quicke,
they boyces are sharpe, they frette wth them-
selues, they trouble they neighbours as
bydabe, and are so out of order, that no mā
dare speake vnto them with in. You haue
this good trade amonge y^e women, y^e vnder
coullour of being wth child, you will that
we husbands graūt y^e al y^e out desires. Wth
the sacred senate, in the time of the balliue
Camillus, made a law in the fauour of the
Romaine Marrones wth child, the women
at that time longed not so much, as they do
at this present: but I can not tell what this
presently meaneth, that all y^e are annoyed
wth that that is good, and that y^e are all
desirous of that that is euill. I will tell the
(Faustyne) the occasion why this law was
made in Rome, and wherby thou shalt see,
yf thou deseruest to enioye the p^{er}uiledge
therof: no: For the lawes are but as y^eokes
vnder the whiche y^e euill doth labour, &
they are winges wherwth the good doth
flye. The case therfore was such, when Ca-
millus y^e balliue captaine wente forth to
the warres, he made a solempne vow to the
mother Berecinthea, that if the gods gaue
him the victorie, he would offer vnto her an
Image of siluer: & after Camillus wanne
the victorie, & that he would haue accomplished
his vow to y^e mother Berecinthea, nother
he had any riches, no: Rome had any siluer.
For at that time, Rome was riche of vey-
roes, and poore of money. And knowe thou
Faustine, that our ancelours fathers were
deuoute towarde the gods, and curious in
repairing the temples, the which they estee-
med to be great deuorion: they were in such
sozt obseruers of their vowes, that neyther
for slouth, no: for poverte, they would not ob-
mitte their promises towarde the gods.
And in these thinges they were so p^{er}fect,

they graunted to no man any triumphe, on-
lesse he firste did sweare, y^e he had vnto the
gods made a vow, & afterward also p^{er}formed,
how he had performed it. At y^e time floz-
shed in Rome, many vertuous Romaines, &
many greke philosophers, many hardy cap-
taines, & many sumptuous buildinges: & as
bone all thinges, Rome was vnp^{er}ceiled of
malices, & adorned wth vertuous ladies. The
Hystorographers made (and not without a
cause) great acc^opt of these vertuous matro-
nes: For the common wealth hath as much
neade of vertuous wothen, as the warres
haue of balliuite captaines. They beinge
therfore (as they were) so vertuous & noble
matrones (without the motion of any wo-
man) determined al to go into y^e high Cap-
toll, & there to offer all their Jewelles, and
treasours y^e they had, their cherynes, their
ringes, their garmentes, their braceletes,
their girdelles, their buttons, and hangers
of golde, of siluer, and p^{er}cieous stones of all
kⁱⁿdes, with all their tablettes. The Anna-
les of this time say, that after the Romaine
women had layed so greate a multitude of
riches, at y^e feete of the sacred senate, in the
name of them all, one of them spake, whose
name was called Lucina, and said in this
sozte. Fathers conscript, esteeme not muche
these our Jewelles, whiche we geue you to
make the ymage of y^e mother Betecinthea:
but esteeme much this, y^e we willingly put in
leopardy our husbands, & children, to win
you the victorie. And if in this case you ac-
cept our poore seruise, haue no respect to y^e
littel which we do offer: but to y^e great, which
(if we were able) we would giue. Truly the
Romaines, though the treasure which their
wives offered was great: yet notwithstanding
vnto they dyd more esteeme the good wthll
whereto they gaue it, then they did y^e giftes
th^{em}selues. For ther was so much in deue, y^e
sufficed both to make y^e ymage of y^e goodde
Betecinthea, & also for a long time to main-
taine y^e warres. Therfore fro y^e dape, y^e those
matrones presented their truelles in y^e high
Capitoll

THE DIAL

Capitoll, the senate forthw in remembrance of the gentlenes, granted them these fyue thynges, as a pynplege: For at that tyme, Rome neuer receyued service, or benefyt of any personne, but she rewarded it wth double payment.

The first thing that the senate granted the Romaine women was, that in the daie of the ir buriall, the Orators might openly make orations in the praise of their lynes: For in old time men vsed, neither to eulge them when they were deade, nor yet to accompany them to their graues.

The seconde thinge that was granted them was, that they mighte spt in the temples: for in the old time, when the Romaynes did offer sacrifices to their gods, the asged did alwaies spt, the priestes knele the married me did leane, but the womē, though they were of noble and high linge, coule neither be suffered to talke, sit, nor to leane.

The thirde thinge that the senate granted the women of Rome was, that euerye one of them might haue .2. riche golowes, & that they should not aske the Senat leue to weare them: for in the old time, if any women were apparelled, or did bye any new golowne without asking licence of the senat, she should immediatly lose her golowne, and because her husbände did condiscende vnto the same, he was banished & comon wealth.

The fourth thinge whiche they granted them was, that they shoulde drinke wyne whē they were sicke: for ther was in Rome a custome inuolable, that though the wyfe was in hazarde, they durste not drinke wyne, but water. For when Rome was well corrected, a woman that drinke wyne, was as much slandered among the people: as yf she had committed adulterpe, to waydes her husbände.

The fyfte thinge granted by the senate vnto the women was, that a man mighte not denaye a Romayne being wth chylde, any honest, and lawfull thinge that she desired. I can not tell why the auncient

tes of Rome easened more women wth chylde, then others that had no chylde.

All these fyue thynges, were iustly granted to the Matrones, and noble Romayne Ladies. And I can tell the Faustyne, that they were of the senate moste wplynglye granted. For it is reason, that women whiche in vertues do excell, shoulde wth all meanes be honoured. I wyl tell the Faustyne, the especyall cause, that moued the Romaynes to graunte vnto you Matrones this laste pynplege: that is to wete, that a man can not denaye them any thyng beynge wth chylde.

Thou oughteste to knowe, that the others (aswell Grekes as Latynes) dyd neuer giue lawes, nor institutions vnto their people, without great occasions: For the great multitude of lawes, are comenlye euill kepte, and on the other parte, are cause of sundry troubles. We can not denaye, but that the auncientes dyd well auoyde the greates nombze of institutions: For it is better, for a man to lyue as reason commaundeth him, then as the law constraineth hym. The case therfore was, that in the yere of the foundation of Rome, 364.

Fulsius Torquatus then beynge Consul, in the warre against the Volces, & knightes of Mauritania brought to Rome an huge monstre wth one eye, called Monoculus: whiche he had founde in the desertes of Egypte. At that tyme the wyfe of Torquatus called Macrina, shoulde haue bene deliuered of chylde: for the Consul did lesse her greates. This Macrina amongst all was so honeste, that they spent as much tyme in Rome to prayse her, for her vertues: as they dyd to sette foot the, her husbāde for his victories. They reade in the Annales of that tyme, that the firste tyme that this Consul Torquatus wente into Asia, he was eleven yeres out of hys country, and it is founde for a trueth, that in all the tyme that Torquatus was absent, his wyfe was neuer sente foke out of the

the window, which was not a thing small to be esteemed: for though it was a custome in Rome to kepe the doze shut, it was lawfull notwithstanding to speake to women at the windowes. Though men at y^e time were not so bold, and the women were so honest: yet Macrina, wife to Torquatus, lyued so close, & solitary to her selfe, that in all these 11. yeares, ther was neuer man that saw her go thorough Rome, nor that ever sawe her dooze open, neither that she consented at any time (from the time that she was. 8. yeares of age) that any man shoulde enter into her house: and moze ouer, ther was neuer man saw her face, wholye vncouered. This Romain lady did this, to leaue of her a memo^y: and to giue crample of her vertue. She had also. 3. childzen, whercof the eldest was but. 5. yeares old: and so when they were. 8. yeares of age, immediately she set them out of her house, towards their parentes, lest vnder the colloure to visite the childre, others shoulde come to visite her. ¶ Faustine, how many haue I hard, that haue lamented this excellent Romaine: & what wyll they think, that shall soloue her life. Who coulde presently restraigne a Romaine woman, from going to the window 11. yeares, since thinges now a daies are so dissolute, y^e they doe not onely desire to see them, but also runne in the streets to hable of them: Who shuld cause now a daies a Romaine womā, that in 11. yeares she shuld not open her doozes, since it is so, y^e when the husband commaundeth her to shut one dooze, she wil make the hole house to ring of her voice: He that now woulde commaund his wife to tary at home, and let her of her bagartes into the towne, that perceiue, that ther is no Basilisco, nor Viper, that carseth such poiso in her rayle, as she wil sperte with her tong. Who could make a Romaine woman to be. 11. yeares continually wout shewing her face to any mā: since it is so, that they spend y^e most part of their time, in brushing their clothes, & paintinge their faces: Who would cause a Ro-

main womā to kepe her selfe. 11. yeares fro being visited of her neyghbours, & frendes, since it is true, that nowe women thynke them greatest enemies, whiche visite them most seldome: Retourninge therfore to the monstre, as they led this monstre befoze the dooze of Torquatus house, she being great wth child, & her husband in the warre: by chaunce a maide of his told her, how that this monstre passed by, wherfore so great a desire toke her to se y^e monstre, that for to kepe that she had begon, sodainly for this desire she died. Trulye I tell the Faustine, y^e this monstre had passed many times by y^e street wher she dwelt, and she woulde neuer notwithstanding go to the window, and much lesse go out of her dooze to see it. The death of this Romain, of many was lamented: for it was a longe time, that Rome had neuer heard of so honest, & vertuous a Romaine. wherfore at the petition of all the Romaine people, & by the commaudemēt of al the sacred senate, they sette on her tombe these verses.

*The worthy Macrine, resteth here in graue
Whom wyse Torquatus, lodged in Innos bedde
Wher recked not, a happye lyfe to haue
So that for aye, her honest flame were spreadde.*

Behold therfore Faustine, in my opinion, the law was not made to remedy the death of this noble Romaine, since she was alledye deade: but to the ende that you Princesses shoulde take example of her life, and that though all Rome ther shuld be a memo^y of her death. It is reason, synce the lawe was ordeined for those women whiche were honeste, that it shuld be obserued in none, but vpo those y^e are vertuous: let the women to child mark the wordes of the law, whiche commande them to aske thinges honeste. ¶ Therfore I let the knowe Faustine, that in the senenth table of our lawes, are writen these wordes. Wille wyll, that where there is corruption of manners, the man shall not be bound to obserue their liberties.

The

THE DIALLE

The.xviii.Chapter.

That Ladies, and other gentle women, oughte not to be ashamed to nourishe their children vvith their ovne breastes.



AL noble me, that art of haulte courages, watche continuallye to bringe that to effect which they couet, and to kepe that which they haue: for by strength, one cometh to honoꝝ, and by wisdom, honoꝝ & life are bothe preferred. By these wordes I meane, y^e she that hath boꝝne, & monethes (through trauaile) the creature in her wombe, with so much paine, and that afterwarde is deliuered to so greate perilles, & by the grace of god frō so many daungers escaped, me thynke it is not wel, that in this point (which for the nourishment of y^e babe is most expedient) the mothers should shew them selues so negligent. For that waiteth no folly, that by excessive labour is procured, and to much lightnes afterward despised. The thinges y^e women naturallye desire are infinite, amonge the which, these are. 1. cheapely.

The first thing that women desire, is to be very faire: For they had rather be poore and faire, then to be riche and foule,

The second thing which they desire, is to see the selues married: for vntill such time as the woman doth see her selfe married, frō the bottome of y^e harte she alwaies sigheth.

The thirde thing that women desire, is to see them selues great with child, & herein they haue reason: For vntill such time as the woman hath had a child, it seemeth y^e she raketh him more for a louer, then for a husband.

The fourth thing that they desire, is to see them selues deliuered, & in this case, more then in all the rest, they haue reason: For it is greate pittie, to see in the pyne tyme a

yong tree laden with blossomes; and afterward the fruite to be destroyed through the abondance of caterpillers. Then synce god suffereth that they are boꝝne faire, that they see them selues married, that they be with child, and that they are deliuered: why be they so unkinde, as to sende them out of their houses, to be nourished in other rude cotages? In my opinion, the woman that is vertuous, oughte asone as she is deliuered, to lifte vp her eyes, and with her harte to giue god thanks for her fruite: For the woman that from her deliuey is escaped, ought to accompte her selfe as one newlye boꝝne. The woman likewise seinge her self deliuered of her creature, ought to geue te sucke with her owne teates: for it is a monstrous thinge, that she that hath brought forth the creature oute of her owne propre wombe, shoulde geue it to be nourished of a strange dugg. In speaking more plainly (it is all one to me, whether she be a noble woman, or a woman of meane condition) I say and affirme, that since god hath deliuered her of her trauaile, she her selfe ought with her owne pappes to nourishe, & geue sucke to their babes: for nature did not only make women able to beare men, but also besides that, provided milke in their breasts, to nourishe their children; & we haue neither redde vntill this presente, nor sene, that any beastes (wilde or tame) after they had yong, would commit them to any other to be nourished. This which I haue spoken, is not so woꝝthye of noyinge, as that which I wyl speake. And it is, that many beastes newe boꝝne, before they open their eyes to knowe their fathers, haue nowe all readye taken nourishment, in the teates of their mothers: and more then that, to see some of those beastes haue litel whealpes, the which without fayde of any others, nourished them al to the substance of their owne teates, and the woman that hath but one child, disdaineth to giue te sucke, Al that shal reade this wytyng, shal find

finde it true, and yf they wyl, they may see, as I haue sene it by experience: that after the she Ape hath had her yonglings, she alwaies hath them in her armes, so longe as they sucke, so that oftentimes there is suche strife betwene the male, & the female, which of them shall haue the yonglings in their armes, that the beholders are enforced to parte them with battes. Lette vs leaue the beastes that are in the fieldes, and talke of the byrdes that are in the nestes: the whiche do laye egges to haue yong, yet haue they no mylke to byrge them vp.

What thinge is so straunge to see, as a small byrde that hath vnder her winges. s. o. 6. littell naked byrdes, the whiche when she hath hatched, she hath neither milke to nourishe them, nor cozne to giue them, they haue neither winges to flye, fethers to couer them, nor any other thing to defende the: yet in all this weakenes and pouertie, their mother forsaketh them not, nor committeth them to any other, but byrgeth them vp al her selfe. That which nature prouided for y swannes, is no lesse marueilous, inespely ally when they nourishe their yong signetres in the water: Forasmuche as duringe the time that they can not swimme, the mothers alwaies in the day are w their yonglings in their nestes, and in the night, the fathers carpe them vnder their proper winges (to refreshe them) vnto the water. It is therefore to be thoughte, synce these swanes so louingly beare their yonglings vnder their winges, y they would carpe the in their armes if they were men, & also giue them sucke w their owne byrasses, yf they were women. Aristotle saith in his fyfte booke, the lyons, the beates, the wolues, the Eagles, y gryffins, & generally all beastes, neuer are, were, nor shall be sene so fierce, nor so cruel, as whē they haue yonglings, & this thing semeth to be true: for at y time, we se y many beastes might escape y hunters, yet to saue their yonglings, they turne backe, & put their proper liues in daunger.

Plato saith in his booke of lawes, that the children are neuer so well beloued of their mothers, as when they are nourished with their proper breastes, & y their fathers dasheth the on their knees. The which thing is true: for y first loue, in all thinges is y truest loue. I was willing to shew y bringing vp of brute beastes, to shew the women w child, how pitiful parēses they are, in nourishing their yonglings w their owne breastes: & how cruel mothers y women are, in committing their children to strangers. It is a maruailous thinge, to heare the mothers say, y they loue their childre, & on the contrary side, to se how they hate the. In this case, I ca not tel whether they loue more, either the child, or the moare: for I se, y they couet greatlye to hurde y riches into their cheastes, and likewise they desire asmuch to cast out their children out of their houses. There are diuerse reasons, whereby the mothers ought to be moued to nourishe their childre (which they haue in their wombes) wyth their owne propre beastes.

The first reason is, y the mother oughte to haue respect how y yong babe was borne alone, how lytle he was, how poore, delicate, naked, tender, & without vnderstanding: & since that the mother broughte it forth so weak, & feeble, it is neither mete nor conuenient, y in time of such necessitie, she should forsake it, and committe it into the hādes of a stranger. Let women pardon me, whether they be ladies, brought vp in pleasures, or other of meaner estate, accustomed with trauelles, I force not: but I saye, that those which forsake their childre in such extremities, are not pitiful mothers, but cruell enemies. If it be cruell to not to clothe hym y is naked, who is more naked then the child new borne: if it be cruell to not to comforte the sadde, who is more sadde, desolate, and sorrowful, then the chyldre whyche is borne wepyng: yf it be vngentlenes not to succoure the poore nyde, who is more needy, or more poore, then the innocent child newly

THE DIAL

newly borne, that knoweth not as yet, neyther to go, nor to speake: If it be cruell to do nill to the innocent that can not speake, who is moze innocent then the infant, that can not complaine of that, whiche is done vnto him? The mother that casteth out of her house the childe borne of her owne body, how can we beleue that she wil receiue in any other of straungers: when the infant is now great, when he is strong, when he can speake, when he can go, when he can profite him selfe, and gette his meate, the mother maketh much of him, and leaue the him about with her, but that is litle thanke vnto her: For then the mother hath moze

neede of the childe to be serued, then the childe hath of the mother to be cherished. If the childe were borne of the nayles, of the fingers, of the feete, or of the handes, it were a smal matter though their mothers sente the fourth to noyssh: but I can not tell what harte can endure, to suffer this, since the childe is borne of their propre intrayles, & they do committe it (to be brought vp) into the handes of a straunger. Is there peraduenture at this day in the world any ladye, that hath so great confidence in any of her frendes, parentes, or neighbours, that she durst trust any of them with the key of her cofer, wherein her iewelles, monye, & riches lyeth: truly I thinke no. Vnkinde mothers, my penne had almost called you cruell steppemothers, since you lay vp in your hart, the cursed moncke of the ground, and sende out of your houses, that which spring of your bloude. And if women shoulde saye vnto me, that they are weake: feable, and tender, and that now they haue founde a good nurse, to this I aunswere, that the nurse hath smal loue to the childe which she nourisheth, when she seeth the vngentilnes of the mother that bare it. For truly, she alone doth noyssh the childe with loue, that heretofore hath borne it with paine.

The seconde reason is, that it is a thinge very iuste, that women shoulde nourish

their children, to the ende they may be lyke vnto their conditions: For other wise, they are no children, but are enemies: for the childe that dothe not reuerence bys mother that bare him, can not enioye a prosperous lyfe. Synce the intentio of the parentes in bringing vp their childe, is for none other purpose, but to be serued of them, when they are olde: they shal vnderstand, that for this purpose there is nothing moze necessarpe, then the milke of the proper mother: for when the childe sucketh the milke of a straunger, it is vnlíkelye that it shoulde haue the conditiōs of the mother. If a kydde sucke a shepe, they shal perceiue that it shal haue the wolle moze faire, & the nature moze gentle, then if he had sucke a Goate, whiche haue the wolle moze harde, and of nature is moze wilde: wherein the proverbe is veresfyed, nor from whence thou comest, but wherof thou feedest. It answere a man muche to haue a good inclination: but it helpeth him muche moze, from his infancye to be well taught: For in the ende, we profite moze, with the customes wherby we lyue, then we do by nature, from whence we came.

The thirde reason is, that women ought to nourish their owne children, bycause they shuld be hole mothers, & not vnperfect: for the woman is counted, but halfe a mother, that beareth it, & likewise halfe a mother that nourisheth it: but she is the hole mother, that both beareth it, & nourisheth it. After the duetie considered vnto the father that hath created vs, & vnto the sonne that hath redeemed vs, me thinketh nexte, we owe the greatest duetie vnto the mother, that hath borne vs in her body: and muche moze it is, that we shoulde beare vnto her, if she had nourished vs with her owne breastes. For when the good childe shal beholde his mother, he ought moze to loue her, bycause she nourished hym with her mylke: then bycause she hath borne hym in her bodye.

The.xix.Chapter.

The auctour persvadeth them styl to norishe their ovne children. And shevveth of many ladies that desyreth to keape lytle dogges in their lappes: and dyldaine to norish their ovne children vvith their breastes.



IN the yeare of the foundacion of Rome. 602. After the obstinate and cruell warre betwete Rome and Carthage, where the renowned capitaynes were, Hannibal for the Carthaginians, and Scipio for the romaines: sone after the warre, solowed the warre of Macedonie, against kyng Philip. The whiche when it was ended, that of Siria began agaynst Antiochus kyng of Siria. For in 630. yeres, fromaynes had alwaies continall warres in Asia, in Affricke, or in Europe. The noble romaynes sent the consull Cornelius Scipio, brother to the great Scipio the Affricā for captaine of that warre. And after many battayles, fortune shewed her force in a Citie called Sepila, the which is in Asia the great, where kyng Antiochus was overcome, and al his realme discomfited: for trees have their rootes out, muste nedes within shorte tyme lose their frutes. After kyng Antiochus was overcome, & his land spoyled, Cornelius Scipio came vnto rome triuphing, for the victorie that he had of Asia: so that as his brother for the victorie that he had of Affrica was called Affricane, so he was called Scipio the Asia, because he vāquished Asia. The captaynes of Rome loved honour so much, that they would no other rewarde, nor recompence of their tranaple, but that they shuld geue them the renowne of realme,

whiche they had overcome. Truly they had reason, for the noble hartes oughte lytell to esteeme the increase of their ryches, & ought greatlye to esteeme the perpetuite of their good name. As Sextus Cheronēsis saith in his thirde booke De ambigua iusticia, that Cornelius Scipio had a longe tyme the gouernment of the people, soasmuch as he was consull, censo, and Dictatoure of Rome: for he was not onely hardye and couragious, but also he was sage and wise, whiche thinge oughte greatlye to be esteemed in a man. For Aristotle doeth not determine it, whiche of these .2. is moste excellent: either stoutenes to fighte in the warres, or pollicy to rule in peace. Scipio therfore being Dictatoure (whiche was an office then, as the Emperoure is now) it chaunced, that the .10. capitaynes whiche had ben with him in his warres, violently sought to haue entred into the Monastery of the virgines vestalles: wherfore the Dictatour commaunded their heades to be cut of. For the romaines punished moze cruelly those, that onely required the virgins vestalles: then those that forced the married matrones. Cornelius Scipio was besoughte of manie in rome, that he woulde moderate, and chaunge his so cruel sentence. And he which most in this case dyd importune hym, was his brother Scipio the Affricā, whose prayer was not accepted: howbeit in the end, they sayed the capitaynes were pardoned, by the request of a sister of the sayed Dictatour Scipio the Affrican. And bycause he blamed his brother Scipio, that he had done moze for the doughter of his nurse: then for the sonne of his proper mother, he answered. I let the wete brother, that I take her moze for my mother that brought me vp, and dyd not beare me: then she whiche harbe bozne me, & in my infancy hath forsaken me. And since I haue had her for my true mother, it is but reason that I haue this, for my deare and welbeloued sister. These were the wordes which passed betwene these .2. brethren.

THE DIAL

I haue diligently red in holy, and prophane writings, that many tyrantes haue caused their owne mothers to be killed, whiche bare them: but I could neuer find, that they haue done any dishonour, or disobedience, to the nourses whiche gaue them milke. For the cruel tyrantes do thirst after the blood of others: but they feare them whose milke they sucke. The fourth reason that bynderh women to nourish their children is, to kepe them in more obedience: for if h fathers liue longe time, they must of force come into the handes of their children. And let not old fathers make their accõptes, saying that during the time y they shal haue the gouernment of the house, their children shalbe kept in obedience: for in so doing, they myght abuse them selues. For yong men in their youth, fele not the traualles of this life: nor know not as yet, what it meaneth to make provision for household. For to the stomacke that is full, and closed with eating, al meates seemeth, both vnsauory and noisom.

It maye wel be, that sinse the children are not nourished in the house, that they know not their seruantes, that they loue not their parentes, that they come not nere their brethren, nor talke with their sisters, that they are ignorant of their fathers, and do disobey their mothers: wherefore sinse lytel feare doeth abound, and good will fayle, one daye they commit some myscheauouse offence, wherby they do lose their life woorthely, and the fathers loose the riches, & likewise their honoꝝ deseruedly. To the intent that the fathers alwayes keape their proper children vnder obedience, there is no better meane, then to bringe the by in their owne houses; the mother to geue them sucke, & the father to reache them: for when h mother desireth any thing of her child, she should not shewe him the belly from whence he came, but the dugges whiche he did sucke. For al y whiche is asked vs by the milke that we dyd sucke, truly there is no harte so harde, that can deny her. The historiographers saie, that

Antipater amonge all the gretians, was the most renoumed tyrant; and among the romaynes Nero. And these, & twicked princes were not greates tyrantes because they had committed many tyrannies: but because they dyd commit one, whiche was most greuous of all others. For they doe not call a man a glutton, or comorant, because he eateth euerye houre: but because he deuoreth more at one passe, then others doe in one daye. The case was, that Antipater in Grece, and Nero in Rome, determined to kyl their owne mothers. And the historiographers say, that when Nero commaunded his mother to be killed, she sent to aske of him, why he would put her to death: wherunto he answered, that he was closed, to beholde the armes, wherein he was nourished, and therfore he caused her to be killed, to se the intralles: out of the whiche he came. This case was so horryble, y it seemed to many not to speake it: but concluding I say, as vniuersally as h mothers lost h mortall life: so iustly did the child get for them immortal infamy. Nothing can be more wicked & detestable to the children, then to kyl their mothers, whiche did beare them with payne, & dyd nourish them with loue: but notwithstanding al this, we do not reade, that euer they dyd kyl, dishonour, nor yet dishonour, their nourses, whiche gaue them milke. Iunius Rusticus, in the firste booke of the bringynge vp of children laterb, that the Gracchi (renoumed & famous romaynes) had a third brother being a bastarde, who shewed him selfe as valiant, & hardy, in the warres of Asia: as h other, & dyd, in the warres of Affrica. The whiche as he came one day to rome to visite his house, he found there in his mother whiche bare him, & the nourse whiche gaue him sucke. To h whiche nourse he gaue a girdel of gold, & to his owne mother, he gaue a ctuel of siluer. Of the whiche thinges, h mother being ashamed, considering what her sone had done, she asked him why he had geuen the nourse h gold which

dyd but onlpe geue hym sucke: & that he had not geuen the girdel of gold to her, aswel as the iewel of siluer, sinse she had bozne hym, and bzought him into the world. Wherunto he answered in this maner, maruel not cherat mother, why I do this thing, for thou diddest beare me but .9. monethes in thy wombe, & she hath geuen me sucke, & nourished me, thes. 3. yeaues, with her owne proper pappes: & whē thou dydest cast me from the out of thy sight, she receiued me, & nourished me in her proper armes.

Fifthly, women ought to enforce them selues so nourish their children, to the end they may kepe them the better, & that in their cradels they be not chaunged for others. Aristotle saith, that the cocow commeth to the neaste of another birde, when she hath laid her egges, and sucketh them, & layeth in the same place her owne egges: so the other birde thinking that they are her owne, hatcheth & nourisheth them vp as her owne, until such time as they are able to fly. Then the cockow killeth, and eateth the filye bird that hath nourished her, though the which occasion the males of those birdes, are at so great contention (that they haue bene so deceiued) that the one of them killeth the other the whiche they myght let, if euery birde dyd nourish her owne. In the same tyme that Philip reigned in Macedonie (which was the father of the greates Alexander) Arthebanus was kynge of the Epirotes, who in his age had a chylde bozne, the which was stolen out of the Cradel, and another put in hys steade. The nurse whiche dyd nourish it, though conetousenes of money, consented to that treason: for the harte that is with conetousenes overcome, wyl not feare to commit any treason. It chaunced not longe after, that king Arthebanus dyed, & lefte (as he thought) his owne sonne for his heire: but within few daies after, the nurse her selfe, whiche had consented vnto the robbery, discovered the steale, & saied, that she could tel where the lawfull chylde of the

good kynge Arthebanus was, & that, that chylde, whiche now was heire, was but the sonne of a meane knight: but in dede, it had ben better for those of the miserable realme, that the woman had neuer discovered the secrete. For it chaunceth oftentimes, that a man maketh such haste of his hoise, that he hurteth his legges, & though that occasion afterwarde fallerh & breaketh hys necke. But what shal we say to the Plebeical women, of base & meane estate (I do not meane the noble, gentle, & vertuous ladies, wherof they are many, that though in great secrete their cheafest frend telleth them any thing, yet before they drinke, they wil vtter it to another. Thus when the treaso was discovered, cruel warres betwene these .2. princes began: so that in the end, in a great battaille they were both slaine, the one in defending, and the other in assaultyng. At that tyme Olympias reigned, who was the faire & worthy wife of Philip, and mother of Alexander. She had a brother named Alexander, who was both politique, & hardye and bearing the Epirotes were in controuersy, and that .2. kynges were slayne in the selbe, he placed him selfe in the realme, more of will, then of right. And let no mā maruaile, that this king occupied the realme: for in the old tyme, all the straituous princes thought, that all that whiche they coulde obtaine without resistance: dyd vnto them belong by iustice. This king Alexander was he, whiche came into Italye in the fauoure of the Tarentines, when they rebelled against the Romanes: who afterwarde was slayne in battaille at Capua, where his bodye was vnburiē. And trulpe it was a iuste sentence, that the Tyrante whiche bereueth manye of their lyues, shoulde hym selfe taste some shamefull death. I haue declared this historye, to this ende, that the princesses and greates ladies shoulde see, that if the wyfe of king Arthebanus had nourished hys sonne, they coulde not haue robbed it in the cradel, nor these .2. princes had not bene slayne in battaille,

THE DIAL

caple, no: the common weale had not bene
dystroyed, no: Alexander had not entred
into the lande of another, no: had not come
to conquere the contray of Italye, no: the
deade corpes had not wanted his grane: for
oftentimes it chaunceth, for nor quenching a
lyrel coole of fier, a hole forest is burned.

✧ The drayne Plato amonge the grekes, and
Licurgus amonge the Lacedemonians,
commanded & ordeyned in al their lawes,
that all the Plebeical woman, and those of
meane estate, should nouryshe al their chil-
dren, and that those whiche were Princel-
les and greate Ladies, shoulde at the leaste
nouryshe their eldest and firste begotten.
Plutarke in the booke of the reigne of prin-
ces sayeth, that the 6. kynge, of the Laces-
demonians was Othonistes, the whiche
when he died, lefte 2. children, the second in-
herited the realme, because the Quene had
brought it vp: and the first did not inherite,
because a nurse had geuen it sucke, and
broughte it vp. And hereof remayned a
custome, in the moste parte of the realmes
of Asia, that the childe which was not nou-
rished with the pappes of his mother, shuld
inheryte none of his mothers goods. There
was neuer, no: neuer shalbe a mother, that
had such a sonne, as his mother of god, which
had Ihesus chryst, no: there was neuer, no:
neuer shalbe a sonne, which had such a mo-
ther in the worlde. But the infante woulde
neuer sucke other mylke, bycause he woulde
not be bounde to cal any other mother, no:
the mother dyd geue hym to nouryshe to
anye othet mother, because that no nother
woman shoulde call hym sonne. I doe not
maruell at all, that Princelies and greate
Ladies doe geue their chyldren forthe to
nouryshe: but that which most I meruayle
at is, that the whiche hath conceived and
broughte forthe a chylde, is ashamed to geue
it sucke and to nouryshe it. I suppose that
the laydes doe thinke, that they deserue to
conceiue them in their wombes, & that they
sinne, in nourysheinge them in their armes.

I cannot tel howe to wyte, and muche lesse
howe to better that whiche I woulde saye:
whiche is, that women are nowe a dayes
come into suche follye: that they thinke
and esteeme it a state, to haue in their armes
some lyrel dogges: and they are ashamed to
nouryshe and geue the chyldren sucke with
their owne breasts. Cruell mothers, I
cannot thinke that your hartes can be so
stonye, to endure to see and heape fantasti-
call birdes in the cages, unhappie monkeis
in the wyndowes, sitting spaniels betwene
your armes, and so negleete and despise, the
sweete babes, casting the out of your houses,
where they were borne, and to put them in-
to a straunge place, where they are unknow-
en: It is a thinge which cannot be in na-
ture, neither that homelye can endure, con-
science permit, no: yet consonant, eyther to
deuine or humane lawes, that those which
god hath made mothers of chyldren, shoulde
make them selues nurses of dogges. Luni-
us Rusticus in the thirde booke of the say-
enges of the auncientes sayeth, that Mar-
cus Porcio whose lyfe and doctrine, was a
lanterne & example to all the romayne pro-
ple, as a man much offended, sated on a day
to the senate. Whither conscripte, Wher
sed Rome, I cannot tell what now I shoulde
saye, like I haue sene in Rome suche mon-
strous thinges (that is to wete) to see wo-
men carpe parrottes on their siffes, and to
see women nouryshe dogges, geuing them
mylke from their owne breasts. They re-
plyed in the senate and sayed. Tel vs Mar-
cus Portio what wouldest thou we shoulde
doe whiche lyue now, to resemble oure fa-
thers, which are dede: Marcus Portio an-
swered them. The womā that presumeith to
be a romaine Patrone, ought to be founde
weauing in her house, and out of that, to be
found in the temple prayeng to god: and the
noble and stout romaine, ought to be found
in his house redyng booke, and out of his
house, fighting in the playne fyelde, for the
honour of his cōtrei. The wordes of such a

man

man were worthy. Annus Minutius was a noble Romayne, and captayne of greace Pompeius, who was a great frend to Iulius Cesar, after the battaile of Farsalix: for he was an auncient man, and on that could geue good counsell, wherfore he neuer escaped, but that he was chosen in Rome for senator, consul, or censor every yeare. for Iulius Cesar was so mercifull to them that he pardoned, that those which had ben his most enemies in his warres, were of hym in peace best beloved. This Annus Minutius then being chosen Censor within Rome (whiche was an office hauinge charge of iustice) by chaunce as he went to visite the wyfe of another frend of his, the which laye in childe bed (because she had greace aboundaunce of mylke) he founde that a lypyl pretie bitche dyd sucke her, vpon the which occasion they saye, he saied these wordes to the senate: fathers conscripte, a present myschance is now at hande accordyng to the token I haue sene this daye (that is to wete) I haue sene a Romayne woman denaye her owne children her mylke, and gaue to sucke to a lypyl bitche. And trulpe Annus had reason to esteeme this case as a wonder: for the true and swete loues are not, but betwene the fathers and children: where the mother embraceth the brute beaste, and forsaketh her naturall chyld, whiche she hath brought forth, it cannot be otherwyse, but there eyther wysedome wanteth, or folly aboundeth: for the foole loueth that he ought to despyse, and despyseth that whiche he ought to loue. Yet though the mothers wyl not geue their children sucke, they ought to do it, for the daunger whiche may come to the helthe of their personnes: for as the women whiche bringe forth children, do liue more healthfull, then those whiche beare none: so these whiche doe nourishe them haue more health, then those whiche doe not nourishe them. For although the bringing vp of children be troublesome to women, it is profitable for their health. I am ashamed to tel it, but it is

more shame for the ladies to do it, to se what plasters they put to their breastes, by cause they may lose their mylke, & hereof cometh the iust iudgement of god: & oftentimes where they would the mylke should come, in the selfe same place, they them selues procure their sodeine death. I aske now, if women do not entoy their children being yong, what pleasure hopeth they to haue of them, whē they are old. What a great comforte is it, for the parentes to se the yong babe, whē he wil laugh, how he twinkleth his litel eyes: when he wil weape, how he wil hang the pretty lippe: when he would speake, how he wil make signes with his litel fingers: whē he wil go, how he casteth forthward his fete: & aboue al, whē he beginneth to bable, howe he doubleth in his wordes. What thinge is more pleasaunt to the father, thē to se them: & to the mother, to agre to it. When the children do sucke, they plucke forth the pappes with the one hand, and w the other they plucke their here, and farther they beate their fete together, and with their wanton eyes, they cast on their parentes a thousand louinge lokes. what is it to se them whē they are bered and angry, how they wil not be takē of the father, how they strike their mother: they cast awaye thinges of golde, & immediatly they are appeased w a litel apple or russh. what a thing is it, to se the innocētes how they aunswere when a man asketh them, what follies they speake, when they speake to them. how they play w the dogges & runne after the cattes. how they dresse them in wallowing in the dust. how they make houses of yearth in the streetes. howe they weape after the birdes when they see them flye away. Al the which thinges are not to the eyes of the fathers & mothers, but as nitingales to sing, & as bread and meate to eate. The mothers peraduenture wyl saye, that they wyl not bringe vp their children, by cause when they are yong they are troublesome, but after they should be nourished & brought vp, they woulde be glad. To this I aunswere them, that the mo-

THE DIAL

thers shal not deny me, but y some of these things must needs mete in their chyldre: that when they be olde, they shalbe eyther proud, enuious, couetous, or negligent, that they shalbe lecherous, or els thens, y they shalbe blasphemous, or els glotrons, y they shalbe rebelles, or fooles, & disobedient vnto their fathers, I beleue that at this day there are many mothers in the world, which dyd hope to be honored, & serued with the chyldre which they had brought vp: & afterward perceiving their manners, would willingly forsake the pleasures which they hoped for, so that they might also be deliuered fro troubles, which thozough their euil demeanours are like to ensue. For that tyme which the parentes hoped to passe with their chyldren in pleasures, they consume (seing their vnrhythelypse) in sorowfull syghes. I counsel, admonyshe, and humbly requier Princesses, & great ladies, to nourish and enjoy their chyldren, when they are yong and tender: for after that they are great, a mā shall bringe them netwex euerye daye of dyuerse sortes, and manners, forasmuch as the one shal say that her sonne is in prison, and another shal saye that he is sore wounded, another that he is dyd, others that he hath plaied his cloke, others that he is slaūdered with a cōmon harlot, another y he stealeth his goods fro him, another y his enemyes do seke him, another y he accompanieth with vnchrestes, & finally, they are so surdy, vnhappy, & so farre from that which is good: that oftentimes the fathers woulde reioyce to se them dye, rather then to se them lyue so euyl a lyfe. We thinketh that the knor of lone betwene the mother & the chyldre is so great, y not only she ought not to suffer thē to be nourished oute of the house one hole yeare: but also she ought not to suffer them to be oute of her p̄sence one only day. For in seing hym, she seeth that which is bozne of her inctayples, she seeth y which she hath with so greate paynes deliuered, she seeth him who ought to inherite al her goods, she

seeth hym, in whome the memozye of these auncestours remaineth: and she seeth him, who after her death ought to haue y charge of the affaires & busines. Concludyng therfore that which aboue is spoken, I saye that, which y great Plutarke saied, from whome I haue drawen the moste parte of this chapter: that the mother (to be a good mother) oughte to haue and keape her child in her armes, to nouryshe hym, and afterwardes when he shalbe greate, she oughte to haue hym in her harte to healepe hym. For we see oftentimes greate euyls ensue, to the mother, & to the chyldre, because she dyd not byryge hym by her selfe: and to put him to nouryshe to a straunge hysse, there cometh neither honoure, nor p̄ofyte.

The.xx.Chapter.

That princesses and great ladies ought to be very circumspecte in choosinge their nources. Of seuen properties vvhich a good nource shuld haue.



Hose vvhiche ordeyned lawes for the people to lyue, werethese. Promothewhich gaue lawes to y Egyptians, Solon Solinō to the grekes,

Moyse to the Jewes, Ligurgus to y Lacedimoniās, & Numa Pōpilius to the Romaynes: for befoze these princes came, their people were not gouerned by wyttē lawes, but by good aunciēt customes. The intention of those excellēt princes was, not to geue lawes to their predecessours, for they were now dead: neither they gaue them onely for those which lyued in their tyme being wicked, but also for those which were to come, whome they dyd p̄suppose woulde not be good. For the moze the world increaseth sinners, somuch y moze it is lodē w bices. By this y I haue spokē I meane, y if y princesses & great ladies, euery on of them woulde nouryshe their owne chyldre, I neede not to geue

geue them counsel. But since I suppose y^e the women whiche shalbe deliuered hereafter, wilbe as proude, & vaine glorious, as those which were in times past: we will not let to declare here some lawes and aduises, how the lady oughte to behaue her selfe with her nource, and how the nource oughte to consent her self with the creature. For it is but iust, that if the mother be cruell, and hardy to forsake the creature: that she be sage, pitiful, and aduised, to choose her nource. If a man finde greate treasure, and afterward care not how to kepe it, but doth commyt it into the handes of suspected parsons: truely we would call him a foole. For that whiche naturallie is beloued, is allwayes of all best kepte. The woman oughte moze wisely kepe the treasure of her owne body: then the treasure of all the earth, if she had it. And the mother which doth the contrary, and that committeth her child to the custodye of a straunge nource, not to her whom she thinketh best, but whō she findeth beste cheape: we wyl not cal her a foolish beaſt, for the name is to vnseamely, but we wyl call her a sotte, whiche is somewhat moze honestier. One of the thinges that dothe make vs moſte beleue, that the ende of the worlde is at hande: is to see the litell loue whith the mother dothe beare to the chylde beinge yonge, and to see the wante of loue whiche the child hath to his mother beinge aged. That whiche the child doth to the father and the mother, is the iuste iudgement of god, that euen as the father would not nourishe the child in his house, beinge yonge: so likewise that the sonne shoulde not suffer the father in his house, be beinge olde. Resourninge therfore to the matter, that syth the woman doth determine to drie and vyt by the fountaynes of milke, whiche nature hath geue her, she ought to be very diligēt, to serche out a good nource: y^e which ought not onely to contente her selfe to haue her milke hole, but also that she be good of lyfe. For otherwise, the childe shall not haue so

much profite by the milke, which he sucketh: as the nource shall do it harme, if she be a woman of an euyl life. I do aduise princesses and great dames, that they watche diligently to know what their nources are, before they commytte their children to them: for if suche nources be euyl, and flaundered, they are as serpentes whiche doe bite the mother with their mouth, and do stinge the childe with her tayle. In my opinion it were lesse euill, the mother shoulde suffer that her childe shoulde perishe in deliuering it: then for to kepe in her house an euill woman. For the sorrowe of the deathe of the childe, is forgotten and brought to nought in time: but the flaunder of her house, shall endure as long as she lyueth. Sextus Cheronenſis ſaith, that the Emperour Marcus Aurelius commaunded his ſonne to be broughte by of a woman, the whiche was moze ſaue then vertuous. And when the good Emperour was aduertised therof, he dyd not onely ſende her from hys pallace, but also he banished and exyled her from Rome: ſweringe, that if she had not nourished his ſonne with her pappes, he would haue commaunded her to haue bene toyne in pieces with beaſtes. For the woman of an euyl renowne, may iuſtly be condemned, and put to death. The princesses and greate ladies ought not greatlye to paſſe, whether the nources be ſaue, or ſoule: for if the milke be ſwete, whyte, and tender, it litell ſkilke though the face of the nource be whyte, or blacke. Sextus Cheronenſis ſayeth, in the booke of the nourture of children, that euen as the blacke pearthe is moze fertyll then is the white pearthe: ſo likewise the woman whiche is browne in countenance, hath alwaies the moſte ſubſtanciall milke. Paulus Diaconus in his hiſtory ſayeth, that the Emperour Adocerus did marie him ſelfe with the daughter of an other emperours, his predeceſſour, called Zeno, and the Emperreſſe was called Arielna. The whyche in bringinge forth a ſonne, hadde a woman

THE DIAL

man of Hungarye marceplous saye, to nourishe it, & the case succeeded in such sorte that y^e nource for being faire, had by y^e emperour, 3. children the one after the other: & his woful wife neuer had any but the firste alone. A mā ought to beleue, y^e the emperesse Arianna, did not only repēt her selfe for takinge into her house so faire a nource: but also was sorry, y^e euer she had any at all, for the rybald therby was mystrisse in y^e house, & she remained w^out husbände all her life. I do not say it, for that there are not many soule women vitious, nor yet because there are not many faire women vertuous: but that princesses and great ladies (accordinge to the qualities of their husbādes) ought to be profitable & tender nources, to bring vp their children. For in this case, there are some men of so weake cōplexion, y^e in seing a litel cleane water, immediatly they dye to drinke therof. Let therfore thys be the first counsell in chousing nources, y^e the nource, before she enter into y^e house be examined, if she be honest, & vertuous. For it is a tryfel, whether y^e nource be faire or soule: but y^e she be of a good life, & of an honeste behauiour.

Secondarily, it is necessary y^e the nource which nourissheth y^e childe, be not only good in the behauiour of her life: but also it is necessary y^e she be hole, as touching the corporall health. For it is a rule infallible, y^e of the milke which we do suck in our infancy, dependeth all the corporall health of oure life. A childe geuē to the nource to nourishe, is as a tree remoued from one place to another. And if it be so (as in dede it is) it be houeth in al pointes, that if the earth where in it shalbe new put were no better, that at the last it be not worse: for this shoulde be a great crueltie, that the mother beinge hole, strong, & wel disposed, should geue her childe to a leane woman to nource, whiche is feasible, sore, & diseased. Princesses and great ladies do chouse leane womē, weake, & sicke, for to nourishe their infantes. And in that they do saye, it is not for that they woulde

erre: but it is, because that such feeble and weake nources (by a vaine desire they haue to be nources in a gētilmans house) on the one part they say they wyl litel mony, and on the other parte they do make greates. What a thing it is, when a princess or a noble woman is deliuered of a child, to se the deuyles of other women amonge themselves, who shalbe the nource, & howe those the which neuer nourished their owne children, do preferre the milke to nourishe the children of others. To procure this thinge for women, me thinketh it proceedeth of aboundaunce of folly: and to condescend to their requestes, me thinketh it is for wante of wisdom. They looke not alwayes to the manners, and habilitie of the nource, how apte she is to nource their childe, but howe diligent she is, in procuringe to haue it to nourishe. They care not greatly whether they be good or no: for yf the firste be not good, they wyl take the seconde, and yf the seconde please them not, they wyl haue the thirde, and so vpwardes until they haue found a good nource. But I let you to wete (you princesses and great ladies) that it is more daunger for the children to chaunge diuerse mylkes: then vnto the olde men, to eate diuerse meates. Wee see daily by experience, that w^othoute comparison, there dieth more children of noble women, then children of women of the meaner estate. And we will not saye, that it is for that they do flatter their children more, nor for that the wiues of labourers do eat fine meates: but that it chaunceth oft times, y^e the chylde of a poore woman, doth neither eat, nor drinke, but of one kinde of meate, or mylke in 2. yeares, and the childe of a Ladye shall chaunge & alter 3. nources in 2. monethes. If the princesses and great ladies were circumspect in chousing their nources, & that they did loke, whether they were hole w^out diseases, & honest in their maners, & woulde not regarde so much y^e importunitie of their suites: the mothers shoulde excuse them selves from

from many sorowes, and the children likewise should be deliuered from many diseases. One of the most renowned princes in times past, was Titus the sone of Vespasian, and brother of Domitian. Lamprius saith, that this good Emperour Titus (the most part of his life) was subiect to greivous diseases, and infirmities of his personne, and the cause was, for that when he was yong, he was geue to a syck nurse to be nourished, so that this good Emperour suckinge her dugge but a while, was constrained to passe all his lyfe in paine.

Wherelike, Princelies and greate Ladies, ought to knowe, and vnderstande, the completions of their chyldren, to the ende that accordinge the same, they myghte seeke pittiefull nources, that is to wete, yf the child were coloppycke, flumetypcke, sanguyne, or melancolye: For looke what humour the child is of, of the same qualitie, the milke of the nurse shoulde be. If vnto an old corrupted man they minstre medecynes, conformable to his dyscasses, for to cure hym: why then shoulde not the mother seeke a hole some nurse to the tender babe, agreeable to his complexion, to nourish hym? And if thou sayest it is iust, that the fleshe, olde, and corrupted be susteyned: I tell the likewise, that it is muche more necessarye, that the children shoulde be curiouslye and well nourished, to multiplie the world. For in the ende, we doe not saye, it is time that the yonge leaue the breade for the aged: but contrarie, it is time that the olde leaue the breade for the yong. Aristotle in the booke *De secretis secretorum*, & Iunius Rusticus, in the 10. booke de gestis Persarum say, that the vnforgunate kinge Darius (who was slaine) had a daughter of a merueilous beautie. And they saie that the nurse whiche gaue sucke to this daughter at the time that she did nourish it, did neither eate nor drinke any thing but popson: and at the end of 3. yeares, when the child was weyned, & plucked from the dugge, she dyd eate no

thing but Colubers, and other venemous wormes. I haue hearde saye many times, that the Emperours had a custome, to nourish their heires, and children with popsons when they were yonge: to the entent that they shoulde not be hurte by popson, afterwarde when they were olde. And this error cometh of those, which presume muche, and knowe litell. And therfore I say, that I haue hearde say, without sayenge I haue read it. For some declare histories, more for that they haue hearde say of others: then for that they haue read the selues. The truth in this case is, that as the Christians do at this presente, weare a litell purse, haged in their bosome, with some relique: so did the Gentils in tymes past a ringe on their fingers, or some Jewell in their bosome replenished with popson. And bycause the Paulins did neither feare hel, nor hope for heauen, they had that custome, for if at any times in battaile they shoulde find them selues in distresse, they had rather end their lyues with popson, then to receyue any iniury of their enemies. When if it were true that those Princes had bene nourished with that popson, they woulde not haue caried it aboute the to haue ended their lyues. Further I say, that the princes of Persia did vse when they had any chyld bozne, to geue him milke to sucke, agreeable to the complexion he had. Since this daughter of Darius was of melancholicke humour, they determined to bring her by to venim & popson, because al those which are pure melancolicke, do liue to sorow, & dye to pleasure. Ignacius Venetus in the life of the 7. Emperours Pallogoles (which were ballaunt emperours in Constantinople) saith, that the second of the name called Pallogolus the hardye, was after the 40. yeares of his age so troubled with infirmities and diseases, that allwaies of the 12. monethes of the yeare he was in his bedde sycke 9. monethes: and beinge so sicke as he was, the affaires and busines of the empire, were but slenderly done, & looked vnto. For the prince could not

THE DIAL

not haue so small a fener, but the people in the common wealthe muste haue it double. This Emperour Pallegolus had a wife, whose name was Heldouina, the whyche after she had broughte all the Philosophies of Asia vnto her husband, and that she had ministered vnto him al the medecynes she could learne to heale him, and in the end seynge nothing availe: ther came by chaunce an old woman, a Cretian bozne, who presumed to haue greate knowlege in herbes, and saide vnto this noble Emperesse Heldouina. If thou wilt that the emperour thy husband doe liue longe, see that thou chafe, angre, and bere him, euery weeke at the least twyse: for he is of a pure malicoly humour, and therefore he that doth him pleasure, augmenteth his disease: and he that bereth him shal prolong his life. The emperesse Heldouina followed the counsell of this Greeke woman, which was occasion, y the emperour lyed afterwardes sound, and holt many yeares: so that of the .9. moethes which he was accustomed to be sicke euery yeare: in .20. yeares afterwardes, he was not sicke .2. monethes. For wher as this Greeke woman, commaunded the emperesse to angre her husbände but twice in the weeke, she accustomedlye angred him .4. times in the daye.

Fourthly, the good mother ought to take hede, y the nource be very temperate in eatinge, so that she should eate litell of diuerse meates, and of those fewe dishes, she should not eate to much. To vnderstand y thinge, ye muste knowe, that the whete milke is no other, then blond, which is soden, and that which causeth the good or euill blond, cometh oft times of no other thinge, but y whether the persone is temperate, or els a glutton in eating: therefore it is a thinge both healthfull & necessary, that the nource that nourisheth the child do eat good meates: for an ouge men and women, it is a generall rule, that in litle eating, ther is no danger: and of to much eating, there is no prosprite: As all the Philosophers saye, the wolfe is

one of the beastes that deuoureth most, and is moste greedyest, and therefore he is most feared of all the sheppardes. But Aristotle in his third booke de Animalibus sayeth, that when the wolfe dothe once feelee her selfe greate woth yonge, in all her lyfe after she neuer suffereth her selfe to be coupled with the wolfe againe: For otherwise, yf the wolfe should yearlye byynge forth .7. or .8. whealpes (as commonly she doth) and the shepe but one lambe, there would be in shorte space moze wolues then shepe. Besides all this, the wolfe harbe an other property, whyche is, that though she be a beast moste deuouringe and greedy: yet when she hath whealped she eateth verie temperately, and it is, to the ende to nouryche her whealpes, and and to haue good milke. And besides that, the dorthe eate but once in the day, the which y dogge wolfe doth prouide, both for the byche, and her whealpes. Truly it is a monstrous thing to see, and noysome to heare, and no litle sclaunderous to speake, that a wolfe whyche geueth sucke to .8. whealpes, eateth but one onelye kynde of meate: and a woman which geueth sucke but to one chyld alone, wyll eate of eyght sortes of meates. And the cause hereof is, that the beaste dothe not eate, but to suffelne nature: and the woman dothe not eate, but to satisfie her pleasure.

Pryncesses and greate Ladies oughte to wathe narrowly, to knowe when, and howe muche the nources doe eate, which nore nouryche their chyldren: For the chyld is so tender, and the mylke so delicate, that with eatinge of sondry meates they become corrupte, and with eatinge muche, they waxe fatte. If the chyldren suck those which are fatte and grosse, they are commonlye sycke, and yf they sucke mylke corrupted, they ofte tymes go to bedde hole, and in the mornynge be founde deade. Isodore in hyerimologies sayeth, that men of the prouince of Thrace were so cruell, that the one byd eate the other, and they byd not only

onely this, but also further to shewe moze their humanitie, in the sculles of those that were deade, they drinke the bloude of him that was lately alpye. Though men were so cruell to eate mennes fleshe, and to drinke the bloud of the baines: yet the womē which nourished their children were so temperate, and moderate in eating, that they dyd eate nothings but nettelles soden, and boyled in goates milke. And because the women of Thrace were so moderate in eatinge, the philosopher Solon Solynon brought some to Athens, for the auncientes sought no lesse
* to haue good women in the comen wealth, then to haue hardy and valiaunt captaines in the warre.

The.xxi.Chapter.

The auctoure addeth .3. other conditions to a good nourse.



TH E Princesses and great ladies may know by this example, what difference there is betwene the women of Thrace, which are fed with nettelles only, and haue brought forth such fierce men: & the women of our tyme, which through their delicate, & excessive eatinge, bringe forth suche weakē and feeble children.

Firstly, the Ladies ought to be very circumspecte, not onely that nourses eate not much, and that they be not greedy: but also that they be in drynkinge wine temperate, the which in old tyme was not called wine, but benym. The reason hereof is apparant & manifest ynough, for if we doe forbode the fatte meates which lieth in the stomacke: we shoulde then muche moze forbode the moste wine, which washeth al the vaines of the bodye. And further I say, that as the

childe hath no other nourishment, but the milke onely, and that the milke proceedeth of blond, and that blond is nourished of the wine, and that wine is naturallie whor: a primo ad vltimum. I say, the womā which drinketh wine, and getteth the childe sucke, doth as she that maketh a great fire vnder the panne, wher ther is but a litle milke: so that the panne burneth, and the milke runneth ouer. I will not denaye, but that some times it may chauce, that the childe shalbe of a strong complexion, and the nourse of a feable and weakē nature: and the childe woulde moze substantiall milke, when the woman is not able to geue it him. In suche a case (though with other things milk may be conferred) I allow that the nourse drinke a litle wine: but it ought to be so litle, and so well watered, that it shoulde rather be to take awaye the visciditines of the water: then for to taste of any savor of the wine. I do not speake this withoute a cause, for the nourse beinge sicke, and feable of her selfe, and her milke not substantiall, it ofte times moneth her to eate moze then needeth requireth, and to drinke wine, which is somewhat nutritiue: so that they supposing to geue the nourse treacle, do geue her poison to destroye her childe. Those excellent and auncient Romaynes, if they had bene in our tyme, and that we had deserved to haue bene in theyr tyme (though our time for beinge Christians is better) they had saved vs from this traunple, for they were so temperate in eatinge meates, and so abstinent in drynking wyne, that they dyd not onely restryne the drynkinge thereof, but also they would not abyde to smell it. For it was a greater shame vnto a Romayne woman, to drinke wyne, then to be deuorced from her husbande. Dionisius Alicarhaleus in his booke of the lawes, of the Romaynes sayed, that Romulus was the fyrste founder of Rome, and that he occupied hym selfe moze in buyldynge houses, to amplifie Rome: then in constitutinge lawes,

THE DIAL

lawes, for the gouernement of the common wealth. But amongst. 17. lawes whiche he made, the seuenth therof was, that no Romaine woman on paine of death; should be so hardye to drinke wine within the walles of Rome. The same Historian saith, that by the occasion of this lawe, the custome was in Rome, that when any Romaine Ladye would drinke wine, or make any solemne feast, she muste needs issue out of Rome, where every man had his dwelling place: because the smell also of wine, was prohibited and forbidden women within the circuite of Rome. If Plinie do not deceiue vs in his. 24. booke of his naturall history, It was an auncient custome in Rome, that at eche time that parentes mette, both men and women, they did kisse the one the other in the face, in token of peace: and this ceremony beganne firste, for that they would smell, whether the woman had dronke any wine. And if perchance she sauored of wine, the Censor mighte haue banished her from Rome. And if her kinsman found her without Rome, he might frely and without any daunger of lawe, put her to death: because within the circuitte & walles of Rome, no private man, by Justice could put any Romaine to death. As aboue is rehearsed, Romulus was he, which ordeined the paine for dronkardes: and Rupilius was he, which ordeined the paine for adoulters. And betwene Romulus, and Rupilius, there was. 320. yeares: so that they ordeyned this straight lawe for dronkardes, a longe time before they did the law for adulterers. For if a woman be a dronkard, or harlot, truly they are both great fautes, and I can not tell whether of them is worst: for being a harlotte, the woman loseth her name, and for being a dronkard, she loseth her fame, and the husbände his goodes. Then yf women for the honestie of their personnes only, are bound to be temperate in eating and drincking: the woman whiche nourisheth & giueth the child sucke, ought to be much more

corrected, and sober in this case. For in her is concurrante, not onely the grauitie of their personnes: but the health and life also of the creature, whiche she nourisheth. Therefore it is mete, that the nourse be kepte fro wine, since the honour of the one, & the life of the other is in perill.

Dirly the princelies and greates Ladies oughte to take hede, that their nourses be not gotten with child. And the reason hereof is, that in that time when the woman is with child, her natural course is stopped, & that corruption is mingled with the pure blood: so that she thinking to giue the child milke to nourish it, getteth it payson to destroy it. And nothing can be more vnwise, then to put the child (which is already borne, and alieue) in daunger, for that whiche is as yet vnborne, and dead. Plurarche in the. 7. of his regimēt of princes saith, that Cneus Fuluius (Cousin of Pompeius) beinge consull in Rome, fell in loue with a yonge mayden of Capua beinge an orphan. This maiden was called Sabina, and when she was greates with child by this consull, she brought forth a daughter whom they called satre Drusia: and truly she was more commended for her beantie, then for her honesty. For oftentimes it happeneth, that the saye and dishonest women leue their children so euill taught, that of their mothers they inherite litell goodes, and much dishonour. This Sabina therefore beinge deliuered (as it was the custome of Rome) she did with her owne brestes nourish her daughter Drusia: duringe the whiche time, she was begotten with child, by one of the knightes of this Consull, to whom (as to his seruante) he had geuen her to kepe. Wherefore when the Consull was hereof aduertised, and that notwithstandinge she gaue her daughter sucke: he commaunded that the knight should be immediatly beheaded, & his loue Sabina forthwith to be caste into a well. The daye of execution came, that both these parties should suffer, wherefore the wofull Sabina sent

sent to beseeche the consull, that it woulde please him before her death, to geue her audience of one sole word y^e she woulde speake vnto hym, the which being come in the presence of them al, sayed vnto hym. O Gneus Fuluius, I dyd not call the to thende thou shouldest graunt me life, but because I woulde not dye before I had sene thy face: though the thou of thy selfe shouldest remember, that as I am a frayle woman, & fel into sinne with the in Capua: so I might salu be as I haue done, with another in Rome. For we women are so frayle in this case, duringe the time of this our miserable lyfe: y^e none can heape her selfe sure, from the assaults of the weakke fleethe. The consull Gneus Fuluius to these wordes answered: the gods immortal I reclaime Sabina, what greefe it is to my wofull harte, that I of thy secrete offence, shuld be an open scourge. For greater honesty it is, for men to hyde your frailties: then openly to puny the your offences. But what wilt thou I shuld do in this case, considering the offence thou hast committed: by y^e immortall gods I sweare vnto the, and agayne I sweare, that I had rather thou shouldest secretealy haue procured the death of some man: then that openly in this wyse thou shouldest haue flandered my house. For now thou knowest the true meanning of the common prouerbe in Rome. It is better to die in honoure, then to lyue in infamy. And thinke thou not (Sabina) that I doe reioyce because thou so goteest thy selfe vnto my person, and that thou gauest thy selfe to hym whiche kepte the: for sinse thou werte not my wyfe, the libertie thou haddest to come with me from Capua to Rome, & selfe same thou haddest to goe with agither from Rome to Capua. It is an euill thing for virtuous men, to repproue the vices of others. Wherein they the m selues are faulty. The cause why I reioyce the so dyest, is for the remembrance of the olde lawe, whiche commaundeth, that no woman or woman geauinge sucke, shoulde on payne of

death be begotten with child, truly the lawe is veray iust. For honest women do not suffer, that in geauinge her chyld sucke at her breast, she shuld hide another in her intrayles. These wordes passed betwene Gneus Fuluius the consull, and the ladye Sabina of Capua. Howbeit as Plutarke saith, in that place the consull had pyrry vppon her, and shewed her satiatione, banyshynge her vpon condicion, neuer to retourne to Rome agayne. Cina Catullus in y^e forth booke of the 20. consules sayeth, that Caius Fabricus was one of y^e most notable consules that euer was in Rome, & was sore afflicted with diseases in his lyfe, onely because he was nourished. 4. monethes with the mylke of a nourse being great with child: and for feare of this, they locked the nourse with the child in the temple of the bestal virgines, where for the space of 3. yeares they were kepte. They demaunded the consull, why he did not nourish his chyldren in his house: he answered: the chyldren being nourished in the house, it might be an occasio, that y^e nourse shoulde be begotten with chyld, and so she shoulde destroy the chyldren with her corrupt milke, and furder shuld geue me occasion to doe iustice vpon her person: wherefore heaping them so shut vp, we are occasio to preserue their life, and also oure chyldren from perill. Diodorus Siculus & Sextus Cheronensis saith, in y^e lyfe of Marcus Aurelius, that in the Iles of Baleares there was a custome, that the nourses of yonge chyldren (whether they were their owne, or others) shoulde be seuered from their husbands, for the space of 2. yeares, And the woman whiche at that tyme (though it were by her husbands) were with chyld, though they did not chastise her as an adulteresse: yet euery man spake euill of her as of an offender. Duringe the tyme of these 2. yeares, to the end the husbands shoulde take no other wyfe, they commaunded that he shuld take a concubine, & that he shoulde be a slave, whose companye he myghte vnder as y^e wyfe: for

THE DIAL

amongest these barbarous, he was honoured moste, who had 2. wyues, the one with chylde, and thother not. By these examples aboue recyted, Princeses and great Ladies maye see, what watche and care they ought to take, in chousyng their nources, that they be honest, sinse of them dependeth, not onely the healthe of their chylde: but also, the good fame of their houses.

The seventh condicion is, that princeses and greate Ladies ought to se their nources haue good condicions, so that they be not troublesome, proude, harlots, lyers, malicious, nor flatterers: for the viper hathe not somuche payson, as the woman whiche is euell conditioned. It litel anaileth a man, to take wyne from a woman, to entreate her to eate litel, and to withholde her from her husbände, if of her owne nature she be hatefull, and euell manerred: for it is not so greate daunger vnto the chylde, that the nource be a dyoncharde, or a Clinton, as it is, if she be harmefull, and malicious. If perchance the nource (that nourisheth the chylde) be euell conditioned: trulye she is euell troublede, and the house wherein she dwelleth, euell combred. For suche one doeth importune & lorde, troubleth the ladye, putteth in hazard the chylde, & aboue al, is not contented with her selfe, & finally fathers for geuing to muche libertye to their nources, oftentimes, are the cause of many practises, whiche they doe: wherewith in the ende, they are greued with the death of their chylde: whiche foloweth. Amongest all these whiche I haue red, I saye, that of the auncient Romayne princes, of so good a father as Drusus Germanic^{us} was, neuer came so wycked a sonne, as Caligula was, beinge the fourth Emperoure of Rome: for the historigraphers were not satisfied, to enriche and prayse the excellencies of hys father, neither ceased they to blame and reprehende the infamyes of hys sonne. And they saye, that hys naughtines proceeded not of the mother whiche bare hym: but of

the nource whiche gaue him sucke. For oftentimes it chaunceth, that the tree is greene and good, when it is planted, and afterwarde it becommeth drye, and withered, only for beinge caried into another place. Dion the greke, in the seconde booke of Cefars sayeth, that a cursed womā of Campania, called Presilla, nourished and gaue sucke vnto this wycked chylde. She had agaynst all nature of women, her brestes as heary as the berdes of men, and besides that, in running a horse, handelyng her staffe, shootinge in the Crosbowe, seue yonge men in Rome were to be copared vnto her. It chaunced on a time, that as she was geuing sucke to Caligula, for y she was angrey, she tore in peces a yonge chylde, and with the bludde thereof, annoynted her brestes: and so she made Caligula the yonge chylde, to sucke together both bludde and mylke. The sayed Dion in hys booke of the lyfe of this Emperoure Caligula sayeth, that the women of Campania (whereof the sayed Presilla was) had this custome, that whē they would geue their teate to the chylde, first they dyd annoynte the hed therof, with the bludde of a Colleshaunce, to the ende their chylde myghte be moze spere and cruel. And so was this Caligula, for he was not contented to kyll a man onely, but also he sucked the bludde that remayned on hys swerde, and lyked it of with hys tong. The excellent Poet Homer meaning to speake playnely of the crueltyes of Pirrus sayed in hys Odisse of hym, suche wordes: Pirrus was bozne in Grece, nourished in Archadye, and brought vp with tigers milke, which is a cruel beaste. As if moze plainely he had sayed Pirrus, for being bozne in Grece, was sage, for that he was brought vp in Archadie he was stronge, and courageous, and for to haue sucked Tigers mylke, he was veraye proude, and cruel. Hereof maye be gathered, that the greate Cretian Pirrus, for wantyng of good milke was ouercome with euell condicions.

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The selfe same hystoryan Dion sayeth in the lyfe of Tiberius, that he was a great dionckarde. And the cause hereof was, that the nource dyd not onely dlynke wyne: but also she weined the chyld, with soppes ddypped in wyne. And wythoute doubte, the cursed woman had done lesse euyl, if in the steade of mylke she had geuen the chyld peyson, wythoute teachynge it to dlynke wyne: wherefoze afterwarde he losse hys renowne. For trulye, the Romayne Emperour had losse ytell, when Tiberius was dead beyng a chyld: and it had wonne much, if he had neuer knowen what dlynkynge of wyne had mente.

I haue declared all that whiche befoze is mencyned, to thentente that Princelies and greate Ladies myghte be aduertised, that synce in not noursyng the chyldren, they shewe them selues cruel: yet at the leaste in prouydyng for them good nourses, they shoulde shewe them selues pytyfull. For the chyldren oostymes, for towe moze the condicion of the milke which they sucke: then the condicion of their mothers whiche broughte them forth, or of their fathers whiche begotte them. Therefoze they oughte to vse muche circumspection herein: for in them consisteth the same of the wyues, the honoure of the husbunde, and the wealth of the chyldren.

The.xxii. Chapter.

Of the disputations before Alexander the greate, concerninge the suckynge of babes, and of dyuers customes, vvhiche the auncientes vied in this behalfe.



VINTVSCURTIVS sayeth, that after the great Alexander (which was the last kyng of the Macedoniens, & firste Emperour of y grekes) had ouercome kyng Darius, and that he sawe hym selfe onely lord of all Asia, he went to rest in babylon: for among men of warre there was a custome, that after they had ben long in the warres, euery on shuld retier to his owne house. King Philip (which was father of kyng Alexander) alwayes councelled hys sonne, that he shoulde leade wyth hym to the warres valiant capytaynes, to conquere the world: and that oute of hys realmes and dominions, he shuld take and choose the wyssest men, and best expertmented to gouerne the empire. He had reason in suche wyse to counsell hys sonne, for by the counsell of Sages, that is kepte and maintained: which by the strengthe of valyaunt men, is gotten and wonne. Alexander the greate therfoze being in Babilon, after he had conquered al the countrey, synce all the cite was vitious, and hys armye so longe wythout warres, some of his owne men began to robbe one another, others to playe their owne, some to forze womē, and others to make banquettes and feastes, and when some were dioncke, others raised quarels, strifes, and dyscentryons: so that a man coulde not tell whether was greater, the rousse in their armours, or the corruptions in their customes. For the property of mans malice is, that whē the gate is open to idlenes, infinite vyces enter into the house.

Alexander the greate, seing the dysoluition which was in hys armye, and the losse which myght ensue hereof vnto his great empire, commanded stryghtlye, that they shoulde make a shewe and iuste thournghe Babilon, to the ende that the men of warre shoulde exerceyse their forces thereby. And as Aristotle sayeth, in the booke of the

THE DIAL

questions of Babylon, the turney was so much vsed, amongst them, that sometimes they caried awaye more dead and wounded men, then of a bloudye battayle of the enemies. Speakeynge accoꝝdyng to the lawe of the gentyles (which looked not gloꝝye foꝝ their vertues, noꝝ feared hell to dye) at the toꝝney the commandemente of Alexander was veraye iuste, foꝝ that, doynge as he dyd to the armye, he defaced the vice which dyd waste it, and foꝝ hym selfe he got perpetuall memoꝝy, and also it was cause of muche suretye in the common weale.

This good Pꝛynce not contented to exercise his armye so, but ordeined, that daylye, in hys pꝛesence the phylosophers should dyspute, and the question wherein they shuld dyspute, Alexander hym selfe would pꝛopounde, whereof folowed, that the greate Alexander was made certayne of that wherein he doubted: and so by his wysedome all men exercysed their craftes and wittes.

foꝝ in this tyme of idleness, the bookes were no lesse marred with dust, because they were not opened: then the weapons were with ruste, which were not occupied. There is a booke of Aristotle, intituled the questions of Babilon, where is saied, that Alexander pꝛopounded, the Phylosophers dysputed: the pꝛyncipalles of Persia replied, and Aristotle determyned. And so continued in disputations as long as Alexander dyd eate: foꝝ at the table of Alexander, one day the captaynes reasoned of matters of warre, and another daye the Phylosophers dysputed of their phylosophie. Bludus sayeth in the booke intituled, Italia Illustrata, that amonge the Pꝛynces of Persia there was a custome, that none coulde sit downe at the table, vnlesse he were a kynge in battayle, and none coulde speake at their table, but a Phylosopher. And trulye the custome was veraye notable, and woꝝthy to be noted: foꝝ there is no greater follye then foꝝ anye man to desire that a Pꝛynce shoulde rewarde hym, vnlesse he knowe that

by hys workes he had deserued the same.

Kynge Alexander, dyd eate but one meale in the daye, and therefore the firste question that he pꝛopounded vnto them was. That the man which dyd not eate but once in the daye, at what houre it was best to eate, foꝝ the healthe of hys personne, and whether it shoulde be in the moꝝnyng, none dayes, oꝝ nyght: This question was debated among the phylosophers, wherof euery one to defende hys oppynion, alleaged manye folowdactions. foꝝ no lesse care haue the Sages in their myndes, to issewe oute of them dysputations victoryous: then the valiaunt captaynes haue in aduenturing their parsones, to vanquyshe their enemies. It was determyned: as Aristotle maketh mention in his Probleames, that the man whiche eateth but once in the daye, shoulde eate a lytel before nyght: foꝝ it auayleth greatlye to the health of the body, that when the digestiō beginneth in the stomacke, a man taketh hys firste sleape.

The seconde question that Alexander pꝛopounded was, what age the chylde shoulde haue, when he shoulde be weyned froth the dūgge. And the occasion of this question was, foꝝ that he had begoten a pongdough-ter of a Quene of the Amazones, h which at that tyme dyd sucke: and foꝝ to knowe whether it were tyme oꝝ not, to weyne her, there was greate dysputations. foꝝ the chylde was nowe great to sucke, and weake to weyne. I haue declared this hystoꝝy foꝝ no other purpose, but to shew how in Babilon this question was dysputed, before king Alexander, that is to wete, howe manye yeares the chylde oughte to haue before it were weyned froth the teate: foꝝ at that time, they are so ignoꝝaunt, that they cannot determine that that is good, noꝝ complaine of that whiche is nought. In that case a man oughte to knowe, as the tymes are varyable, and the regions and pꝛouynce dyuers: so lykelysse haue they sondꝛye wayes of byngynge vp, and nourysheynge their chyl-

ben. For there is asmuche difference betwene the contryes of one, from the contryes of others, in dyeng, and buryeng the dead bodies, as there hath ben varyetys in the worlde, by waye of nourysshinge and byngynge by of chyldren.

The.xxiii.Chapter.

Of sondrye kindes of forceries, charmes and vvitchecraftes, vvvhiche they in olde time vsed in geuing their children sucke, the vvvhich Chriffians ought to eschevve,



It is not much from our purpose, if I declare here some olde examples of those which are passe. Strabo in his booke de situ Orbis sayeth, that after the Assirians, the first which reigned in the worlde, and made a seignorie, were the Siconians, otherwile called Archades, whiche were greate and famous toasters, and sclemasters at the fence, from whom came the best and first masters of fence, the whiche the Romaynes kepte alwayes for their plaies: for as Trogus Pōpeius saith, the romaynes founde it by experience, that ther were no better mā in weighthastres, then those of Spaine, nor no people apter to plates & pastimes, then those of Archadia. As those Siconians were auncient, so they were maruellouslye addicted to follyes and superstitious in their vsages and customes: for among other, they honored for their god the Moone. And during the time y she was sene, they gaue their chyldren sucke, imagining that if the Moone shyned vpon the breastes of the mother, it would doe muche good vnto the chyld. The auctor hereof is

Cina Catullus, in þ booke, De educadis pueris. And as the same histoꝝian saith the egyptians were great enemyes to the Siconians, so that al y which the one did alowe, the others dyd reþroue, as it appereth. For asmuch as the Siconians loued oliues and achoꝝnes, they were clothed w linnen, and woꝝhypped the Moone for their god. The Egyptians for the contrary, had no oliues, neyther they nourished anye okes, they did were no linnen, they woꝝhypped the sonne for their god, and aboue all, as the Siconians dyd geue their chyldren sucke, whyles the Moone dyd shyne: so the egyptians gaue their chyldren sucke, whyles the sonne dyd shyne. Amonge other folyes of the Caldians this was one, that they honoured the fier for their god, so that he that was not maried, coulde not lighte fier in his house: bycause they sayed, the custodye of Gods shoulde be commytted to none, but to maried and auncient men. They had in marriages suche order, that the daye when anye chyldren dyd marie, the prestes came into hys house to lyghte newe fier: the whiche neuer oughte to be put out, vntyl the houre of his death. And if perchaunce during the life of the husbände, and of the wyfe, they shoulde fynde the fier ded and put out: the maryage betwene them was dede, and vndone, yea thoughte they had ben .40. yeaꝝe together before in suche soꝝte. And of this occasion, came the pꝝouerbe which of many is redde, and of fewe vnderstandyd: that is to wete, doe not vnto me, as the water hath done to the fier. The Chaldeans vsed such woꝝdes, when they woulde denoure, and seperate the maryage: for if the woman were ylle contented with her husbände, in castynge a lytel water on the fier, immediatlye she myghte marie with another. And if the husbände in lyke maner dyd put oute the fier, he myghte with another woman contracte maryage. I haue not bene maried as yet, but I suppose there are many chꝝistians whiche wyssheth to haue at this

THE DIAL

present the liberty of the Chaldes: for I am wel assured, there are many men, which would cast water on the fier, to escape from their wiues: also I sweare, that their would be a number of women which would not onely put out the fier, but also the ashes, timbers, and coles, to make them selues free, and to be dispatched of their husbandes, and in especiall, from those, which are selous.

Therefore returnyng to our matter, the Chaldeans made before the fier, all notable thinges in their lawe, as before their God. For they dyd eate before the fier, they slepte before the fier. They dyd contract before the fier, and the mothers dyd neuer geue the chyldren sucke, but before the fier. For the mylke (as they imagined) dyd profite the chyld when it sucked before the fier, which was their god. The authour of this that is spoken, is Cyna Catullus. The Mauritaines which at this presente are called the realmes of Marnegues, were in tymes past warlyke men: of whome the Romaynes had greates victoies, and the more valyaunte the men were in the warres. somuch more superstitious their wiues were in sorceryes, charmes, and enchauntements. For the husbände that is longe absent from hys wyfe, ought not to maruaile, though in her he fynde some fautes. Cicero in the booke De natura deorum, and muche more at large Bochas sayeth, that as many men and women, as were in that realme: so many Gods there were among the people. For euerye one had one particular God to hym selfe: so that the God of the one, was not the God of the other. And this was to be vnderstand in the weke daies. For in the dayes of their feastes, they had other Gods, the which altogether they dyd honoure. The maner that they had in chosynge Gods when a woman was with chyld. She wente to the sacrificer of the idoll, and tolde hym that she was great with chyld, and besought hym to geue her a god

for her chyld. And the sacrificer gaue her a lytel idoll of stone, golde, syluer, or of woode, the which the mother hanged at the necke of the childe. And as often as the childe dyd sucke the dugge so ofte the mother putteth the idoll on his face. For other wyse, she had not geuen hym a droppe of mylke to sucke, vntill first she had consecrated to the god the mylke of her breste. That which I haue spoken is lytel, in respecte of that I wyl speake, which is, that if perchaunce the chyld dyed before the tyme, or that anye yonge man by some perperous myshap dyed before he was somewhat aged: the fathers and kinnestmen of the dead did assemble, and came to the idoll of hym, eyther stoned it, honged it, burnt it, bent it, or els they caste it into the deape wel, sayng, that sith the Gods dyd kyll man withoute reason: that they myghte lawfullye kyll them by iustyce. The same Bochas in the seconde booke De natura deorum saith that the Allobroges had a custome, that those which were prestes of the gods shuld from the wombe of their mothers be chosen vnto that dignity.

And as soon as the chyld was borne, before he tasted the mylke of the breste, they caried it into a priestes house: for they had a custome, that the man which had tasted the thinges of the worlde, merited not to serue the gods in the temples. One of the lawes that the sayed priestes had, was that not onely they could not by violence shew anye bloude, nor yet see it, neyther touche it: so that immediatlye as the priest shoulde by chaunce touche mannes bloude, euen so soon he losse hys priesthoode.

This lawe afterwarde was so narrowly looked vnto, that the priestes of the Allobroges dyd not onely not shew bloude, dyntche it, touched it when they were now men: nor yet dyd they geue them anye mylke at all: for mylke is no other, but bloude sodden, and that whyche is coloured, is raw milke, Pulo in the booke

De educandis pueris saferly, that the auncientes had a certain kinde of reedes, that breakinge it in sondre, there issued whyte milke, wherewith they accustomed to nourishe their children: but let it be as it is, that this lawe prohibite children their mylke, which hereafter shoulde be made priestes of the temples: me thinketh it is a trick rather of superstitious sozerers, then of religious priestes. For ther is neither deuine no; humane lawe, that wyll forbide, or prohibite any suche thinge, without the which mans lyfe can not endure. These were the maners and customes, that the auncientes hadde in the nouriture of their children.

And in dede I meruaile not at that they dyd, for the gentilles castmed thys cursed Idoll for as greate a God: as wee Christians doe the true and luyngge GOD. I was willinge to declare all these Antiquities, to the end that princesses and great Ladies shoulde haue pleasure in readyng them and knowinge them: but not to that the ende they shoulde imitate and folowe them in any kinde of thinge. For according to the faith of our Christian religion, as sure as we be of the offences that those dyd vnto god through folowinge those superstitions: so sure we are of the good seruyces which we do vnto god in forsaking the. How long time the mothers ought to geue their children sucke, & what age they ought to weyne them, not for that whiche I haue red, no; for that whiche I haue demaunded in this case I am able to aunswere: but for as muche as Aristotle saierth, in the booke aboue named, that the childe at the mosse ought to suck but .2. yeaeres, and at the lest, one yeaer, and an halfe. For if he suck lesse, he is in daunger to be specke, and yf he sucke more, he shall be alwaies tender. I will not omit y whiche Sextus Cheroneus saith, in the .4. booke of his commen wealth. And hereof Boccace also maketh mencion in the thirde booke De natura deorum, that when Alexander the great passed into In-

dia, amongst other renowned Philosophers, there was one with him called Arethus, who (as by chaunce he was in Nissa an auncient Citty of India) there came a man of that countrey to shewe him suche antiquities as were ther. Arethus the philosopher behelde them as a sage and wyse man. For the simple man onely beholdeth the doinges, and howe they come: but the sage man enquireth, and demaundeth of the causes, and from whence they came.

Among other thinges, he shewed this good philosopher a great house, being in the end of the citie, and therein were many women, whereof euery one of them had a chambze, and in euery chambze there was .2. beddes, and adioyninge to the one, herbes were sowne in maner of nettels, and adioyning to the other, there was a kinde of twigges, as of Holmarpe, and in the middes of the the house, there were many graues of smal children. The philosopher Arethus asked why that house was so great, and the Indian aunswered him. This house is to nourishe the children which are orphanes, when they be of their parentes or frendes abandoned. For it is a custome in this citie, that immediatly when the father of one chyld dieth, the citie then taketh him for her sone. And from that time forwarde, he is called the childe of the citie, which nourissheth him: and not the childe of the father, whiche begotte him.

Arethus the philosopher secondarilye asked him, why there were so many women in that house, withoute any man amonge them: wherunto the Indian aunswered: in this countrey there is a custome, that the women are seuered from their husbands, al the time they are occupied in nourishing children. For the will of our Gods is, that the women be not in companye with her husbände after she is with childe, and thys not onelye vntill suche time as she is deliuered: but also vntill suche time as the chyld be weyned, from the milke of her byrthe.

The

THE DIAL

The philosopher Arethus thirdly demaunded him, why euerye one had her chambze seuerally: the Indian answered. Thou knowest, that now naturally reigneth so muche malice in the woman, that she alwaies enuiceth the felicitie of an other. And if they were altogether, they would haue amongst them suche quarrelles and debates, & they would corrupt the milk, whiche they should geue to the child.

Fourthly the philosopher Arethus asked, why in euery chambze there was a greate bed, and a litell bed, since there was but one woman, & one childe: whereunto the Indian answered. In this India they do not consent, that the nourses should slepe together in one bed with the yong childe, whom they nourish: for when the women are heauye on sleape, they take no hede to the child, but oft times smother it aliuie.

Fiftly the philosopher asked why topning to the beddes, their was nettelles which are without sauour in eating, and dangerous in touching: The Indian answered. I let the know, that in this India (against al nature) the children wepe not, whiles they are yong, and therfore they haue growinge by the beddes, nettelles to make them weape: for our philosophers telleth vs, that if dayly the childe dory weape. 2. houres, it profyteth him, not only for the health of his body, but also for to prolonge his life.

Furthermoze the philosopher for the first asked, why there was so manye rwygges like rosmarpe by the bed side: wherunto the Indian answered. Know thou, that in India there is an olde plague, that we can not defende our selues from these witchets, the which by their sorceries, and with the only lookes of their eyes, destroyeth many chyldren: and they say, that all the children whiche shalbe parfumed with those herbes, can take no hurte thowghe the lookes of those witchies.

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich Marcus Aurelius sent to his frende, in the end vvhewhereof, he enuyeth againste those, vvhiche cure children by sorceries, charmes and enchaunementes.



DRINGESSES and greate Ladies ought to take hede, & their nourses be not witches, and that they doe not suffer the babes (whiles they are yet yong) to take any charmes or sorceries: for the medecin putteth the life of the creature in peryll, and those sorceries doe not onely harme to the bodye of the chyld, but also to the soule of her selfe whycher bleseth it. To prayse moze them that are past, and to confounde moze the presente, I wyll that those whiche shall reade this, do reade a letter of Marcus Aurelius, whiche he sente to a frende of hys, in the end wherof it appeareth howe great enemies the auncientes were to witches, charmers, and to all kinde of sorcerers: for truly I know not which was greater, either the temperaunce that they had in nourishinge their chyldren beinge gentilles, or the foolish hardynesse whiche we haue beinge Christians.

Here foloweth therfore the letter in the end of the whiche, he speaketh againste witches and euill women.

The Letter of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius.



MARCUS Aurelius the Roman Emperour, felow with his brother Annius Verus, in the same Empire, wysheth to the Dedalus his respectall frend, health to thy personne, & good fortune againste all euill.

Since

Bynce the daye that thou diddest take ship-
pinge at the hauens of Ostia, I read no let-
ter of thine, neyther haue I sene as yet, any
man of thy house: yea and moze ouer, they
coude not tell me whether thou were ali-
ue or deade. Wherefoze thy frendes dyd
ymagine, that some mishappe befell to the,
and thy shippe, or els for the myllikinge of
the countrey, thou shuldest returne againe.

Because that men, whiche doe sayle (as
thou) goe alwaies in daunger to be drow-
ned, by some tempest, and if they do escape,
they doe dispayre in the straunge Countrey
by solitarines: but when I sawe Fronton
thy seruante, I was verie ioyefull, and
much moze, when I vnderstoode thou
were alyue, after thy greate tranaple.
Trulye I receyued greate pleasure of that
thou wyrtesse in thy letter, that thou arte
contented with the countrey: for to me it is
a straunge thing, that a man being nourys-
hed in the delycioussnes of Rome, shoulde
finde him selfe contented in an other Stras-
unge Realme and nation. When Rome
was Rome, and I talpe was named greate
Greece, thither came of all sortes of people
and natiouns, to learne vertues and noble-
nes, and others for to gette them selues to
vices and pleasures. Bycause (if Titus Livi-
us deceiue me not) Rome spent al her treas-
urers in Asia, and Asia employed all her
vices, and delicatenes in Rome. Thou wyrt-
esse to me in thy letter of so many thinges,
and Fronton thy seruant hath tolde me
so many newes of that land, that by the im-
mortall gods, I sweare vnto the, I can not
tell what for to wyrtte vnto the, nor what to
aunswere thy seruante: For the moze the
straunge newes do please the eares in hea-
ringe them, so much the moze do they seeme
to be vntredible. The noble and stoute pers-
onages, though they woulde be callemed
and Iudged true in their saynges, ha-
uinge sene many wonders with their eyes:
yet when they doe counte them, then they
oughte to be very moderate in their tonges

For it is a shame to the honest man, to de-
clare a thinge, wherein may be any doute,
whether it be true or not. I wyll bypelye
aunswere all the thinges of thy lettre, and
thy aunswere shalbe, not accordidg to thy
desire: but accordidg to that I perceyue
of the, and the worlde.

And befoze I begine, I beseeche the, that
yf my penne shall erre in wyrttinge, that thy
harte pardon me. For thy fewe yeares,
as yet doth not lette the knowe the worlde:
and my whyre heares, and hoied beards,
dothe geue me auctoritie to aduertise the
of that whyche is to come, and to condemp-
ne the, of that whiche is passe.

Thou sayeste, that in the sea thou haste
passe many daungers, and that for to ligh-
ten the shippe, thou dydeste caste mache
of thy goodes into the sea. In this case, me
thinketh thou oughteste greatly to thanke
the tempestuous waues, whiche hauynge
power to drowne the, contented them sel-
ues with thy marchaundise. For they
whiche sayle the Seas oughte to haue res-
pecte, not onely to the goodes which they
losse: but also to thy lyfe whiche they saued.

Thou sayeste, that in the sea thou were
greately accompanied with passingyers,
and that thou haste taried longer in thy vi-
age then thou thoughteste, or diddeste de-
sire. This I saye vnto the, my frende De-
dalus, that though the dayes were manye
thou diddest stay: yet notwithstandinge the
griefes were moze, whiche thou receiuedst.
For it is vnpossible, that those men whiche
saile much, should not be troubled with the
mariners, and also in feare of tempestes.

To that I aunswere the, the moze thou
were loden with companions, the lesse thy
money weyed: for it is a generall rule, that
wher the tozney is longe, and the compa-
nye great, therte the purce of necessitie must
nedes wae thynne. Thou sayeste, that tho-
rough the moisture of the sea, as soon as
thou were landed, thou diddest feeke thy self
taken with the gonie,

THE DIAL

To this I aunswere the, that thou hast the goute in thy feete, or els in thy handes: and if thou haste it in thy feete, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalte kepe thy house, and if thou haste it in thy handes, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalte playe no moze at Tables (as thou were wonte to doe) and also thou shalte not waste (as thou haste done) thy owne money. And if thou haste not chaunged the condicion (whiche thou haddeste) I am assured, that onelye for to encrease thy goodes, thou wilt thinke thy golde welcome. Thou sayest, in that Countrey thou haste founde many soueraine and experte Physitians, for to remedye thy diseases. To that I aunswere, as Plato sayeth, that in the countrey where there is many Physitians, there are many byces, and many bitious: for man by excessive delicatenes commeth to sykkenes, and by the meane trauayle, he is healed. As longe as our aunient fathers were wythoute Physitians in Rome, whiche was .4. yeres: so longe, and no moze, they shewed them selues sober, in eatinge and drynking. For even as by temperaunce, healeth proceadeth: so of Physicke, proceadeth glotony. Thou sayest, that the countrey is verpe aboundaunte, and that amongeste other thinges there is muche woode, whiche wee lacke here in Rome. To this I aunswere, that if thou haste muche woode, thou haste litle bread: for it is an aunient prouerbe,

that where the spers are greate, the barnes are fewe. And if thou sayest, that thou arte contente with the woode of that countrey: I lette the knowe, that I am not discontented with the breade of Italye. For in the ende, a man shall soner finde woode to beate the ouen: then cozne, to carye to the mille. Trulye it is a good thinge, to haue woode for the winter: but it is better to haue cozne, for the winter, and sommer.

For they call it no hunger, when woode lacketh for the aged: but when breade wanteth for the yonge.

Thou sayest, in that Countrey there are many waters, and that the water is verpe cleare, and colde: and furder, that the aboundaunce thereof is such, that every house hath a fountaine. To this I aunswere the, that where the waters doe abounde, there wanteth health continually.

And I doe not maruelle thereat, for the moiste and dankysse places, are allwaies dangerous, vnhealthfull, and noysome. If this hadde bene in the time of the golden worlde, when men knewe not what wisdome, but that all dranke water: withoute comparison, that Countrey had bene better then this. For the moze the drunkenness of wine is infamous: the moze sweter and profitable is that of the water.

Thou knowest well, that a fountaine which I haue in my garden (by the streete Salaria) was occasion that at on time seven of my house died togethers. And if I hadde not made a conduyte to boide the standing water: I thinke it hadde made an ende of me, and of all my familie. Wherefore I praye the haue respecte vnto the healtie of thy personne, rather then to enioye the freshenes of the water. For my parte, I thinke him onelie happy, who hath his boode healthfull, and his harte at ease.

Prasse as muche the lande as they will, enioye thou the freshenes thereof as muche as thou canste, and fill the with the freshe and colde water, and wypte vnto thy frendes howe plentie it is, in the ende I sweare vnto the my frende Dedalus, that moze money shall issue out of Rome, to bye wine in Candia: then buttes of the golde water of that countrey shall enter into Rome. Thou sayest, that in that Countrey there is suche aboundaunce of frutes, that thou thinkest thou shalte neuer be satisfied therewith. To that I aunswere. That thinge whiche I beste like, is a winter frute: yet neiether seinge it, nor eatinge it, I can contente my selfe. For the Countrey where frutes abounde in wynter, is neuer without

without fevers and speckles in summer.

* Otauius Augustus the famous Emperour of memoire, seinge that Rome in summer was very subiect to diseases, commaunded on greuous paines, that the fruites of Salon shoulde not enter into Rome to be sold. And this is a marueylous thing, & Rome by this meanes dyd not only fynd her selfe hole: but also the Physicians went out of Rome of theyr owne wylls and affections. For it is a greate token that the people is healthfull, when the Physicians are poore. Thou sayeste, in that Countrey there are many iuglers and players. To this, I aunswere the. That their pastimes shall not be vnto the, suche, and so pleasaunte as the grecies and displeaunte thou shalt haue, when they craftelye shall pycke thy pourse. For iuglers and players make playes and spozte in rest: but they wyll be payed in good earnest.

Thou sayeste, in that Countrey there is greate aboundaunce of vyne, and that the wyne is sauourye to smell, and verpe swete and pleasaunte to taste: wherunto I aunswere. That there shall not be so many vyne in the felde, as Dionchardes amongeste the people: for as thou knowest, the daye that I maryed Topina my niece, my vncle Getellius hadde but onely one vyne tree, and yet with the wyne that came thereof, he made hym selfe, his household, and all those that were at the maryages dioncke. That whyche I wyll saye, is not withoute weeping, that in Rome, in the olde tyme, Mars was the Godd most honored, and esteemed, beyng the Godd of battayles: but now Bachus, whyche is Godd of wyne, is moste honoured, served, and erailed.

For the tyme that a Roman was wont to employ in the marshall campe, to handle weapons: now they consume, in playng, and dyncyng in the Tavernes. Titus Lanius in hys Annales sayeth, that those of Gallia Transalpina, vnderstandinge

that the Italpans had planted vyne, came to conqhere the Countrey. So that yf they hadde neuer planted vyne in Italye, the frenche men hadde neuer destroyed the Countrey.

The auncient Romanes (whyche were prouided againste all inconueniencies) consideringe, that wyne was the cause of their destruction, commaunded to destroye all the vyne of the Emppre, wherough the whyche pollyce, they were deliuered from all the frenche men: for when the warres were ended, ther remayned not one frenche man in all Italye, when they knewe, that there were no more vyne therein. Thou sayest, that in that countrey ther are many gentilmen, and honozable senatours, with whom thou talkest, and passest awayne the time. To this I aunswere. That yf it be true, there are manye pole men, and also fewe true talkers: for those men whyche

haue spent their youth in the warres, when they are aged, doe not employe the tyme, but in hearinge newes, and tellinge lyes. Thou sayedest, that there are verpe saye women in that Countrey, of gesture seemelye, and of their parsonnes comelye. To this I aunswere. That if ther be many whyche be saye, there are as many whyche are dishoneste: for if the woman, with her beante, hath not wisdom and honestye in her selfe, she putteth her selfe in perill, and her husbände in muche care.

Thou sayeste, that in that Countrey there are women, which are sooth sayers, Sozentes, and Enchauntours: the whyche doe boaste and vaunte them selues, that they wyll heale infants, and that they can wygne them, better then others. To this I aunswere. That I woulde Iudge it muche better, that chyldren shoulde neuer be healed, then that they shoulde be healed by the handes of so euill women: for the prosyre that they doe by theyr experience openlye, is nothinge in respect of the daunger, wherein they put the creatures

THE DIAL

by their sozceries secretelye. Torquatus Laertius my bnckell, had a doughter of a marueylous beautie, the whiche (because he had none other childe) was hepye of all hys patrimonye. The case therfore was such, that as the doughter wepte one day a litell to much, the nourte which gaue her sucke, to appease and styll her, thinkinge to geue her sozceries to raise her in a sleape, gaue her popson to destroye her: so that when the teares of the innocent babe ceased, then the cryes of the wofull mother beganne. Calpignola, which was the sonne of Germanicus Secundus the great (though emongest the Celsars he was the fourth, & amongest the Tyrantes y first) when in Rome they bled to geue litell scroules written, whiche they saide to be of such vertue, that they coulde heale al maner of agues and diseases of yonge children, he commaunded by the consent of the Senate, that the man or woman whiche should make them, should be y immediatlye by iustice: and that he whiche should bye them, and carie them to sell, or geue them through Rome, should be whipt, and banished for euer. My seruant Fronton hath tolde me sturys, that thou haste a sonne borne, wherof I am very glad: and unleson he saide, that a woman of Sannia did nourish it, & geue it sucke. The whiche (as by an euill chaunce) hath a teate of sozcerye. By the immortall gods I do coniure the, and for the loue I beare the, I desyre the, that immediatly thou put her out of thy house, and suffer not so wicked a woman to eate bread there one day: for every creature whiche is nourished by sozceries and charmes, shall eyther haue his life shorte, or els fortune shalbe contrary vnto him. I let the were my frende Dedalus, that I haue not meruayled a litell at many Romaines, the whiche doe perswade, and also prouoke, that their children should be healed and cured, with charmes and sozceries. For my parte, I take it to be a thinge to be reuoyded, that the men which by the will of god fall sick,

shal neuer heale for any diligence that man can do. And where as children are sicke by rust humours, or that they are not verie healthfull, be aske the gods will take life from them: in this case, if their disease proceede of an euill humour, let them aske the physicians for naturall medecynes. And if their disease come, because the yubs are puffed: then let their fathers appeale the gods with sacrifices. For in the end, it is impossible that the diseases of the hart should be healed, by the meanes of any medecynes of the body. Do not meruayle in this Dedalus, if I haue spoken moze in this article then in others, that is to wete, to perswade the so much to kepe thy children from wythes: for other wise the cursed women will doe them moze harme, then the good imphes shal profite them. I haue bene moued and prouoked to write this much vnto the, for the great loue whiche I doe beare the: and also calling to mind that, which thou when we were in y sacred towne of rimes toldest me, whiche was, that thou wouldest desire a sonne. And since now thou hast thy pettie, I woulde not thou shouldst so prouoke the gods to wrath by sozceries: for in the end, or a good man I do sweare vnto the, that whiche fathers are in fauoure with the gods, they neede no sozceries vnto their children. I had many other thinges to write vnto the, some of the whiche I wyl communicate with my seruant Fronton, rather then to sende them by letters. And meruayle not at this, for the letters are so petious, that if the man be wise, he wyl write no moze in a clotte letter, then he woulde declare openly in Rome. Paroone me, my frende Dedalus, though in deede I wylle not vnto the as thy appetyte would, nor yet as my will desireth: for thou hast knowen to know many thinges, and I haue not leane by letter, to put the in crudd thereto. I can not tell what I shoulde write to the of this, but that alones the goue doth take me, & the world of all is, that the more I growe in yeares, the

the more my health deminisheth: for it is an olde course of mans frailtye, that where we thinke to goe moste suerest, there haue we moste let. The Poppingaye which thou didst sende me, as sone as I receyued it, my wyfe dyd seale it, and trulye it is a meruailous thinge, to heare what thinges it doeth speake; but in the end, the womē are of such power, that when they wyl, they impose silence to the lpyunge, and cause that in the graues the dead men speake. Acco:dinge to that I doe loue the, and acco:pyng to that I owe the, and as I haue bled, that whiche I doe sende the, is berape lytyl. I sape it, bycause that presently I doe sende the but 2. hoyses of barbarie. 12. swerdes of Alexander, and to Fronton thy seruante for a newe yeares gifte for hys good newes, I haue geuen hym an office, whiche is wo:the to hym. 20. thousand Sexterces of rente in Cecyl. Faustine dyd byd me I should send thy wyfe Pertusa a cofer full of odyferous odors of palestine, and another cofer full of her owne apparrel: the whiche as I thinke, thou wylte not lytel esseme. For naturallie women are of their owne goods niggardes: but in waisting & spendinge of others, berape prodigal. The almightye gods be with the, and preferue me from euyl fortune. The whiche I humbly beseeche to graunt, that vnto the and me, and vnto my wyfe Faustine, and thy wyfe Pertusa, that we al mere merely together in Rome: for the harte neuer receiueth suche ioye, as when he seeth hym selfe with hys desired frende. Marcus of Mounte Celio wyreth to the, with hys owne hande.

The.xxv.Chapter.

Howv decenete a thinge it is for a gentelmā to haue an eloquent tonge.



Ne of the chiefeſt thinges, that the creature gaue to man, was to know, and be able to ſpeake: for otherwiſe (the ſoule reſerued) the brute beaſtes are of more value, then doōm men. A riſtotle in his æconomices, without com- paryſon praiſeth more the Pithagorically ſorte, then the Stoical: ſateng that the one is more conſorme to reaſon, then the other is. Pithagoras commaunded, y al men which were doōm, and without ſpeache, ſhuld ſimediately, and without contradiction be baniſhed, and expulſed from the people. The cauſe why this philoſopher had commaunded ſuche thing was, ſo: ſomuch as he ſated, that the tonge is moued by the motions of the ſoule, and that he which had no tonge, had no ſoule. And he which hath no ſoule, is but a brute beaſte: and he that is a beaſte, deſerueth to ſerue in ſeldes among brute beaſtes. It is a wo:thy thinge, to ſpeake as the reaſonable mē do ſpeake: but it is much more wo:thy to ſpeake wel, as the eloquent philoſophers do. For otherwiſe, if he which ſpeaketh doeth wey the ſentences more then the wo:des, oftentimes y poppingayes ſhal cōtent them more, which are in the rage: then the men, whiche doe blaſe in ſcooles. Joſephus in the boke De bello Iudaico ſateth, that kinge Herode, not onely with his perſonne & goods, but alſo with all his frendes and parentes, ſolowed and gaue ayde to Marcus Anthonius, and to his louer Cleopatra, howbeit in the end, Octavian had the victo:rye. For the man which ſo: the lone of a woman doeth enterpriſe conqueſtes, it is impoſſible that either he looſe not his life, or els that he liue not in infamy. Herodes ſeing that Marcus Anthonius was dead, determynd to goe towarde the emperour Octaviā, at whoſe ſete he ſated his crowne, and made a notable oration, wherein he ſpake ſo pleaſaunte wo:des, and ſo hygh ſentences,

A. i.

THE DIAL

sentences, that the Emperoure Octavian
dod not onely pardon hym for that he was
so cruel an enemy: but also he confirmed
hym agayne into his realme, and toke him
for his deare and speecall frende. For as
mong the good men & noble hartes, many
evyll workes are amended by a few good
wordes. *Pl. Blundus*, in the booke intytuled
Roma triumphante, doe not deceiue me,
Pirrus the greates kynge of the *Epirotes*,
was skoute and hardye, valiaunt in armes,
lyberall in benefittes, pacient in aduersi-
ties, and aboue all renowned to be veraye
swete in wordes, and sage in his aunswers.

They sayed, that this *Pirrus* was so elo-
quente, & the man wth whom once he had spo-
ken, remayned so muche bys, that from that
tyme forwarde, in his absence he toke his
parte, and declared his lyfe and state in
presence. The aboue named *Blundus*
saied, and *Titus Linius* declareth the same,
that as the *Romaynes* were of all thinges
prouyded (seinge that kynge *Pirrus* was
so eloquente) they prouyded in the Senate,
that no *Romaine* ambassadour shuld speak,
vnto hym, but by a thirde person: for o-
therwise he would haue so perswaded them
thorowge his swete wordes, that they
shoulde haue retourned agayne to Rome,
as his procurers.

- ✧ *Albeit Marcus Tullius Cicero* was Se-
natoure in the Senate, consul in the Em-
pire ryche amongst the ryche, and hardye
amongest men of warre: yet trulye none of
all these quantities caused hym eternal me-
morie, but onely his excellent eloquence.
This *Tullius* was so esteemed in Rome for
the eloquence of his tongue only, that ofte
tymes they harde hym talke in the Senate,
3. hours togethers, without anye man spea-
kyng one worde. And let not this be lytl
esteemed nor lightly passed ouer: for worlde-
lye malice is of suche condycyon, that some
man maye more easely speake. 4. howers,
then another man shall haue pacyence to
heare hym one mynute.

Anthonijs Sabellicus declareth, that
in the tyme of *Amilbares* the *Affricans*,
a philosopher named *Afronio* flopysshed
in great *Carthage*, who being of the yeres
of 81. dyed in the firste yere of the warres
of *Punica*. They demaunded this philoso-
pher, what it was that he knewe: he aun-
swered. He knewe nothinge but to speake
well. They demaunded hym agayne what
he learned: he aunswered. He dyd learne
nothinge but to speake well. Another tyme
they demaunded hym what he taught: he
aunswered. He taughte nothinge but to
speake wel. He thinketh that this good phi-
losopher in 30. yeres and one, sayde that he
learned nothinge but to speake well, he
knewe nothinge but to speake wel, and that
he taughte nothinge but to speake wel. And
trulye he had reason: for the thinge whiche
most adorne mans lyfe, is the swete plea-
saunte tongue to speake wel. What is it to
see .2. men in one counceyl, the one talkyng
to the other, the one of them hathe an euell
grace in propoundyng, and thother excels-
lente in speakyng. Of suche there are some,
that in hearyng them talke .3. hours, we
would neyther be trobeled nor wepyed: and
of the contrarie parte, there are others so
tedypous, and rude in their speache, that so
sone as men perceiue they begin to speake
they auoyde the place. And therefore in
myne oppynion, there is no greater trou-
ble, then to harken one quarter of an houre
a rude man to speake: and to the contrary,
there is no greater pleasure, then to heare a
lyfereate man, thonghe it were a whole
weke. The denyne *Plato* in the booke of
latres sayed, that there is nothinge wherby
a man is knowen more, then by the wor-
des he speaketh: for of the wordes whiche we
heare hym speake, we iudge his intencion,
eithre to be good or euell. *Laertius* in the
lyfe of the philosophers saith, that a yong
chylde bozne at *Athens*, was byought vnto
Socrates the greates philosopher, being
in *Athens*, to the ende he shoulde receiue
hym

hym into hys companye, and teache hym in hys scoole. The yonge chyld was straunge and shameshafte, and durste not speake besyde hys mayster: wherefore the Philosopher Socrates saied vnto him, speake frend, if thou wylte that I knowe the. This sentence of Socrates was veraye profounde: and I praye hym that shall reade this wytyng, to pause a while thereat. For Socrates wyl not that a man be knowen by the gesture he hathe, but by the good or euell wordes whiche he speaketh.

Thoughe eloquence, and speakyng well to euerye man, is a cause of augmentyng their honoure, and no demynysher of their goods: yet withoute comparyson it shyneth muche more, and is mosse necessarye in the pallaces, of Prynces and great Lordes. For men whiche haue comen offices, oughte of necessitye harken to hys naturall contrymen, and also to speake with straungers. Speakynge therefore more playnely I say, that the Prince oughte not to traunple only to haue eloquence, for the honour of his personne: but also it behoueth him, for the comen wealthe. For as the prince is but one, and is serued of all: so it is vnpossyble that he haue somuche, as wyl satisfye and contente them all. And therefore it is necessarye, that he requyre some with money: and that he contente others with good wordes.

The noble harte loueth better, a gentle woorde of a free harte: then a rewarde or gyfte, with the tounge of a rude man. Plato, Linius, Herodotus, Vulpicius, Eutropius, Diorus, Plinie, and manye other innumerable auntyente hystoryographers, doe not cease to prayse eloquence of greke Princes, and latynes, in their workes.

O howe blessed were those tymes, when there were sage Princes, and dyscreate lordes: vnlpe they haue reason to craike them. For manye haue obteyned, and wonne the royall crownes and leytures of the Empire, not somuche, for the greare battayles they haue conquered, nor for the hyghe bloude

and generation from whence they are dyscended: as for the wysedom, and eloquence, whiche they had. Marcus Aurelius was naturall of Rome, bozne in mounte Celio, he was pooze in parrimonie, and of base lynage, lytell in fauoure, leste and forsaken of hys parentes, and besydes all this, onely for beyng vertuous in hys lyfe, profounde in doctryne, and of so hyghe eloquence, the Emperoure Anthonius called Pius, gaue hym hys doughter Faustyne for wyfe: who beyng reppoynd of manye, because he gaue hys doughter to so pooze a philosopher, answered, I had rather haue a pooze Philosopher, then a ryche foole.

Pulio in hys senenth booke of the Romayne lawes sayeth, that in Rome there was a lawe veraye well keppe, and obserued of the consules, by a custome broughte in, that the Dictatours, Censours, and Emperours of Rome, entered into the Senate once in the weeke at the leaste, and in this place they shuld geue and render accompte, in what state the common wealthe remayned. And woulde to God that at this present this lawe were so keppe, and obserued: for there is none who doeth minister so good iustyce, as he whiche thinketh to geue an accompte of hys doinges.

They saye that Calligula (the fourth Emperoure of Rome) was not onely deformed, in famons, and cruell in hys lyfe: but also was an Idote in eloquence, and of an euyl beteraunce in hys commynication.

So that he amonge all the Romayne prynces, was constrayned to haue others to speake for him in the Senate. This wycked man was so vnfortunat, that after hys cruel and infamous deathe, they drez to him thozoweout Rome, and set vpon his graue this Epitaphe.

*Calligula lyeth here, in endeles sleape
That stretcht his raygne, vpon the empires heade
Vnsure for rule, that coude suche folly beape
And fyne for deathe, where vertue so was deade.*

THE DIAL



Cannot tell why Princes doe praye them selues to be strong and hardy, to be wel disposed, to be runners, to iust wel, and do not esteeme to be eloquente: sinse it is true, that those gyftes doe profite them onely for their life, but the eloquence profiteth them, not only for to honour their lyfe, but also to augment their renoume. For we doe reade, that many Princes dyd pacifye greatesed persons in the common wealthe, and besydes that, they deserued immortall memozye.

Suetonius Tranquillus in the first boke of Césars sayeth, that the aduenturous Iulius Cesar (beinge as yet but, 16. yeares of age) when there died in Rome an aunte of hys called Cornelia, at her buryal he made an oration, in the whiche he (being so yong) shewed marvellous great eloquence: which was so acceptable that daye to all people, that in the ende, euerye man iudged hym to be a valyaunte Romayne caprayne. And as Appianus declareth, they saye that Silla spake these wordes.

That whiche I perceyue of this yonge man Caius Cesar is, that in the boldenes of hys tongue, he declareth howe valyaunt he oughte to be in hys personne. Let therefore Princes and greates lordes see, howe muche it maye profite them, to knowe to speake well, and eloquentely. For we se no other thinge daylye, but that a man of base lynage, by hys eloquence cometh to be exalted: and the other whiche of lynage is nobelye bozne, for wante of speaking wel, and being eloquente, is the firste that dyscenderh moste vilest of al other.

Intention whereuppon I wrote these thinges was for no other, but to admonish, perswade, and praye al Princes, and great lordes, that whyles their chyldren are yong, they shoulde put them to wylse and learned men, to the ende they shoulde teache them: not onelye howe they oughte to lyue, but also howe they oughte to speake. For two

personnes of estate, it is a greates infamye, to doe, or to inuent to doe a thinge, and afterwarde nat to knowe howe to geue a reason thereof. Polidorus in the thirde booke of his commentaries sayeth, that when the Lacedemonians were put to flyghte by the Athenians at Millina (it is called Millina, bycause the battayle was in the ryuer of Milline) the Lacedemonians sent a philosopher, called Reuxinus, to treatt of peace with the Athenians: who made such an eloquente oration to the Senate of Athens, that he dyd not onelye obteyne the peace whiche he desired for hys contry, but for hym selfe also he wanne perpetuall renownme. At the Philosophers retourne, the Athenians gaue hym a letter, which sayed in this sorte.

The.xxvi.Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Athenians sente to the Lacedemonians.



He Senate, people, and Sages of Athens, wissheth helth to the persons, & peace to the common wealthe, of you of the senate, and people of the Lacedemonians. We take the immortal gods to recozd, that in the last battayle, we had no lesse dyspleasure to se ye overcome: then on the contrary we had pleasure, to see vs remayne victorious. For in the ende, the daungers and inconueniences of the cruel warre are so great, that the euell and daunger is certaine, to them y are dainquished: and the profite is doubtfull, to them that haue overcome. We woulde gladly, that that whiche now ye will, ye woulde haue willed somer: & that which now ye require and demand, that before ye had required, and demanded.

maunded. But what that we do, since it was ordeined to your and oure woful descentes, that ye shuld loose the battayle, & that we of your losse cā take no profite. For it is a rule unfallible, that al that which the gods haue ordeyned, no wo:ldlye wight can amende, nor humayne power resiste. We demaunde that warre may cease and leaue of, and that we take truse for 3. monethes, and that during this time, peace and conoord may be concluded. To this we make aunswere. That the senate of Athens hath not accustomed to graūt peace, afterwarde for to retourne to warre. For amongst vs Athenians, we haue an auncient lawe, that frely we do accept the cruel warre, and lyberalpe we doe graunt perpetual peace. In our scholes and vniuersities we traunple to haue Sages in tyme of peace, for to healepe vs with their counsayles, in the tyme of warre. And they doe counsayle vs, that we neuer take vpon vs truse, vpon suspecte condicion. And in deade they counsayle vs well. For the sayned, and dyssembled peace, is muche more perillous: then is the manifest warre. The philosopher Heuxinus your embassadour, hath spoken to vs so highely, and eloquentlye, in this Senate, that it seemed to vs very vniuste, if we should denye him, and againe say he requirerh vs. For it is muche more honestpe, to graunte him peace, whiche by swete and pleasaunt wo:des doeth demaund it: then him, whiche by force, and sharpe swerde doeth requyrerh it. Let the case therefore be, that the Senate, people, and Sages of Athens haue ordeyned, that warre doe cease with the Lacedemonians, and that all dyscordes, contentions, dissentions, and debates doe ende and that perpetuall peace be graunted vnto them. And this thinge is done, to the ende all the wo:ld should knowe, that Athens is of such courage with the hardye, and so veray a frende to the Sages: that she knowerh howe to pynyshe the folye captaynes, and suffererh to be commaunded, and gouerned, by sage

philosophers. We knowe ryght wel, that all oure warre hath bene, but onelye for the possession of cittyes, and limytes of the ryuer Milina.

Wherefore by this letter we declare vnto you, and by the immortall Gods we sweare, that we doe renouunce vnto you all oure ryghte, on suche condycion, that you doe leaue vs Heuxinus your embassadour and Philosopher. The greate Athens despyrith, rather a philosopher for her scholes: then a hole prouynce of youre realmes. And doe not you other Lacedemonians thinke, that that which we of Athens doe, is light or folye, that is to wete, that we desire rather one mā to rule vs: then to haue a whole prouynce, whereby we maye commaunde manye. For this Philosopher shal teache vs to lyue well, and that lande gaue vs occasyon to dye euill: and sythe we nowe of youre olde enemies: doe become youre true frendes, we wyl not onelye geue you perpetuall peace, but also counsayle, for to keape it. For the medecyne whiche pferueth healtie, is of greater excellencye: then is the purgacion whiche healeth the dyscase. Let the counsaile therefore be suche, that as ye wyl the yonge men doe exercyse themselves in weapons: that so ye doe watche and see that your chyldre in tyme doe learne good letters. For euen as the warre by the cruell sworde: is folloved so lykelyse by pleasaunte wo:des, peace is obteyned.

We Lacedemonians do not thinke, that withoute a cause we doe perswade you, that you put youre chyldren to learne, when as yet they are but yonge, and tender, and that ye doe not suffer them, to runne to vices. For on the one parte, wyse men shal wante to counsayle, and on the other, foolles shall abounde to make debate.

The Athenians in lyke maner wyl not, that ye Lacedemonians doe thinke, that we be frendes to bablers. For our father Socrates ordeyned, that the fyrste lesson whiche shoulde be geuen to the scholer of

THE DIAL

dynnershyte shoulde be, that by no meanes he shoulde speake anye worde for the space of .2. yeares: for it is vnpossible that anye man shoulde be wyle in speakynge, vnles he haue pacyence to be sylene.

We thinke, if you thinke it good, that the Philosopher Heuxinus shuld remaine in oure Senate: and thinke you, if we poynte by hys ptesence, that ye maye be assured yee others shall not receyue anye damage, by the counsailes he shall geue vs.

For in Athens it is an auneyent lawe, that the Senate cannot take vpon them warres, but that by the Philosophers first it muste be examyned, whyther it be iust or not. We wyte none other thyng, but that we beseeche the immortall Gods, that they be with you, and that it please them to conserue vs in this perpetuall peace. For that onelye is perpetuall, whiche by the gods is confirmed.

The.xxvii. Chapter.

That nurces vvhich geue sucke to the chyl dren of Princes, oughte to be dyscreete, and sage vvemen.



THE PILGRAMES, whiche traunple through vnknewen countries, & straunge mountaynes (with greate desire to goe forwarde, and not to erre) doe not onely aske the way whiche they haue to goe: but also do impo-rtune those whom they mete, to poynte them the waye with their finger. For it is a gre-

uous thing, to traunple doubtfully in feare, and suspicion.

By this comparisson I meane, that sinse I haue muche perswaded, that the fathers do learne, and teache their chyldren to speake wel, it is but reason, that they do seke them some good maisters. For the counsaile hath no autho-ryte, if he whiche geueth it, sekerh not speedely to execute the same. It is much for a man to be of a good nature, or els to be of an euyl inclination, to be rude in vnderstandynge, or els to be lyeuely in spirite: and this not onelye for that a man oughte to doe, but also for that he oughte to saye.

For it is no small thinge, but a great good benefite, when the man is of a good nature, of a good vnderstandynge, and of a cleare iudgemente. This notwithstanding I say, that all the good and cleare iudgementes, are not alwayes eloquent: nor all the eloquentest of liuely spirites, and vnderstanding.

We se many men, whiche of a smal matter, can make muche: and for the contrarpy, we see manye men, whiche haue greate knowledge, and yet no meanes to bitter it. So that nature hath geuen them highe vnderstanding, and through negligence of bringinge vp, it is hidde. Oftentimes I doe meruaile, that the soule of the babe when it is borne, for thone parte is of no lesse excellencye: then the soule of the old man, when he dieth. And on the other syde, I muse at the babe whiche hath the members so tender (wherewith the soule doeth worke hys operacions) that they lytle seme to partycypate with reasonable creatures. For where the soule doeth not shewe her selfe mystryes, it wanteth lytle, but that the man remayneth a beaste.

It is a wonder to see the chyldren, that as yet beinge .2. yeares of age, they lyfte their feete for to goe, they holde them selues by the walles for satyngge, they wyll open their eyes to knowe, & they soume a defused voyce to speake: so that in that age, a creature is none other wyse, then a tree at the firste sprynge.

For

For the tree .i. monethes beinge passe,
beareth leaues immediatly: and the childe
after .2. yeares, beginneth to frame his wo-
des. This thinge is spoken, for that the fa-
thers whiche are wylle, shoulde beginne to
teache their children at that age: For at
that tyme, the vines beare grapes, and o-
ther trees their fruite. For the perilles of
this lyfe are such, that if it were possible,
the father before he see his sonne borne,
ought to admonyshe him howe he shoulde
lyue. In myne opinion, as they conuey
the water aboute, to turne the mylle: so
from the tender youth of the infante, they
ought to helpe and teache him, to be elo-
quent, and affable. For trulye, the childe
learneth distynctly to pronounce his wo-
des, when he dothe sucke the mylke of his
nource.

Wee can not denye, but that the chil-
dren being but .2. or .3. yeares old, it is to sone
to giue them maisters, or correcters. For
at that age, a nource to make the cleane is
moze necessary: then a maister for to correct
their speache. On the one parte, the children
are very tender for to learne to speake wel:
and on the other parte, it is necessary, that
when they are verye yonge and lytle, they
shoulde be taught and learned. I am of that
opinion, that Princesses and greate Ladies
shoulde take suche nources, to giue the-
re children sucke: that they shoulde be sounde
to giue them their mylke, and sage for to
teache them to speake. For in so yonge and
tender age, they doe not suffer, but that the
which giueth them sucke, doth teache them
to speake the first wordes. As Sextus Che-
ronensis in the booke of the diuersities of
the languages saith. The Hetruscans
were the first, which called the tongue na-
turall of the countrey, a naturall tongue
(which is to say, our mother tongue) to the end
we shoulde take it of the mother, which bring-
geth vs forth: and of the nource, whiche gi-
neth vs sucke. And in this case, we haue

lesse neede of the mother, then of the nource.

For the children before they knowe they
mothers, whiche broughte them into the
worlde, doe call the nource mother, whiche
gane them sucke. Plutarke in the seconde
booke of the regiment of Princes sayeth,
that one of the greatest things the Ro-
maines hadde in their common weale was,
that of all the languages and maners,
whiche they speake throughtoute the hole
earth, they hadde Collegies and Schooles
in Rome: so that were he neuer so Barba-
rous that entred into Rome, immediatly
he founde that vnderstoode hym.

The Romaynes vled that craft and sub-
teltie, to the ende that when Rome sente
Embassages into straunge countreys, or
that some straunge Countreies came to
Rome, they woulde that the interpretours
and brokers shoulde be of theyr owne na-
tion, and not of a straunge tongue or coun-
treys. And the Romaynes trulye had rea-
son, for the affaires of greate importan-
ce, are oftentimes craftely compassed by a
straunge tongue. A man wyll marueylle
greatly to reade, or heare thys that I
speake, whiche is, that the women whiche
nourishe the children of Princes be elo-
quent. And truly be that at thys doth mer-
uayle, hath sene litle, and reade lesse.

For I can not tell whiche was greater,
the gloire that the auncestres hadde, to en-
ioye so excellent women: or the infamy
of them that are presente, to suffer so dys-
honest harlottes. I wyll not denye, when
I drewe neere thys mater, that my spiryts
were not in greate perplexitie.

Firste to see in thys my wyrryng, of
what women my penne shoulde write, that
is to wete, the dissolute byces of women
whiche I haue sene: or els the prowesses
and vertues of women, wherof I haue
rede.

Finally, I am determined to entreate of
pure graine, and coyne, & to leane the rotten
straw

THE DIAL

strate on the earth, as withoute profyte.

For the tongue whiche is noble, oughte to publishe the goodnes of the good and honeste women, to the ende that all knowe it: and for the contrarie, the frailenes of the wyched oughte to be dissembled, and kepte secrete, to the ende that no man followe it. Men whiche are sage and noble, treatinge of women, are bounde to serue them, to bysite them, to preserve them, and to defende them: but in no wyse they haue licence to sclander them. For the man whiche speaketh of the frailenes of women, is like vnto him that taketh a sworde to kyl a flye.

Therefore touchinge the mater Pryncesses and greate Ladyes oughte not to cease, to teache their yonge chyldren, all that they can, sonnes or daughters.

And they oughte not to deceyue themselves, sayenge that forasmuche as theyr daughters are women, they are vnable to learne sciences. For it is not a generall rule, that all men chyldren, are of cleane vnderstanding: nor that all yonge men are of rude spirite and wyte.

For of thow and the others hadde learne togethers, I thincke there woulde be as manie wise women, as there are foolyshe men. Thoughe the worlde in tymes paste dyd enioye excellent women, there was neuer any nation hadde suche as the Grekes hadde.

For thoughe the Romaynes were glorious in weapons: the Grekes were of immozrall memozye of letters. I wyll not denaye, that in the common wealthe of Rome, there hath not bene nourished, and taughte, manie women of great science: but that the difference of the one and the others was, that the Cretian women were learned in Philosophy, and the Romayne women in Rethorycke, and Poetrie. And hereof came, that in Athens they esteemed to knowe howe to teache well: and

in Rome they vaunted howe to speake wel.

Euphronius in the thirde booke of the Romayne gestes sayeth, that in the thyrde yere of the Consullshyppe of Lelius Sylla, by chaunce a Greeke Embassatour, and an Embassatour of Rome, were at wordes, in the Senate of the Rhodians, and the Greeke Embassatour saide to the Romayne Embassatour. It is true that amongeste ye other Romaynes, ye are aduenturous in armes: but for all that ye are vnable in sciences: For trulpe the women of Grece knowe moze in letters: then the men of Rome in weapons.

As sone as the Senate of Rome vnderstoode these wordes, immediatly here vpon grewe the cruell warres betwene Rome and Carthage, aboute the possession of Scicill.

And no man ought hereat to meruaile, for in the ende, wee see moze warres arysen by inuisious wordes: then for to recouer the good that is loste.

The Romaynes and the Cretians, therefore beinge readye the one to despye the other, the Rhodians came in the myddeste, and kepte them from suche debate: and in the ende appointed them in this sorte,

That is to wete, that as this insurpe should by weapons haue bene determined, they ordeyned that by the disputacions of women it shoulde be argued.

And trulpe the Romaynes were counsayled well, for it was greater shame to the Grekes to be overcome, with the tongues of women: then with the swordes of men.

The case therefore was suche, that by appoyntement, assembled at Rhodes tenne Romayne women, and tenne Greeke women. All women verye well learned, the whyche in these charyes reade certayne lessons, euerye one after other. and afterwards the one disputed against the other, of sandrye and diuers maters.

And

And finallye, there was betwene them greate difference, for the Greekes spake verie highe thinges, not so profounde, but with an excellence stile. We oughte not to marueyle that suche gyftes were in those women. For we dayly see it by experyence; that profound science, and hygh eloquence, selborne meeteth in one personage.

The Greekes were verie well pleased, to heare the Romayne women: and the Romaynes remayned astonied, to heare the Greekes. And vpon this occasion, the Rhodians iudged in thys sorte, that euery one of them shoulde be crowned with a crowne of Laurell as banquishers.

And they iudged, that in graue sentences, the Gretians hadde the beste: and in eloquent speache, the Romaynes hadde the victorie. As the aboue named Euphronius saith, these disputations beinge ended, the Romayne women returned to Rome: and the Greeke women to Grece, where they were receyued with such triumphe and gloire, as if they hadde wonne a battaylle. The senate of the Rhodians for the memo-rye of those women (in the place of the disputations) caused to be sette by twentye myghty pylers, in euery one of the which, were the names of the women. Whiche was so sumptuous a buildinge, that in Rhodes there was none lyke vnto it, save onelye the greate Collyseo. Those pylers stood, vntill the tyme of Heliogabalus Emperour, who was so euill, that he inuented newe byces, and destroyed the auncyente memo-ries. The wyters whiche wrote in that tyme, declare yet an other thinge, wherein the women of Grece were differente, from the women of Rome.

That is to wete, that the Greeke women were founde moze sayzer, then the Romayne women: but the Romaynes hadde a better grace, and moze ryche in apparell, then the Greekes.

They saide also, that the Greekes were

moze hardye and stout, then the Romaynes: but the Romaynes were moze honeste, pleasaunt, and gracions, then the Greekes. And if thys be true, I doe counsaile pryncesses and greate Ladies, that they haue no moze enuye at the honestye of the Patrones of Rome: then at the boldenesse of the Ladies of Grece. For women were not bozne to slepe men in the warre: but to spyne, sowe, and lyue well, in the house,

The. xxviii. Chapter.

That vvomen maye be no lesse vvise then men, and though they be not, it is not through the faulte of nature, but for vvante of bringing vp.



EASINGE to speake ingenerallye, it is but reason we speake partyculerlye, and that we reduce to memo-rye some auncyente bystories, of wyse and dyscrete women, aswell Greekes, as Romaynes: and so; that these Ladies (seynge what others were in times past) maye knowe what theyr dutye is at this presente.

In myne opinion, the duetie that the men of this presente haue to solothe the courage, that the auncyentes had in fyghting: the selfe same desyre women of thys present ought to haue, to solothe the auncyentes
women

THE DIAL

women in deuoute lpyng.

For there is no good thyng in the worlde as this daye present, but the lyke hath bene sene of our auncientes heretofore. When any sodayne, newe, and vnaccustomed thyng dothe happen, men that neuer sawe the lyke, vse to saye that there was neuer the lyke in the worlde, yet in dede they saye not true: For though the thyng be vnto them newe, it is thowghe their ignorance, and symplenes, whyche neyther haue read it by them selues, nor hearde it of others.

For thys is the excellenye that the man hath whyche is well learned: that for what so euer he heareth, or sayeth, he is nothyng abashed. Synce the women nowe a dayes are so ignorant, that scarcely any of them can reade well, he whyche shall reade thys, wyll marueyle why I doe perswade them to learne: but the truthe knowen, what the auncientes were, and what they dyd knowe, from this tyme forthward, I beleue they would greatly reprove the women of thys present.

For the tyme whyche the auncient women spent, in vertues and studies: these of this presente, consume in pleasures and vices. Boccace in the booke of the prayse of women sayeth, that Lelius Sylla was a greate companion of Marcus the Consul, in the tyme of the warre of Jugurtha: and was no lesse a frende of Caius Cesar, in the tyme of the firste cyuill warres.

By penne needeth not to be occupied, to wyte any thynges of the lyfe of Sylla. For all the Hystoryographers doe not onely reprove the cruelties, whyche he vsed to his enemies: but also condempne hym for the lytell sayeth, that he obserued to his frendes.

This Consul Sylla hadde thre daughters, the one of them was named Lelia Sabyna, the whyche of all the systers was lesse saye: but amongest all the Romanes, she was moste sagest.

For she redde openly in Rome in a chayre, bothe Greke and Latyn. After the warres of Mithridates, Lelius Sylla came to Rome, where thre thousande Romanes he beheaded, whyche came to salute hym: althoughe before by his worde, he hadde them all assured.

And in dede, and also in selfe, Lelius Sylla hadde bene vtterlye vndone for thys fact, if his daughter hadde not made to the Senate a wyse oration: For ofte tymes it chaunceth, that the wysedome of the good chyldre, dothe remedye the follye of the wycked father.

The Hystorians saye, that thys Lelia Sabyna hadde not onely a greate grace in readyng: but also she hadde muche excellenye in wytyng. For she wrote manye letters and Oracyons, wyth her owne hande, whyche her father Lelius Sylla afterwarde learned by harte: and as he was in dede quicke of spirite, so he vsed to recyte them to the Senate alwayes for his purpose.

And let no man meruaile hereat, for there are some of so rude vnderstandyng, that that whyche they wyte and studye, they can scarcely vtter: and others agayne are of suche lynely wytt, that of that onely whyche they haue heard, it seemeth meruaillous to heare, wyth what eloquence they wyll talke. Bycause Sylla hadde suche, and so excellent a daughter in his house, he was esteemed for a sage and wyse Councillour, thowgheoute all the common wealt.

He was counted verie absolute in executinge, stronge in mainteynyng, and for ryghte eloquence in speakinge.

Finallye, of thys came thys auncient proverbe, whyche sayeth. Lucius Sylla gouerneth his owne Countrey, wyth the eloquence of his Tongue: and is Lord of other straunge nacions, by the force of his wyte.

What

What the great Plato hath bene, and what greate auctoritie he hath hadde amongest his and amongest the straungers it is apparant: for so muche as the Greekes doe acknowledge hym of all other Philosophers to be the Prince: and lykewyse the Latyns, by one consent call hym deuyne.

And me pyncher that in doynge this, they do no philosopher intyre: for as Plato in his lyfe tyme had greate modestie, so trulye in his wynginge, he exceeded mans capacitye. An Hystorian called Hyzearchus, declareth that Lasterna and Axiothea were true Greekes very well learned, and amongest the tollers of Plato, cheafely renowned. The one was of so perfect a memorye, and the oter of so hyghe an understandinge, that Pato oftentimes beyng in the chapyre (and these two not readye) he woulde not beginn to reade. And beinge asked wherfore he had not his leaure, he answered: I wyl not reade, for that there wanteth here understandinge, whiche shoulde vnderstande and also memorye, that shoulde it retayn. Wherbyng that Lasterna was absent, that Axiothea was not yet come.

The wysedome of those two women ought to be muche, synce Pato withoute them woulde not utter one worde, vnlesse they were pte in his scole. For Plato esteemed moze the vnderstandinge and memorye of those two women alone: then he dyd the Philosophye of a his other Scollers together. Aristipus the Philosopher, was Scoller to Socrates, and of the most renowned of Athens. He hadde a daughter called Aretha, the whiche was so wel learned in Greeke and Latyn letters, that the common renome saide, that the soule of Socrates was entred into Aretha: and the cause that moued them to saye this was, beause in suche wyse the doctryne of Socrates she read, and declared, that it

seamed to most men she hadde rather wylte by hande, then learne by sudyng.

Boccace in the seconde booke of the prayse of women sayeth, that this Aretha was so excellent a woman, that she dyd not onely learne for her selfe, but also to teache others: and dyd not onely teache in dyuers Schooles, but also she wrote manye and sondrye bookes, one in respectallie in the prayse of Socrates, an other of the maner of bringinge by chyldren, an other of the warres of Athens, an other of the tyrannicall force, an other of the comon wealth of Socrates, an other of the infelicities of women, an other of the Tyllage of the atinycities, an other of the wonders of Mount Olympus, an other of the bayncare of the Sepulcre, an other of the procession of the Antes, an other of the workemanshippe of the bees in honey: and she wrote two others, the one of the bannities of youth, and the other of the miseries of age. This woman dyd reade openlye naturall and morall Philosophye, in the Schooles of Athens, for the space of fyue and twentye yeares: she made fortye Bookes, she hadde a hundred and tenn Philosophers to her Scollers, she dyed beinge of the age of seuentye and seven yeares, and the Athenians after her death, engraue on her graue these wordes.

*He shifed stones within their bowels keape
T Wise Aretha, the great and onely might
That forcerth enuie gentel teares to weape
For Grekes decay, on whom the lesse darst light.*

*The eye of fame, the hart of vertues life
The head of Greece, he here engraue, so
more heavenly forme then had that heavenly wife
Which vnderminde the plagues eyes with rice*

*Within the chest of her respected minde
lay Thomas truth, and eke hir honest faith
Within her hande (as by the gods affinite)
Stood Aristippus, penne that vertue maynt.*

THE DIAL

*Within the dungeon of her body eke
Imprisonde was, wise Socrates his soule
That liued so well, and did so wisely speke
That follies brist, he could to wisdom moule.*

*Within her head sooner beapt with wit
Lay Homers tongue, to slayne the poetes arte
First was the golden age not halfe so fit
For vertues Impes, as when her life did parte.*

As Marcus Varro saith, the sectes of the philosophers were more then .70. but in the end, they were reduced into .7. and in the ende, they were brought into .3. sectes chiefly. That is to wete, Stoicques, Peripateticques, and Pythagoricques. Of these Pythagoricques, Pithagoras was prince. Hyzearcus, Annius Rusticus and Lascertius, with Eusebius, and Boccace, all affirme one thinge, whereunto I dyd not greatlye geue credite, whiche is: that this Philosopher Pithagoras had a sister, not onely learned, but (if it be lawfull to speake it) excellently learned. And they say, that not she of Pithagoras, but Pithagoras of her, learned philosophy. And of truth it is a matter whereof I was so greatly abashed, that I can not tell who coulde be master of such a woman: since she had Pithagoras the great Philosopher to her scoller. The name of the woman was Theoclea, to whom Pithagoras her brother, wrote and sente a letter, when he red Philosophy at Rhodes, & she at Samothracia doinge the like. The Epistle was thus as foloweth.

The. xxix. Chapter.

¶ Of a Letter xvhiche Pithagoras sent to a sister of his.



Pithagoras thy brother, and discipule to the Theoclea his sister, health and increase of wisdom wether. I haue red the booke whiche thou diddest send me,

of fortune and misfortune, from the beginninge to the endinge: and nowe I knowe, that thou art no lesse graue in making, then gracious in teaching. The which dothe not chaunce very oft to vs, which are men: and much lesse (as we haue sene) to you women. For the philosopher Aristippus was rude in speaking, & profound in witting: & Ame- nides was wise in witting and eloquent in speaking. Thou hast studied and witten in such sorte, that in the learning that thou thewest, thou seemest to haue read al the philosophers: and in the antiquities that thou doest declare, it seemeth that thou hast sene all the tyme past. Wherein thou being a woman thewest thy selfe more then a woman: because the nature of women is, to caste their eyes onely in the that is presente, and comonly to forget hat that is passe. They tell me, that thou dost occupie thy selfe nowe in witting of our countrey. And truly in this case I am not say but that you haue matter ynonge to wryte on: For the warres and trauales of our tymes haue bene suche, and so great, that I had rather reade them in booke, then see them with my eyes. And if it be so, as I suppose it is, I beseeche the hartely, and by the immortall gods I coniure the that in wrytinge the affaires of thy countrey, thou doste ble thy penne discreetly. Meane, that thou do not in this case bleame thy wryting, by puttinge therein any attertye, or lesinge. For oftentimes Hystorographers, in blasfynge more then trouth, he gyftes of their countrey: cause woithlye to be suspected these wrytinge. Thou knowest very well, howe that in the battaile past, the Rhodians were ouercome, and that ours remained victor- ious. We thinke thou shouldst not in this case greatly magnify, colle, or exalt ours, by cause in the ende they tughte to reuenge their insurpe: neither thou oughtest to blame the Rhodians, for they did not fight but in the ayde of Rome. I speake thy (my Sister) because for to defende their own woman

women shewe them selues Lyons, and so: to
desse the thinges of another man, do shewe
them selues chickens. For in the end, he on-
ly may be counted stronge, the whiche de-
fendeth not his owne house: but whiche dy-
eth, defendynge his, and another mans. I
wyl not denye the natural loue of my coun-
trei, nor I wyl not denye, but that I loue
them that wyte and speake wel therof: but
me thinketh it is not reason, that the good-
nes & truelyth of other countries, they should
dispraise, nor the euell and bilenes of their
owne so highly commend. For there is not
in the world this daye so barren a realme,
but may be comended for some thing there
in: nor there is so pestynt a nation, but in
some thinges may be reposed. Thou canst
not denye me, but that amongst thy bye-
thren I am the eldest, and thou canst not
denye, but that amongst all thy dysciples,
I am the yongest: and since that for being
thy dysciple I ought to obeye the, thou like-
wylle, for that I am thy eldest brother, ough-
test to beleue me. By the sayeth of a pupil
I doe counsel the, my syster, that thou doe
trayle muche to be pofound in thy wo-
des, by right in thy lyfe, and honest of thy
parson: and besydes all this, true in thy wy-
tyng. For I let the vnderstande, that if
the bodye of the man withoute the soule is
lytel regarded: I sweare vnto the, that the
mouthe of a man withoute truelyth is muche
lesse esteemed.

The. xxx. Chapter.

The auctour foloweth his pur-
pose, persvading princeesses and
other ladyes to endeouour them
selues to be vwise, as the vwomen
were in olde time.



HIS therfore was the letter,
the which Pithagoras sente to
his syster Theoclea, wherby is
shewed the greates humyltite of
him, & the high eloquence of her. Hiarthus
the greke, & Plutarche also in the booke of
the gouernment of princes saye, that Pitha-
goras had not only a syster (which was cal-
led Theoclea) of whō he learned somuche
philosophy, but also he had a daughter, the
wisdom & knowledge of whom, surmoun-
ted her aunte, & was equal to her father. I
thinke it no lesse vncredible which is spokē
of the doughter, then that which is spoken
of her aunte, which is that those of Athenes
dyd reioyse moze to here her speake in her
house, then for to here Pithagoras rede in
the scoole. And it ought to be beleued: for the
saying of the graue aucthors in her parte:
and by that we dayly se on the other parte.
For in the end, it is moze pleasure to here a
man tel mery tales, hauing grace & comli-
nes in his wordes: then to here a grane mā
speake the truelyth, w a rude & rough to-
gue. I haue found in many wytynges, what they
haue spokē of Pithagoras, & his doughter:
but none tellyth her name, save onely in a
pissel y Phalaris the tyrant wrote, I found
this word wyte, where he sayeth. Polichra-
ta, that was the doughter of the philosopher
Pithagoras, was yong, & exceeding wyse,
moze faire, then riche, & was so much hono-
red for the parity of her life, & so high este-
med for her pleasaunt tongue: that the worde
which she spake spinning vpon her distaffe,
was moze esteemed: then the philosophy y her
father red in the scoole. And he sayed moze.
It is so great a pity to se, & here y women at
this present, in their life so dishonest, and in
their tonges so malicious: y I haue greater
pleasure in the good remembrance of one y is
deade, then in the infamy of al them, which
are aliue. For a good womā is moze wothe
to her distaffe spinning then a hyndred euell
queenes, w their roial scepters raigninge.
By the wordes which Phalaris sayed in his

THE DIALL

letter, it seemed y this daughter of Pihagoras was called Polichrate, Pihagoras therfore made many cōmentaries, allwel of his owne cōstrey, as of straungers. In the end he dyed in Mesopotania, where at the houre of his death, he spake vnto his daughter Polichrate, & saied these woordes. I se my daughter, y the houre wherein I muste end my life appocheeth, The gods gaue it me, & now they will take it from me: nature gaue me birth, and now she geneth me death: the earth gaue me y bodye, & now it retourneth to ashes. The woful fatal destinyes gaue me a litel goods, mingled w many trauayles, so that (daughter) of all thinges whiche I enioyed in this wo:ld, I cary none w me: for hauing al as I had it, by y way of bozwing: now at my death, each man taketh his owne. I die ioyfully not for y I leaue the riche: but for y I leaue the learned. And in roke of my tender harte, I bequeth vnto y all my bookes, wherin thou shalt find the treasure of my trauayles. And I tel the, y that I geue the, is the riches gottē w myne owne sweate: & not obtained, so y p̄iudice of another. For y loue I beare vnto the, daughter I pray the, & by the immortal gods I cōfure the, y thou be such, & so good, y althoughe I die, yet at y least thou maiest keape my memory: for thou knowest wel what Homere saith, speaking of Achilles, & Pirrus, that the good life of the child, y is alīue, keapeth the renowne of the father y is deade. These were y woordes, whiche this philosopher spake vnto his daughter lyeng in his death bed. And thoughe perhappes he spake not these woordes: yet at the least this was the meaning. As the great Poet Mantuan saith, king Euāder was father of y giāt Pallas, and he was a great frēd of kyng Eneas, he hauēd him selfe to discred of y lineage of the troians: & therfore wōē king Eneas, & prince Turnus, had great warres betwene them, whiche of the shuld haue the p̄incesse Lavinia in mariage (the whiche at y time was on lyce heire of Italy) king Euander apyed E-

neas, not only w goods: but also sendyng him his owne sōne in p̄rso. For the frēdes ought for their true frēdes, willigly to shed their bleud, & in their behalfe, wout demaūding, they ought also to spende their goods. This king Euāder had a wise so wel learned, y y whiche y grekes saide of her, semeth to be fables. That is to say (of her eloquence and wisdō) for they say, that yf that whiche this womā wate of y warres of Troy, had not ben throught enuy cast into the fire: the name of Homere had at this day remained obscure. The reaso hereof is, bycause y womē was in y time of the destrucciō of Troy, & wate as a witnes of sight. But Homere wate after the destruction of Troy, as one affectioned vnto the p̄ince Achilles, as a frend of the grekes, & enemy of the Trojans, And truly whē a wyrtier is affectioned to any person, his wyrtypng of force must be suspected. The wyfe of this king Euander was called by her name Micostrata, albeit others called her Carmēta, for the eloquēce she had in her verses, for they saye, that she made as easely in meter, as others doe in prose. The historiographers saye, y she p̄phesied the destrucciō of Troy. 15. yeres before. She told the cōming of Eneas into Italy, & spake of the warres, that shuld be for the maryage of Lavinia, and sayed howe Ascanius, the sōne of Eneas, shuld bylye Alba lōga. She saied further, that of y latē kings, shuld descēd the romaynes: & that the reuenge whiche rome shuld take of Grece shuld be greater, then that whiche Grece did take of troy. And she sayed also that y greatest warre whiche rome shuld haue, shuld be against the p̄inces of A strike: & that in the end, rome shuld triumphe ouer all the realsmes of the earth, & finally, a nation vnknoūē, shuld triūphe for euer of rome. As Eusebius Cesarien saith, the romaynes keppe these wyrtinges in as great estimaciō in the high capital: as the chrystīā religiō keapeth the sacramēt in the tēple. King Dari⁹, after that he was vāquished in the first battail by
king

king Alexander the great (before he was in the second battaille utterly destroyed) traungled & sought many waies & meanes, to the end that he myght be frend vnto Alexander: and in very dede, king Darius was sage to seeke it, but not so happy to obtayne it. For to princes, the peace is moze woorth than is honestie: the is the victorie, which is bloudy. Between those two so stout princes, creuce was made for .3. monethes, & in the meane tyme the pylesses of the Caldeans treated peace, with these condicions: that the great Alexander shuld marrye his daughter of kinge Darius, and that Darius shoulde geue her a greaie quantitie of gold, & besides this, that he shuld endowe her wth the third parte of his realme. And trulpe these meanes were good, for among princes ther is nothing that soner pacifieth olde iniuries: then to make betwene them new mariages. The kyng Alexander excused him selfe of this marriage, saying that he was but .24. yeares of age, & that he was to yong to be married, because amongst the Macedonians there was a custome: that the womā could not be married vntil .25. yeares of age, nor a man vntil .30. The daughter of kinge Darius was faire, riche, & noble, but the best she wanted, for she was not wyse. And this was the cause, why king Alexander refused her for his wyfe: for in those dayes, women were not married because they were riche, but beloued because they were wise: & finallye the woman that had studied best, came commonly to the highest marriage. Annius Rusticus, & Quintus Severus say, that the great Alexander (after he had forsake his daughter of king Darius) married a wyfe, which was a poore womā, & deformed, called Barsina, which in dede was neither with riches, nor beauty, endued: but without doubt in Greek & Latine tongue, most excellently learned. And when the princes of Macedony would haue withdrowne him fro that marriage, asking him why he esteemed the riche, lesse than the poore, he answered. I se my frendes, in mariages it sufficeth a husband to be rich,

& the womā wyfe: for the office of the husband is, to winne that which is lost, & the office of the wyfe is, to keape that which is wonne. Strabo de situ orbis saith, that the first queene of Lides was Mirtha, the which of her booye was so lytell, that she seemed to be a dwarffe: & in quickenes of witte so hyghe, that they called her a gyaunte. For the man that hath a stout stomake, & litel body, maye wel be called a gyaunt: & he that hath a great body, & a cowardes hart, maye iustly be named a dwarffe. For this excellent Queene Mirtha was such a wise wyfe when she was married, & afterward also a widow very honest, and aboue all thinges in philosophy excellently learned: the Lides counted this queene Mirtha among the seven kinges, of the which they vaunted themselves to be gouerned, as of glorious princes. For the ancientes gaue as much gloire, to women learned in letters: as to the valiaunt and stout men, experte in armes. Cornificius the poet, as Laertius saith, had a sister called Cornificia, the which in Greke and latine letters, was not onely learned: but also in makinge meter, and epigrames, very experte. They wyte that of this woman, which of fewe men the like hath ben harde. That is to wyte, that she made verses and epigrames better, at the first sight: then her brother did, with muche studye. And it is not so muche incredible, to put anye doubt in that she is spokē, for she hath moze swiftnesse, of the lively sprite: then the tongue hath, of the smal vnderstanding. This poet Cornificius was resident a long tyme in Rome, & was alwaies poore & boide of all fauoure, though in dede he was better learned then others, which were in greater estimation: the which thing daily chaunceth in the court of princes. For there is no difference, whether they be fooles or wyse: but whether they be acceptable to the princes. Aristotle saith, *Vbi multū de intellectu, ibi parū de fortuna.* Meaning thereby, that men which of memory and vnderstanding are most rich, of goods

THE DIAL

this world, are commonly most poore. This poet Cornificius, therfore going throughte Rome wout ayde, bichauunce, a roma named Chalphurnus, to scole at him sated. Tel me Cornificius, hast thou had anye fortunare day, sence thou were bozme: so; in these. 20. yeres y I haue knowe the, I neuer sawe the in fauour, and if I be not discaued, it is. 15. yeres sins I knowe the haue this core. The poore poet answered him, I let the knowe my frende, y I can not tel which is greater thy euill lucke, or my great felicity. The Roman Calphurnius replied, tell me Cornificius, how canst thou call thy selfe happy, sins thou hast not one lose of bread to eate, nor one golwe to put on thy backe, & why saist thou that I am unhappye, sins thou & al thy family may be fed w y alone, whiche at my table remayneth. To this y poet Cornificius answered, I wyl that thou knowe my frende and neighbour Calphurnius, y my felicity is not, for that I haue litell, but for that I desire lesse then I haue, & thy euill lucke is not for that y hast much, but for that y desirest moze, & dost litell esteame that that thou hast. And if thou be rich, it is for that y neuer speakest truth, & if I be poze it is because I neuer told lie. For the house that is w riches stuffed: is commonly of the truth void. And I tel the further, that I cal my selfe happy, because I haue a syster whiche is the best esteamed in all Italy, & thou hast a wife, the most dishonest in all Rome. And sith it is so betwene the & me, I referre it to no mas iudemēt, but to thine, which is better: either to be poze, as I am w honour, or els to be riche as y art, & to liue w infamy. These wordes passed betwene the Roman Calphurnius, & the poet Cornificius. I desire to declare the excellēcy of those fete aunciet womē (as wel Grekes, as Latines, & Romaines) to intent y princesses, & great ladies may know, y the aunciet womē were moze esteemed for their sciēces, the for their beauties. Therfore y princesses & great Ladies ought to thinke, y if they be womē, they

were also in like maner: & if they be frayle, the others were also weake. If they be married, the other also had husbands: if they haue their willes, the other had also, what they wanted: if they be tender, the others were not strōg: Finally, they ought not to excuse them selues, saying y so; to lerne womē are vniuerse. For a woman hath moze ability to leatne sciēces in the scoles: then y parate hath to speake wordes in y cage. In my opinion, princesses & great ladies ought not to esteame the selues moze then an other, for y they haue sayer-beeyes, the another, or so; that they are better appareled the another: or that they haue moze riches, the an other. but they ought therfore to esteame the selues, not for that they cā do moze the others: but for y they knowe moze the others. To say the truth, the saye: & yelow beards, the riche & bzaie apparel, the great errascurs, the sumptuous pallaces, & strōg buyldinges, these & other lke pleasures are not guides & leders to vertues: but rather sples & scoute watches for vices. What a noble thinge were it, y the noble ladies would esteame the selues not for y they can do: but for y, that they knowe. For it is moze cōmendaciō to knowe howe to reach. 2. philosophers: the to haue auctozity to cōmaūd a. 100. knyghtes. It is a shame to wyte it, but it is moze pytite to se it, that is to wete, to read y we read of y wisdom & worthines of y aunciet matrones past, & to se as we do se, the frailenes of these pōge ladies present. For they conected to haue disciples both learned & experimēted: & these of this presēt, desire nothing but to haue seruants, not only ignozant, but deceitful & wicked. And I do not mernasse seeing which y I se, which is, y at this present she is of litell value, & lest esteemed amonge the ladies, which is of sewest desired. What shal I say moze in this matter but y they t times past strined who shuld wyte better, & cōpile the best bookes: & these at this presēt do not strine, but who shal haue y richest & most sumptuous apparel. For the ladyes thinks

thinke it a folier matter, to weare a gowne of a newe inuention: the *h* auncientes did to read a lesſon of philosophy. The auncier ladies tried which of the was wisest: but these of our dayes contend who shall be fairest. For at this day, the ladies would chose rather to haue *h* face to be beauti adorned: the *h* heart to al *h* wisdom in Greta ended. The auncient ladies contended which should be better able to teach others: but these ladies now a dayes, contend how they may most finely apparel the selues. For in these dayes, they giue more honour to a womā richly appareled the they giue to an other to honestye beautified. Finally to this worde I do conclude, & let him marke *h* shall read it, *h* in *h* old time *h* women were such that their vertues caused al mē to kepe silence: & now their vices be such, *h* they compel al mē to speake. I wil not by this my word any mā should be so bold ingenerally to speake euil of al *h* ladies: for in this case, I sweare that there are not at this day so many good vertuous women in *h* world: but that I haue more enuy at *h* life they lead in secret, the at al the sciences which the auncient women red in publicke. Wherefore my pen doth not shewe it selfe extreme but to those which only in superfluous apparel & in vaine wordes do consume their whole life: & to those which in reading a good booke wold not spend one only houre. To proue my intencio of *h* I haue spokē, *h* a booke writtē sufficeth. But to *h* end princesles & great ladies maye se at the lest, holue much better it shalbe for them to knowe lytel, then to haue & possesse much, & to be able to do more. I wil remembre the of *h* which a Romaine woman wrote to her children, whereby they shal perceyue howe eloquent a woman she was in her sayings and holue true a mother in her counsel. For in the ende of her letter she perswadeh her children of the trauayles of the warre, not for any other cause, but to auoyd the pleasures of Rome.

The. xxxi. Chapter.

Of the vworthines of the ladye cornelia, and of a notable epistle she wrote to her. ii. sones which she serued in the varres, disvva dinge them from the pleasures of rome, and exorting them to endure the trauailes of varre.



Nnius Rusticus in the booke of the antiquities of *h* Romaines sayth, *h* in Rome there were. 5. principall linages, that is to wete Fabritii Torquattii. Brutii Fabii and Cornelii, though there were in Rome other netwe linages, where of there were many excellent personages: yet alwayes these which came of the. 5. linages, were kept, placed, & preferred, to the first of fices of the common wealch. For Rome honored those *h* were present in such sort, that it was without the prejudice of those that are gone. Amongest those. 5. linages, *h* Romaines alwayes counted the Cornelies most fortunate *h* which were so hardy & couragious in fight & so modest in life *h* of their familie, there was neuer found any cowardly man in the feld, nor any defamed woman in the towne. They say of this linage of *h* Corneli, amonge many other there were. 4. singular & notable women amonge *h* which the chiefe was the mother of Gracchi whose name was Cornelia & lived to more honor for *h* sciences she red in Rome, the for the chiquettes *h* her children had in Affricke before her children were brought into empire, they talked of none other thing but of their strength & hardines, throughout al *h* world: & therefore a Romaine one daye asked this woman Cornelia whereof she toke moste vaine glory, to se her selfe mistres of so many disciples or mother of so valiant children. The lady Cornelia answered, I do esteeme the science more, which I haue learned the

THE DIAL

the Children whiche I haue brought forth.
For in the ende, the children kepe in honour
the lyfe: but the disciples continue the re-
nowme after the death.

And she saide further. I am assured that
the disciples dayelye will waite better and
better: and it maye bee, that my Children
will waite worse and worse. The despyres
of ponge men are so variable, that they day-
ly haue newe inventions. With one accord
all the wynters do greatlye commende this
woman Cornelia, in especiall for beinge
wise and honest, and furthermoze bycause
she red philosophy in Rome openlye.

And therfore after her death, they set vp
in Rome a Statue, ouer the gate called Sas-
laria, wherenpon there was grauen this
Epigramme.

*¶ This heape of earth, Cornelia doth enclose
Of wretched Gracches, that loe the mother was
Twylf happye in the schoolers, that she chose
Unhappye thise, in the offsprynge that she has.*

Amonge the latines, Cicero
was the prince of all the Ro-
maine rethorike, and the chie-
fest with his pen inditinge of
Epistles: yet they saie, that
he did not only se the writings of this Cor-
nelia, but red the, & did not onely read them
but also with the sentences thereof, profited
him selfe. And hereof a man ought not to
meruaile: for there is no man in the worlde
so wise of him selfe, but may further his do-
inges wth the aduise of another. Cicero so
highlye exalted these writings, that he saide
in his rethorike these or such other like wo-
des. If the name of a woman had not bleas-
mised Cornelia, truly she deserved to be
head of all philosophers. For I neuer sawe
so grane sciences procede fro so fragile flesh.
Cicero spake these wordes of Cornelia, it
can not be, but of the writings of such a wo-
man in her time were very liuely & of great
reputacio: yet notwithstanding there is no

memory of her, but that an author for his
purpose declareth an epistle of this maner.
Sextus Cheronensis in his booke of the
praise of women, reciteth the letter whiche
she sente to her children, she remayninge
in Rome, and they beinge at the warres in
Africa.

¶ The letter of Cornelia to her. ii.
sonnes Tiberius and Gaius, o-
therwise called Gracchi.

Cornelia the Romaine
by thy fathers sode am of the
Cornelii, & on thy mother syde
of the Fabii to you my. 2. son-
nes Gracchi, which are in thy warre of Af-
rike, such health to you do wishe, as a mo-
ther to her children ought to desire. We haue
vnderstode right wel my children; how my
father died, I being but 3. yeres of age, and
that this, 11. yeres I haue remayned wy-
dowe, & that this, 20. yeres I haue red the
thorike in Rome. It is, 7. yeres sins I sawe
ye, & 12. yeres sins your brotherne my chil-
dren died in the great plage. You knowe, 8.
yeres are past, since I left my house & came
to se you in Sicilia, because you should not
forget the warres, to come se me in Rome:
for to me could come no greater paine, the
to se you absēt fro the service of the common
welth. I desired my children to shew you, how
I haue passed my life in labour & travail, to
the intent you shoulde not desire, to spend
yours, in rest & idleness. For it to me & am
in Rome there can want no reuails: be ye as-
sured that vnto you which are in thy warres,
shal wait no perils. For in warres renoune
is neuer sold: but by weight or chaunged
with losse of lyfe. The yong Fabius, son of
my aunt, & aged Fabia, at the 3. Calēdes of
March brought me a letter, the whiche you
sent: and truly it was moze bytise then I
would haue wished it. For betwene so dere
children

childre, & so louing a mother, it is not suffer-
 red, & the absence of your parsones shuld be
 so far, & & letters which you write so byese,
 By those y go fro hence thither, & alwaies
 do send you commendatios: & of those y come
 from hence thither, I do enquire of newes.
 Some say they haue sene you, other tell me
 they haue spoken to you: so that to this, my
 hart is somewhat quiesced. For betwene the
 * that loue greatly, it may be endured that y
 sight be seldome, so y the health be certain.
 I am sole, I am a widow, I am aged, & not
 al my kindred is dead: I haue endured many
 trauailes in Rome, & the greatest of all is
 (my childre) of your absence. For the paine
 * is greater, to be void of assured frendes: the
 assault is dangerous, of cruel enemies. Since
 you are yong, & not very riche, since you
 are hardy, & broughte by in the trauailes of
 Africk, I do not doubt but that you do de-
 sire to come to Rome, to se & know y, nowe
 you are men, which you haue sene whe you
 were children. For men doe not lone their
 * countrey so much, for that it is good: as they
 do loue it, for that it is natural. Beleue me,
 childre, ther is no ma liuing y hath sene, or
 hard speake of Rome in times past: but hath
 great grieve, sorow, & pite, to see it at this
 presente. For as their hartes are piteful, &
 their eyes tender: so they ca not behold y w-
 out great sorow, whiche in times paste they
 haue sene, in great gloze. O my childre, you
 shal know, y Rome is greatly chauged fro
 that it was wont to be. To reade that y we
 do reade of it in times past, & to se y whiche
 we se of it now present: we must needs este-
 me y whiche y auncientes haue written as a
 gess, or els beleue it but as a dreame. There
 is no other thinge now at Rome, but to see
 * iustice corrupted, y comen weale oppressed,
 lyes blowen abroad, the truth kept vnder,
 the satires silent, y flatterers open mouthed,
 the inflamed personnes to be Lordes, & the
 patient to be seruantes: & about all, & worse
 then al, to se the euil lue in rest & contented,
 & the good troubled & displeased. For sake

for sake (my childre) y cite, where the good
 haue occasiō to weape, & the euil haue liber-
 ty to laugh. I can not tel what to say in this
 mater, as I would say. Truly y comō wea-
 le is at this day such and so woful, that eche
 wise man, wout comparison, woulde haue
 greater pleasure to be in the warres of A-
 frick: then in the pence at Rome. For in the
 good warre, a man seeth of whom he shuld
 take hede, but in y euil pence, no mā know-
 eth whom to trust. Therefore my childre,
 since you are naturall of Rome. I will tell
 you what Rome is at this present. I let you
 know, y the bestall birgines are nowe dis-
 solute: the honour of the gods is forgottē, y
 profit of the comon weale no man seketh, of
 the exercise of chivalry ther is no memory:
 for the orphans & widowes, there is no mā
 that doth ainswere, to ministrate iustice they
 haue no regard, & y dissolute vices of y yonth
 are wout measure. Finallye, Rome that in
 times past was a recepyt, of al the good &
 vertuous: is now made a bene, of al theues
 and vicious. I feare me, I feare me, leaue
 our mother Rome in thoste time will haue
 some soderin & great fall. And I say not with-
 out a cause some great fall, for both men &
 Cities, that fall fro the top of their felicitie,
 purchase greater inshamy with those y shall
 come after: the the gloze y they haue had of
 the that be past. Peradventure (my childre)
 you desire to see the walles and buildinges
 of Rome: for those thinges which children
 se first in their youthe, the same they loue &
 kepe alwaies in memory vntill their age.
 As the aunciente buildinges of Rome are
 destroyed, & the few that are now built: so
 woulde I you shuld loose your earnest at-
 tention to come to se the. For in dede, y noble
 hartes are ashamed to se that thing amisse,
 * which they can not remedy. Do not thinke,
 my children, though Rome be made worse
 in maners, that therefore it is diminished in
 buildinges. For I let you vnderstande, y
 you knowe it not, that if a wall doth decay,
 there is no man that doth repaire it.

THE DIAL

If a house fall, ther is no man that wil raise it. If a crete be soule, ther is man that wil make it cleane. If the riuer carie away any bridge, there is no man that wil set it vp againe. If any antiquitie decayeth ther is no man that wil amend it. If any wood be cut, ther is no man that wil kepe it. If the trees were old, ther is no mā that wil plant thē. If the pavement of the streetes be broken, ther is no man that wil lay it. Finally, ther is nothing in Rome at this day so evil handled, as those thinges, which by h comen voices are ordered. These thinges (my childre) though I do greatly lament (as it is reason) yet you ought thē al, little to esteeme: but this alonly ought to be esteemed, & w drowpes of bloud to be lamented. That now in Rome, when h buildinges, in many places fall downe, h vices al toholp together are raised vp. A woful wrother Rome, since that in h, the more the walles decay, the more h vices increase. Peradventure (my childre) since you are in those frontiers of Afrik, you desire to se your parentes here in Rome. And ther at I mernayle not, for h loue, which our natural countrey do give, h straunge countrey can not take away. Al those which come frō those parties, do bring vs no other certaine newes, but of the multitude of those which dye, & are slaine in Afrik, therfore since you send vs such newes frō thence: loke not pwe should send you any other, then the like frō hence. For death hath such autoritie that it killeth the armed in the warres: & slepyth h quiet in peace. I let you knowe that Licia your sister is deade. Drusio your vnckle is dead. Torquat^r your neighbour is dead. His wife our cousin, & her 3. daughters are dead. Fabius your greate frend is dead. E. vādet & his childre are dead. Bibul^r which red for me in the chaire, the last yere is also dead. Finally ther are so many, & so good w al, h be dead: that it is a great shame, & pitis to se at this presēt, so many euil, as do liue. Knowe ye my children, that all these & many others which ye left alīue, ful high in Rome: are now become woimies mehte, ful low in

der the yearth, & death also dothe summon me vnto the graue. If you (my childzen) did cōsider what shal become of you hereafter, truly you wil think it better, to weape. 1000. yeaues w the dead: then to laugh one houre with those h be alīue. Remēbringe h I bare ye in great paine, & haue nourished you in great trauell, & that ye came of my proper intrailles: I would haue you, as childzen about me, for h cōfort & cōsolatiō of my paynes. But in the end beholdinge h prowesses of those that are past, h binderth their heires, I am cōtent to suffer so lōg absence of your persons, onely to the end, you may get honour in chualtpe. For I had rather heare tel, you should liue like knightes in Afrik: thē to se you utterly lost here in Rome. My childre, as you are in h warres of Afrik, so doubt not, but h you desire to se h pleasures of Rome: for ther is no man in this world so happye; but at his neighbours prosperitie hath some enuy. And they haue no enuy at h vicious, for truly vices ar of such a qualite, h they bring not w thē so much pleasure whē they come: as they leaue so soe beynd thē, when they depart for h true pleasure, is not in the daily which sodenly banisheth: but in h truth, which euermore remaineth. I thank the immoztal gods, for al these thinges, first for h they made me wise, & not foolish: for to a woman it is a small mater to be called so fraille, that in dede she be not foolish. The second I thank h gods, because in al times of my troubles, they haue geuē me patience to endure thē: for h mā only in this life may be called unhappy, to whom the gods in his troubles, hath not giuē patience. The third, I thank the gods for that these 605. yeaues which I haue liued, neuer hitherto was defamed: for that woman by no reason can cōplaine of her fortune, yf none of her troubles she hath lost her honour. The fourth, I thanke the Gods, because thys forty yeaues. I haue lyued in Rome, & remained wi- dolo, ther was neuer no mā nor womā h cōtēted w me: for since we womē profite little h common

common wealche, it is but reason, that she
 which with euill demeanours hath passed
 her life: should by iustice receaue her deary.
 The list I giue the gods thanks, that they
 gaue my children, the which are better con-
 tented to suffer the trauals of A frik; the
 to enioy the pleasures of Rome. Doe not co-
 untre me (my child: &) for so vnloving a mo-
 ther, that I woulde not haue you alwayes
 before my eyes: but considering that many
 good mens children haue bene lost, only for
 being brought vp in the excessive pleasures
 of Rome: I do contente my selfe with your
 absence: For that man that desireth perpe-
 tuall renowne, thonghe he be not banished:
 yet he ought to absent him selfe fro his na-
 tive countrey. My deare children, I moste
 earnestly desire you, that alwayes you acco-
 panye your selues with the good, with the
 moste auncientes, & with those, whiche are
 graue, and most expert in counsel, and with
 those, that haue most sene the world: and do
 not understand most of the world, by those
 that haue sene moste countreys. For the type
 counsel proceedeth not fro the mā that hath
 trauelled in many countreys: but from him
 that hath felt him selfe in many daungers,
 since the nature of the countrey (my chil-
 dren) both knocke to the hammer at the gate
 of the harte of man, I feare, & if you come
 and se your frendes and parentes, you shall
 alwayes lyue in care & pensifnes, and being
 pensife, you shall alwayes liue euill contented,
 & you shall not do that which becometh Ro-
 mane knights to do. And you not being va-
 liant knights, your enemies shall alwayes
 reioyce ouer you, & your desires shall neuer
 take effect: for of those men, which are rares-
 full & heauye, proceedeth alwayes seruises
 vnworthy. I desire you hartely, and by this
 presēt letter I counsel you, & you wil not in
 any wise seke to come to Rome: for as I haue
 told you that know few of those & did know
 you, for epyther they are deade, or banished,
 poore or sicke, aged, or come to nought, sad
 or euill contented: so that sithens you are not

able to remedy their griefes, it is beste you
 should not come hyther to se their troubles.
 For no mā cometh to Rome, but to weape
 to the liuing, & to sigh for the that be deade.
 Truly (my child: &) I know not what plea-
 sure is in Rome, & should cause any good mā
 to come hyther, and to forsake A frik: for
 if there you haue enemies, here you shall
 want frendes. If you haue & sword & percerth
 the body, we haue & tong here, & destroyeth
 the renowne. If you be desired to the thenes
 of A frik, we are wounded to the traptors,
 flatterers, & liers of Italy. If you lack rest,
 we haue here to much trouble. Finallye sea-
 ing that & I do se in Rome, & hearinge that
 which I heare of A frik: I commend you
 warre, & abhorre our peace. If you do great-
 ly esteeme & which I haue said, esteeme much
 more & which I shall say, whiche is, that we
 alwayes here that you are conquerours of &
 Afrikans, & you shall here alwayes & we
 are conquered by vices. Therfore, if I am a
 true mother, I had rather see you winne a
 perpetual memozy among straungers: then
 to liue to infamy at home in your countrey,
 peraduenture with hope that you shall en-
 herit some goodes, you wil take occasion to
 come to Rome. When this thing shall come
 to your mindes, remember (my children) that
 your father beinge alike, had not much, and
 that vnto your mother beinge a widow ma-
 ny thinges wanted. And remember, & your fa-
 ther bequeathed you nothing but weapōs, &
 know, & fro me you shall enherite nothinge
 but bookes. For I had rather leane my chil-
 dren good doctrine, whereby they may liue:
 the euill riches, wherby they may perishe. I
 am not riche, nor I neuer trauelled to be ri-
 che, & & cause was & I saw many mē chil-
 dren vndone, only through & hope they had
 to enherite their parentes goodes, & after-
 ward went a hunting after vices. For they
 seldom times do any worthy feates, which
 in their youth enherit great treasures. This
 thing therfore beinge true (as it is in deade)
 I do not say only & I would watche, & reyle

THE DIAL

as many do, to get riches and treasures: but also if I had treasures, before I would giue them vnto you, I would (as the philosopher did) cast the into the fyre. For I had rather haue my children poore, & vertuous, in Affrike: then riche, and vitious in Rome. You know very wel my children, that there was amongst the Tharentins a law wel obserued, that the sonnes should not inherit any other thinge of their fathers, but weapons to fight: and the daughters should inherit the goodes, for to mary the felues with all. Truly this law was very iust, for the sonne that hath alwaies respect to the inheritaunce: will not haue to his father any great confidence. For he ought to be called a valiaunt Romaſne knight, that wth his life hath w^{on}e honour, and by the sword hath gottē riches. Since you are in straunge realmes, I pray you hartely, if you be conuersant with the good, as good brethren, rememb^ring alwaies that you were my children, and that I gaue you both sucke of mine owne p^ryp^re breasts. And the daye that I shall here of your disagremēt, the same day shall be the end of my life. For the discorde in one ritle of parites, doth moze harme: then a hole armye of enemies. It is good for you (my child^r) to liue in loue, and concord together: but it is moze requisit, to kepe you wth the Romaſne knights. The which, wth you, & you wth the, if you do not loue together in y^e warres: you shall neuer haue the vpper hād of your enemies. For in great armies, the discordes which amongst them rise do moze harme: then the enemies do, against whō they fight. I thinke wel (my child^r) if you would be very desirous to know of my estate (that is to wete) whether I am in health, whether I am sick, whether I am poore, whether I am pleased, or whether I am discontented. In this case I know not why you should desyre to know it, since you ought to p^resuppose, that accordinge to the troubles whiche I haue passed, & the miseries that with mine eyes I haue sene, I am filled with this wo^rld: for

w^{is}e men, after, so, yeares and bywarde, ought rather to apply their mindes how to receiue death: then to seke pleasures to prolonge life. When mans fleshe is weakē, it alwaies desireth to be well kept: euen vnto the grave. And as I am of fleshe, and bone: so I do feele the troubles of the wo^rld, as al moztall mē do. But for al this do not thinke, that to be poore or sicke is the greateſt miserie, neither thinke y^e to be hole, & riche is the cheſest felicity: for ther is none other felicity of the old fathers, but for to se their child^r vertuous. In my opiniō, it is an honour to y^e countrey, y^e the fathers haue such child^r, that will take p^rofit with their counsell: & contrary w^{is}e, that the child^ren haue such fathers, whiche can giue it them. For the child^r is happy that hath a w^{is}e father: & moze happy is the father that hath not a folythe sonne. I do w^rite oft times vnto you my child^ren, but there is a law, that none le so hardy to w^rite to men of warre in the fildē, excepte first they inuole the letters in the senate. Therefore since I w^rite vnto you moze letters then they would, they do send lesse then I desire. Thoughē this lawe be painefull to mothers whiche haue child^ren: yet we must cōſeſſe it is profitable for the wealt publick.

For if a man should w^rite to one in the warre, that hys family is not wel: he would forake the warres to remedye it. If a man w^rite vnto him that it is prosperous, he hath then a desire to enioye it. Be not displeased (my child^ren) thoughē all the letters I do sende vnto you, come not to your handes: For all that, I doe not cease to byp^rte the temples for your owne healthē, nor yet to offre sacrifices to the Gods for your honour. For if we do please the gods, we haue not cause to feare our enemies. I saye no moze in this case, my child^ren, but that I beseeche the immoztall Gods, that yf your lyues maye p^rofyte the common wealt^h, then they shorten my dayes and lengthen your yeares: but yf your lyues should be to the damage of the common wealt^h, then

those

those immortall gods I desire, that firste I may vnderstand the end of your daies, be soze that the woymes should eate my fleshe. For rather then by your euyl life the glozy of our predeceßours should be bleamished: it were muche better both your liues were ended. The grace of the Gods, the good renowne amongst men, the good fortune of the Romayns, the wisdom of the greekes, & blessing of Scippio, & of al other your predeceßours, be alwayes w you my chyldren.

The. xxxii. Chapter.

Of the education and doctrine of childre, vvhiles they are very yong. VVherin the auctour declareth many notable histories.



ALL mortal men, vvhich will trauell, & see good fruite of their trauell, ought to doe as the chese artificer did, that painted the world: For h mā that maketh god the head of his woymes, it is impossible that he should erre in h same. That whiche we beleue, and reade by woys ringes, is that the eternall creator created the world, in shoyt space by his mighte: but preserved it a longe time by his wisdom, wherof a man maye gather, & the time to do a thinge is shoyt: but the care & thought to preserve it is long. We see dayly, that a ballaunt caprairie assaulterh his enemies: but in the end, god doth gine him h victoꝛy. but let vs aske the cōquerour, what trauell it hath bene vnto him, or whereth he hath perceaued mosse daunger (that is to wete) either to obteine the victoꝛy of his enemies. or els to preserve them selues, amongst the ennious & malicious, I sweare, & affirme, & such a knyght wil sweare, & ther is no comparison betwene the one & the other: for by the bloody sword, in an houre the victoꝛy is obteined, but to hepe it with reputation, the swee of al the life is required. Lactius

in h booke of the life of the philosophers declareth, & Plato also hereof maketh mentiō, in the bookes of his cōmon wealth, & those of Thebes, vnderstandinge & the Lacedemonians had good lawes (soz h which they were of the gods fauoured, & of men greatly honoured) determined to send by cōmon assent & agreement, a wise philosopher, & best esteemed amongst them (whose name was Phetonius) to whom they cōmaunded, that he should aske the lawes of the Lacedemonians, & that he shuld be very circūspect and ware, to see what there rules and customes were. Those of Thebes were then very noble, balliaunt, and honest: so that their principal end was, to come to honour & renowne, to erect buildinges, & to make the selues of immortall memoꝛy, for being vertuous. For in building, they were very curious: & for vertues, they had good philosophers. The philosopher Phetonius, was moze thē a yeaꝛe in h realme of the Lacedemonians, beholding at sōdy times all thinges therein: for simple mē, do not note thinges, but only to satysfy the eyes: but the wise men beholde them, soz to know & vnderstande they secrettes. After & the philosopher had wel & plainly seeng and behelde all the thinges of the Lacedemonians: he determined to resourne home to Thebes, & beinge arriued, at the people came to se him and heare him. For the vanitie of the common people is of such a qualitie, & it foloweth new inuētōs: and despiseth aunciet customes. At the people therfoze gathered togethers, the good philosopher Phetonius set vp in h modest of the market place a gybet, boote yong, a sword, a whisp, & fetters for the sect: & which thinge done, the Thebains were no lesse (as they thought, slandered, then abashed. To the which he spake these wordes. You Thebains sente me to the Lacedemonians, to the entent I should learne their lawes and customes, & in dede I haue bene ther moze then a yeaꝛe, beholding al thinges very diligently: soz we philosophers ar bound, not only to note

THE DIAL

to note that which is done, but also to know why it is done. Knowe ye Thebains, that this is the aunswere of my Ambassage.

That the Lacedemonians hange vpon this Cybet, theues, with this saime swoorde they behede traytors, with these hoothe Irons, they toymēt blasphemers and lyers, with these rodde, they whyppe vacabōdes, and with these Irons, do keape the rebels, and the others are for players, and birthistes. Finally I say, that I do not bring you the lawes written, but I bring you the Instruments wherwith they are obserued.

The Thebans were abashed to see these thinges, and spake vnto him suche wordes. Consider Phetonius we haue not sente the to the Lacedemonians, to bring instruments to take away life: but for the good lawes to gouerne the common wealth. The philosopher Phetonius replied again, and answered, Thebains, I let you wete, that yf ye know what the philosophers kinde, you shoulde see howe farre your myndes were from the truthe: for the Lacedemonians are not so vertuous thozonghe the lawes which were made, of them that be dead: as for the meanes they haue sought, to preserve them that be aloue. For matters of Justice consist moze in execution: then in commaunding or ordeininge. Lawes are easely ordeyned, but with difficultye executed: for there are a thousande to make them, but to put them in execution, there is not one. Full litle is that which men know that are present: in respect of that those knew, which are past. But yet accoordinge to my litle knowledge. I proffer to giue as good lawes to you Thebains, as euer were obserued amonge the Lacedemonians. For there is nothing moze easy, then to knowe the good: and nothings moze comen, then to folow the euill. But what profiteth it, if one wyll ordeine, and none vnderstand it. If ther be, that doth vnderstand the, there is none that executeth them. If there be, that executeth them, there is none that obserueth them.

If there be one, that obserueth them, there is a thousand that reproueth them. For wythout comparison, mo are they that murmur and grudge at the good, then those whiche blame and despise the euill. You Thebains are offended, because I haue brought suche Instrumentes, but I let you wete, yf you wyll neither Cybet, nor swoorde to kepe that which shalbe ordeyned, you shall haue your bookes full of lawes, and the common wealth full of vices. Wherefore I sweare vnto you, that there are mo Thebains, which soloue the deliciousnes of Denis the tyrant: then there are vertuous men, that soloue the lawes of Lycurgus. If you Thebains doe desire greatly to knowe, with what Lawes the Lacedemonians doe preserve their common wealth: I wyll tell you them all by swoorde, and if you wyll reade them, I wyll shewe you them in writinge. But it shalbe vpon condition, that you shall sweare all openly, that once a daye you shall employe your eyes to reade them, and your persones to obserue the. For the prince hath greater honour, to see one onely law to be obserued in dede: then to ordeine a thousand by writinge. You ought not to esteeme muche to be vertuous in harte, nor to enquire of the vertue by the mouthe, nor to seeke it by labour & trauaile of the feete: but that which you ought greatly to esteeme is, to knowe what a vertuous lawe meaneth, and that knowe, immediatly to execute it, and afterwards to kepe it. For the chiefe vertue is not, to doe one vertuous work: but in sweet & trauaile, to continue in it. These therefore were the wordes, that this philosopher Phetonius saide to the Thebains. The whiche (as Plato saith) esteemed moze his wordes that he spake: then they did the lawes which he brought. Truly in my opinion, those of Thebes are to be praised and comended: and the philosopher for his wordes is worthy to be honoured. For y end of those, was to searche lawes, to liue well: and the ende of the Philosopher, was to seeke good meanes

nes for to kepe them in vertue. And therefore he thought it good, to shewe them, and put before their eyes the gibbet, and the sword, with the other instrumentes and toymes. For the euill do refraine from vice more for feare of punishment, then for any desire they haue of amendement. I was willynge to bringe in this Historie, to shende that all curious and vertuous men, may se & know, howe lytell the auncientes did esteeme the beginninge, the meane, and the ende of vertuous workes, in respect of the perseuerance and preservation of them. Cominge theretoze to my matter, which my pen doth tolle and seke: I aske nowe presently, what it profiteth princes and great ladies, that God doo geue them great estates, that they be fortunate in marriages, that they be all reuerenced and honored, that they haue great treasures for thire inheritance, and aboue all that they se their wiues great with childe, & that afterwarde in joy they se them deliuered: that they se their mothers geuing theyr children sucke, and finally they se them selues happye, in þ they haue found them good nources, helthfull and honest. Truly al this auaileth lytle, if to their children (when they are yonge) they doe not geue masters to instruct them in vertues: and also if they do not recomend them to good guydes, to exercepse them in feates of Chyualtrie. The fathers, whiche by syghes, penetrate the heauen, by prayers impoxtune the Sainctes, onely for to haue children, ought first to thinke, why they wil haue children: for that iustly to any man may be denyed, which to an euil ende is procured. In my opinion, þ father oughte to desyre to haue a chyld, for that in his age he may susteine his lyfe in honour: and that after his deith he may cause his fame to liue. And if a father desireth not a sonne for this cause, at the leasse he ought to desire him, to the ende in his age, he may honoꝝ his hoſtehed: and that after his death, he may enheryte his goodes, but we see fewe children doe these thinges to their fathers in theyr age:

þ the fathers haue not taught them in their youth. For the fruite doeth neuer growe in the harvest: buttlesse the tree did bere blosomes in the springe. I se oftentimes many fathers complaine of their Children, sayinge, that they are disobedient, and proude vnto them: and they do not consydre, that they them selues are the cause of all those euilles. For to moche aboundaunce and lybertie of youth is no other: but a prophetic and many fest toke of disobedience in age. I know not why the princes and great lordes be toyle, and oppresse so moche, and scratche to leaue their children great estates, and on the other syde we see, that in teachinge them they are and shewe them selues to neglygent: for princes and great lordes ought to make account, that all that which they leaue of their substance to a wicked heire, is utterly lost. The wyse men, and those whiche in their consciences are byghte, and of their honours careful, ought to be very diligent to bringe by their children, and chiefly, that they consydre whether they be mete to inherite their estates. And yf perchaunce the fathers se that their children be more given to follepe, then to noblenes and wysdome: then should I be ashamed, to se a father that is wise, trauaile all the dayes of his lyfe, to leaue moch substance, to an euill brought by childe after his death. It is a grieve to declare, and a monstrous thinge to se, the cares which the fathers take to gather ryches: and the dyslygence that children haue to spende them. And in this case I saye, the sonne is fortunate, for that he doeth inherite, and the father a foole, for that he doth bequerth.

In my opinion, fathers are bounde to instruct theyr Children well, for two causes: the one for that they are their children, the other for that they are nearest, and also bycause they ought to be theyr heires. For truly with great greife and sorowe, I suppose he doth take his death: whiche leaureth to a foole, or an vnhysse, the toyle of all his lyfe.

THE DIAL

Hyzeareus the Greeke hystorien in the booke of his antiquities, and Sabellique in his general hystorie saith, that a father, and a sonne, came to complayne to a philosopher, named Solon Solimon: the sonne complained of the father, and the father of the sonne.

Firste the sonne informed the quarel to the Philosopher, sayeng these wordes. I complayne of my father, because he bringeth me hath dysherited me, and made me poore, and in my steade, hath adopted another heire, the whiche thinge my father oughte not, nor cannot doe. For sence he gaue me so fraile fleshe, it is reason he geue me his goods to maintayne my feblenes. These wordes answered the father. I complayne of my sonne, because he hath not bene as a gentle sone, but rather as a cruel enemye, for in all thinges, since he was bozne, he hath bene disobedient to my wil, wherefore I thoughte it good to dysherite hym, before my death. I woulde I were quite of all my substance, so that the gods had quyte hym of his lyfe: for the earthe is verie cruel, that swalloeth not the chylde alwyse, whiche to his father is dysobedient. In that he sayeth, I haue adopted another chylde for myne heire. I confesse it is true: and so muche as he sayeth, that I haue dysinherited hym, and abiectioned hym from my herpage, he beinge begotten of my owne bodie, herunto I aunswere.

That I haue not disinherited my sonne, but I haue dysinherited his pleasure, to the intent he shall not enioye my trauayle: for there can be nothinge more vnjust, then that the yonge and bytious sonne, shoulde take his pleasure, of the swette and droppe of the aged father. The sonne replied to his father, and sayde. I confesse I haue offended my father, and also I confesse that I haue liued in pleasures: yet if I may speake the truth, though I were disobedient and euyl, my father oughte to beare the blame and if for this cause he doeth dysherite me,

I thinke he doeth me great iniury. For the father that enstructeth not his sone in vertue in his yowthe: wrongfullye dysheriteth hym, though he be dysobedient in his age. The father agayne replyeth, and sayeth. It is true my sonne, that I brought the vp to wantonlye, in thy yowthe, but thou knowest well that I haue taughte the sondrye tymes, and besides that, I dyd correcte the when thou comest to some dyscretion. And if in thy yowthe I dyd not instructe the in learnynge, it was for that thou in thy tender age dydest wante vnderstandynge: but after that thou haddest age, to vnderstand, dyscrecyon, to receiue, and strengthe to exercise it. I began to punyssh the, to teache the, and to instructe the. For where no vnderstandynge is in the chylde: there in vaine they teache doctryne. Sence thou arte olde (quoth the sonne) and I yonge, sence thou arte my father, and I thy sonne, for that thou haste whyte heres of thy bearde, and I none at all: it is but reason, that thou be belened, and I condemned. For in this world, we se oftentimes, that the smal archer, rype of the parson: maketh hym to lose his greate lustyce. I graunte the (my father) that when I was a chylde, thou dydest cause me to learne to reade: but thou wylte not denye, that if I dyd commit anye faulte, thou wouldest neuer agree I shoulde be punysshed. And hereof it came, that thou sufferynge me to doe what I woulde in my yowthe, haue bene dysobedient to the end since in my age. And I saye to the father, that if in this case I haue offended, tralye me thinketh thou canste not be excused: for the fathers in the yowthe of their chyldezen, oughte not onelye to teache them to dispute of vertues, and what vertue is: but they ought to inforce the to be vertuous in dede. For it is a good token, when the yowthe before they knowe byces, hath bene accustomed to practyse vertues. Bothe parties then dysgentlye harde, the good philosopher Solon Solimon, spake these wordes.

I geue iudgemente, that the father of this childe be not beried after hys death: and I commaunde, that the sonne because in hys yowthe he hath not obeyed hys father, who is olde, shoulde be dysinherited whyles the father lyueth from all hys substance, on suche condycion, that after hys death, hys sonnes shoulde inheryte the heritage, and so retorne to the heires of the sonne, and lyne of the father. For it were vniust, that the innocencye of the sonne shoulde be condemned, for the offence of the father, I doe commaunde also, that al the goods be committed vnto some saythful parson, to cherishe they may geue the father meate and drinke duringe his lyfe, and to make a graue for the sonne after his death. I haue not withoute a cause geuen suche iudgemente, the whiche comprehendeth lyfe and deathe: for the Gods wyl not, that for one pleasure the punishment be double, but that we chastise and punishe the one in the lyfe, takinge from hym his honoure and goods: and that we punishe the others after there death, takinge from them memoire and berall.

¶ To lyke the sentence whiche the Philosopher geue, was graue, and woulde to God we had hym for a iudge of this worlde presentlye: for I swere, that he shoulde fynde manye chyldren, nowe a dayes, for to dyscuse, and no fathers to punishe. For I cannot tel whiche is greater, the shame of the chyldren to disobey their fathers: or the negligence of the father, in bringinge by their chyldren. Sextus Cheronensis in the seconde booke of the saynges of the Philosophers, declareth that a citizen of Athens sayede on daye to Drogenes, the Philosopher, these wordes. Telle me Drogenes, what shall I doe to be in the fauoure of the gods, and not in the hatred of men: for oft tymes amongst you Philosophers, I haue harde saye, that there is great difference betwene that which the Goddes wil, and that which men love. Drogenes answered. Thou speakest more then thou thoughtest to speake, that

the gods wyl one thinge, and men another: for the gods are but as a center of mercy, and men are but as a denne of malice: if thou wylte inioyne rest in thy dayes, and keape thy lyfe pure and cleane: thou must obserue these thre thinges.

The firste, honour thy gods deuoutlye. For the man whiche doeth not the gods serue and honoure, in all hys enterpryses shalbe vnforsunate.

The seconde, be very dyligent, to bringe up thy chyldren well. For the man hath no enemye so troublesome, as his owne sonne, if he be not wel brought vp.

The thirde thinge, be thankefull to thy good benefactours, and frendes. For the Oracle of Apollo sayeth, that the man who is vnthankfull, of all the worlde shalbe abhoyred. And I tel the further my frend, that of these thre thinges the most profitable, though it be more troublesome, is for a man to teache and bringe by his chyldre wel.

This therfore was the answer, that the Philosopher Diogenes made to the demaunde of the Cyrenen. It is a greates pyrie and grieve to see, a yonge childe, howe the bloud doth stirre hym, to se howe the fleshe doth prouoke him to accomplishe his desire, to se sensualitie go before, and he himselfe to come behinde, to se the malicious worlde to waiche him, to se howe the deuill doth tempt him, to se howe byes benche him, and in all that whiche is spoken, to se howe the father is negligent, as if he had no chyldren: where as in deed the old man, by the seuer bertues that he hath had in his yowth: maye easely knowe the insynistracies, wherewith his sonne is compassed. If the expert had neuer ben ignorant, yf the fathers had neuer ben chyldren, yf the verjouns had neuer ben vicious, yf the syne-wittes had neuer ben deceived, it were no meruaile, yf the fathers were negligent in teachinge their chyldren. For the lytell experience, erenforth men of great offences: but synce thou arte a father, and that syll thou were a sonne, synce thou

THE DIAL

are olde, and haue ben yonge, and besydes al
this, synce that pride hath enflamed the, le-
cher hath burned the, wrath hath wounded
the, negligence hath binded the, couetous-
nes hath blynded the, and glorie hath forfeted
the, tel me cruell father, since so many vices
haue reigned in the: why haste thou not an
eye to thy childe, whom of thy owne bloude
thou hast begotten? And yf thou doest it not
because he is thy childe, thou oughtest to do
it, because he is thy nearest. For it is impos-
sible yf the chyld which with many vices is
assaulted, and not succoured: but in the ende
he should be infamed, and to the dishonoure
of the father most wickedly overcome. It is
impossible to kepe fleshe well sauored, but
lesse it be spysse salted, It is impossible that
the fyre should be lyue without water. It is
impossible but that the rose should wither
which is of the thorne ouergrowen. So like
it is impossible, that the fathers should haue
any comforte of their chyldren in their age,
vntill they haue instructed them in vertue
in their youth. And to speake further in this
matter, I say, yf in the christia catholikereli-
gion, where in dede there is good doctrine,
there alwayes is supposed to be a good con-
science. Amongest the wyrters it is a thing
well knowen, how Esculapies the philosopher
was banished from Athens, and with all
his sampt came to dwel at rhodes. The oc-
casion was, because that he, and the philo-
sopher Demosthenes were in great contem-
tion in the common wealth. Wherefore the
Athenians determined to banishe the one,
and to keape the other with them. And tra-
uly they did wel, for of the contentions and
debates of sages, watres make commonly
aris amongest the people. This philosopher
Esculapies being banished at rhodes, among-
est others made a solapne oration, wherein
he greatly reproveth the rhodiens, that they
were so negligt in bringyng up their chyl-
dren, sayng vnto them these wordes: I let
you vnderstande (Lords of rhodes) that
your predecessors aduanced them selves

to dissende, and to take their begynnynge of
the Lodes: the which aboue al other natiōs,
were curious, and diligent to bring vp their
chyldren: and hereof came a law, that was
amonge them, whiche saied.

The ordeline and commaunde, that if a
father haue manye chyldren, that the moste
vertuous should inherite the goods, and
riches: and if there were but one vertuous,
that he alone should inherite the whole. And
if perchance the chyldren were vicious,
that then al should be departed from the he-
ritage. For the goods gotten with trauaile
of vertuous fathers, ought not by reason,
to be inherited with vicious chyldren. These
were the wordes, that the philosopher spake,
to the senate of the rhodes: and because he
saied in that oration manye other thynges
whiche touche not our matter, I wyl in
this place omit them. For amonge excel-
lent wyrters, the wyrtynge lasteth muche
authoritie, when the author from his
purpose, into another matter digresseth.

To saie the trueth, I doe not meruaile, that
the chyldren of princes and greate lordes be
adulterers, and belly gods, for that on the
on parte yowthe is the mother of folies,
and on the other that lytel experyence, is
the cause of greate offences. And further-
more, the fathers being once deade, the chyl-
dren inherite there goods as quietly, being
with vices laden: as if (in dede) they were
with vertues endued, if the yonge chyldren
dyd knowe, for a certayne, that the lawes
of the lydes should be obserued (that is to
wote) that they should not inherite vntill
they were vertuous: it is impossible, but
that they should leade a good lyfe, and not
in this wyse to ronne at large in the world.
For they do absteyne more from doing euil
fearynge to lose that whiche they do possesse:
then for anye loue to see that, whiche they
oughte, I doe not denye, but accorde ynge
as the nature of the fathers is dyuers, so
the inclinacions of the chyldren are varya-
ble. For some as some folowynge their
good

good inclination are good, and others not resistinge puel sensualities, are puel. But yet in this matter I saue, that it lieth much in the father, that doeth bringe them vp, when as yet they are ponge: so that the iuel whiche nature gaue, by good bringinge by
 * is refrayned. For oftentimes the good custome, doeth ouercome all puel inclination. Princes and great lordes that wybe dyligente in the instruction of their chyldren, ought to enforze their masters, and tutors that shall teache them, to what vyces and vertues their chyldren are moste inclyned: and this ought to be, to enconrage them in that that is good, and contrary, to reprove them in al that is euil. For men are vndone
 * for no nother cause, when they be olde: but for that they had somuche pleasures, when they are yong. Sextus Cheronensis in the second booke of the satenges of the auntientes saith, that on a day a citezen of Athens was byeng thinges in the market, & for the qualite of his person, the greatest parte of them were superfluous and nothing necessary. And in this case the poore are no lesse culpable, then the riche: and the riche then the poore. For that is so litle, that for to susteine mans life it is necessary: that he which hath less, hath therunto superflous. There
 * fore at that time, wher Athens and her common wealth was the lanterne of al Grece, there was in Athens a law long bled, and of great time accustomed: & nothing should be bought, before a philosopher had set the price. And truly the law was good, & would to god the same lawe at this presente were obserued: for there is nothing that destroyeth
 * a commo wealth more, then to permit some to sel as trauntes, & others to by as fooles. When the Thebane was byeng these thinges, a philosopher was there present, who saied vnto him these wordes. Tel me I pray the, thou man of Thebes, wherfore dost thou consume & waste thy money, in & which is not necessary for thy house, nor profitable for thy person: the Thebane answered

him. I let the know, that I doe bye all these thinges for a sonne I haue of the age of .20. yeaues, the whiche neuer did thing that seemed vnto me euil, nor I neuer denaied him any thinge, that he demaunded. This philosopher answered, O how happy were thou, if as thou arte a father, thou were a sonne, and that whiche the father saith vnto the sonne, the sonne would say vnto the father: but I am offended greatly, with that thou
 * haste tolde me. For vntyl the chylde be .25. yeaues old, he ought not to gaine say his father: & the good father, ought not to condescend vnto the appetites of the sonne. Nowe I cal the cursed father, since thou arte subiecte to the will of thy sonne: & that thy sonne is not obedient, to the will of his father, so that thou alterest the order of nature. For so much
 * as the father is sonne of his sonne, and the sonne is father of his father. But in the end, I sweare vnto the by the immortall Gods, that when thou shalt become old, thou shalt weape by thy selfe at that, whiche (with thy sonne) thou didest laughe, wher he was yonge. Though the wordes of this philosopher were fewe: yet a wise man wyl iudge the sentences to be many. I conclude therfore, that princes and great lordes ought to recommend
 * their chyldren to their masters, so thend they may teache them, to chaunge their appetites, & not to folloewe their owne will: so that they woldaue them fro their owne will, and cause them to learne the aduise of another. For the more a man getteth a noble man
 * sonnes the bydel, the more harder it is for them to receiue good doctrine.

The. xxiij. Chapter.

* Princes ought to take hede that their children be not brought vp in vaine pleasures. For ofte times they are so vicked, that the fathers vould not only haue them with sharpe discipline corrected: but also with bitter teares buried.

THE DIAL



BY experience we see, that in warre (for the defence of men) rampiers & fortres are made according to the qualty of the enemies, & those which saille the dangerous seas, doe chose greate shippes, whiche maye brooke the waues of the raging sea: so that al wise man according to the qualty of the danger, do seke for the same in tyme some remedye. Oftentimes I muse with my selfe, and thinke if I coulde finde any estate, any age, any land, any nation, any realme, or any world, wherein ther hath bene any man that hath passed this life without tassing, what aduersite was: for if such a one were found, I thinke it shuld be a monstrous thing throughout al the yearch, and by reason, both the ded & liuing shuld denie him. In the end, after my count made, I finde y^e he which yester day was riche, to day is poore: he y^e was hole, I see him to day sick: he that yester day laughed, to day I see him wepe: he y^e had his hartes ease, I see him now sore afflicted: he y^e was fortunate, I see him unlucky: finally, him whom we knew aliue in his towne, now we see buried in the grave. And to be buried is nothing els, but to be utterly forgotten: for mans frendshipp is so fragile that whē the corpes is couered wth earthe, immediately he dead is forgotten. One thing me thinketh to al men is greivous, & to those of vnderstandyng no lesse painefull, which is, that the miseries of this wicked world are not equally deuided, but y^e oftentimes al worldly calamities lieth in the necke of one man alone. For we are so vnforsunate, y^e the world giveth vs pleasures in sight, and troubles in p^{ro}se. If a man shuld aske a sage man nowe a daies, who hath liued in meane estate, & that he wold be contented to tel him what he hath past, sinse .3. yeares that he began to speake, until .50. yeares that he began to waie olde: what thinges thinke you he wold tel vs, y^e hath chaunced vnto him: truly all these that here follow. The griefes of his children, the

assaultes of his enemies, the importunities of his wyfe, the wantonnes of his daughters, sickness in his person, greate losse of goods, generall sampe in the cytye, cruel plagues in his countrey, extreame colde in winter, noosome heate in sommer, sorrowful deathes of his frendes, & enuious prosperities of his enemies: finally he will saue, that he passed such & so many thinges, that oftentimes he bewailed the too short lyfe, & desired the swete death. If the miserable man hath passed such thinges outwardly, what wold he saue of those, whiche he hath suffered inwardly: the whiche though some dyscreete men maye know, yet truly others dare not tel. For the trauayles whiche the body passeth in .50. yeares, maye welbe counted in a daie: but that whiche the harte suffereth in one daie, cannot be counted in a hundred yeares. A man cannot denaye, but that we wold counte him rather, wth such a rede wold mete another that hath a sword: and him for a foole, that wold put of his shoes, to walke vpon the thornes. But without comparisō, we ought to esteeme him for the moste foole, that with this tender fleashe thinketh to preuaile against so many euil fortunes: for withoute doubte, the man that is of his boode delicate, passeth his lyfe with much paine. How happy maye that man be called, which neuer tasted what pleasure meaneth. For men whiche from their infancy haue bene broughte vp in pleasures, & wante of wysedome knowe not howe to chose the good, and for lacke of force cannot resist the euill: whiche is the cause, that noble mens children oftentimes comyt sondry heynous offences. For it is an infallible rule, that the more a man geueth hym selfe to pleasures, the more he is entangled in vices. It is a thinge worthy to be noted, and woofull to see, howe pollicke we be to augment thinges of honour, howe bolde we be to enterpryse them, howe fortunate to compassse them, howe dyligent to keape them, howe circumspecte to sufferne them,

and

And afterwarde what pittie is it to see, howe
unfortunate we are to lose all that, whiche
so longe tyme we haue searched for, kept, &
possessed. And that whiche is most to be la-
mented in this case is, that the goodes and
honour are not losse for want of diligence
and frantaple of the father: but for the abo-
undance of pleasures, and vices of the son-
ne. Finally, let the ryche man knowe, that
that whiche he hath wonne in labour and
toyle wakynge: his sonne (beyng euill
brought vp) shal consume in pleasures slea-
pinge. One of the greatestte vanities that
raggeth at this daye amonge the chyldren
of vanitie is, that the father can not shewe
vnto his sonne the loue whiche he beareth
him, but in suffering him to be brought vp
in the pleasures & vanities of this life. Tru-
ly he y^e is suche a one, ought not to be called
a pittiefull father, but a cruel stepfather: for
no man wyl denye me this, but that where
there is youth, libertie, pleasure, & money,
there wil al the vices of this world be resy-
dent. Lycurgus the greatesinge, gener of
lawes, & sage Philosopher, ordeined to the
Lacedemonians, that al y^e chyldren which
were borne in cittes, & good townes, should
be sente to bringe vp in villages, till they
were .25. yeres of age. As Lyuius sayeth
that the Lygures were, which in old tyme
were confederate with those of Capua, &
great enemies to the people of Rome. They
had a law amongest the, y^e none should take
wages in the warres, vnlesse he had bene
brought vp in the felde, or y^e he had bene
a hard man in y^e mountaines: so y^e through
one of these .2. waies, their fleshe was hard-
ned, their soules accustomed to suffer the
heate, & the cold, & their bodies moze meete
to endure y^e traualles of the warres. In the
yeare of the foundation of Rome. 440. the
Romaines made cruel warres wth the Ly-
gures, agaynst whom was sent Cneus Fa-
bricius, of the whiche in the end he trium-
phed: & the day folowing this triumphe, he
spoke vnto the Senate these wordes. Wo-
rthy Senatours, I haue bene this .5. yeres

agaynst the Lygures, & by y^e immortal gods
I sweare vnto you, y^e in all this tyme there
passed not one weke, but we had either bat-
tyle, or some perillous scarmuche. And that
which a man ought most to meruaile at is,
y^e I neuer perceaued any feare or cowardli-
nes to be in those barbarous people, wher-
by they were constrained to demaund peace
of y^e people of Rome. These Lygures pour-
sued with such scarcenes the warres, y^e ofte
times they toke away from vs, all hope to
winne the victorie: for betwene armies, the
greates might of y^e one, doth put alwaies the
others in feare. And I will tel you (fathers
conscrip^t) their bringyng vp, to the ende the
Romaine youth shoulde take hereby exaple.
When they are yonge they are putte to be
sheperdes, because they shoulde accustome
their fleshe in the mountaines to endure tra-
uailes: by the whiche coustome, they are so
much maisters of the selues (the countrey
being alwaies full of snow & yce in y^e winter,
& also noysome throughte the extream
heate in the sommer) y^e I sweare by the God
Apollo, in al this tyme of .5. yeres, of those
we haue not sene one presse to the fyre in y^e
winter, nor conet the shadow in the sommer.
Do not yethinke worthy Senatours, that I
was willing to declare vnto you these thin-
ges in the Senate, for any desire I haue, y^e
you shoulde esteeme any thinge the moze my
triumphe: but I do tell it you to this end, y^e
you maye haue an eye, & take hede to your
me of war, to theend they may alwaies be oc-
cupied, & y^e you suffer the not to be idle. For
it is moze perillous for y^e Romaine armies,
to be overcome wth vices: the to be discōfited
wth their enemies. And to talke of these mat-
ters moze at large, we thynke they shoulde
prouide & comaund, y^e rich men shoulde not be
so hardy, to bring vp their chyldren to dely-
cately: for in the ende, it is vnpossible that
the delicate parson shoulde winne wth his
handes, the honoure of manye victories.
That which moued me to say so much as I
haue said (worthy Senatours) is to the ende
you may know, that the Lygures were not

THE DIAL

ouercome by the power of Rome: but by
cause fortune was against them. And since
in nothing fortune sheweth her selfe so va-
riable as in the thinges of warre: me thin-
keth, that though the Ligures are now van-
quished & overcome, yet notwithstandinge
you ought to entertaine them in loue, & to
take them for your confederates. For it is
not good counsell, to hazarde that into the
handes of fortune, which a man may compass
by friendship. The author of this which is
spoken, is called Iunius Prat^r, in his booke of
the concord of realmes, & he saith in this place,
that this capitaine Cneus Fabricius, was
counted no lesse sage for that he spake: then
effemed valiaunte, for he did. In the olde
time, those of the Isles Balears (which now
are called Maiorque, and Minorque)
thought they were not counted wise: yet at
the last in bringinge by their children, they
shewed them selues not negligent. Bycause
they were broughte up in hardnes in theyr
youth, & could not endure al paineful exer-
cises of warres. Those of Carthage gaue
prisoners of Rome, for a slave of Maior-
que. Diodorus Siculus saith, In those Is-
les, the mothers did not geue the children
bread with their owne handes: but they did
put it on a highe pole, so that they might se
the breade with their eyes, but they coulde
not reache it with their handes. Wherefore
when they woulde eate, they shoulde firste
with hurling of stones, or slinges winne it,
or els fast. Though the worke were of chil-
dren: yet the intencion came of a bygh witt.
And hereof it came that the Balears were
effemed for valiaunte men aswell in wrest-
linge, as in slinges for to hurle: for they dyd
hurle with a slinge to hit a whyte, as the
Lygures shoote now in a crosse bowe, to
hit a pycke. Those of great Britayne, whi-
che nowe we call Englande, amongest al
the Barbarous, were men moste Barba-
rous: but you ought to knowe, that wthin
the space of selue yeares, the Romaines were
vanquished of them many times. For time

in all thinges bringeth suche chaunge, and
alteration, that those which once we knew
great lordes: within a while after, we haue
sene them slaues. Herodian in the hyffozie
of Sererus, emperor of Rome saith, that
an Imballatour of Britaine beinge one
day in Rome (as by chauce they gaue hym
a froward answer in the Senate) spake
stoutely before them all, and saide these
wordes. I am soye you will not accepte the
peace, nor graunt truce: the which thyng
shalbe for a greater iustificatiō of our war-
res. For afterwarde none can take, but the
which fortune shal geue. For in the end, the
delicate fleshe of Rome shal sele, if the blondy
swerdes of Britaine wil cut. The Englishe
hyffozie saith, and it is true, that though the
countrey be very cold, & that the water fre-
seth ofte: yet the women had a custome to
cary their childre wher the water was fro-
sen, & breakinge the ice with a stone, to the
same place they used to rubbe the body of the
infant, to the end, to hardene their fleshe, &
to make them moze apter to endure trans-
les. And without doubt, they had reason, for
I wishe no greater penitence to delicate men,
then in the winter to se them without fyre:
and the sommer, to wante freashe shadowe.
With this was the custome of the Britans it
is but reaso we credyt Iulius Cesar in that
he saith in his comentaries, that is to wete,
that he passed many daungers before he
could ouercome them: for they with as litle
feare did hide them selues, & dyed vnder the
cold water, as a weary man woulde haue
rested hym selfe in a pleasaunt shadowe. As
Lucanus Appius, & Alexander saie, a-
mongest other nations which came to suc-
cour the great Pompei in Pharsalia, were
the Messagetes, the which as they saie, in
their youth did sucke no other, but the mylke
of dumbledozies: & eate bread of thornes.
These Barbarous did these thinges, to the
end to harden their bodies, to be able to en-
dure tranas, & to haue their legs lighter for
to rone. In this case we can not call the Bar-
barous,

barons, but we ought to call the me of good understandinge: for it is impossible for the man that eateth much, to runne fast. Viriatus was kinge of the Lusitaynes; and a great enemye of the Romaines, who was so aduenturous in the warre, & so valiant in his parsonne: that the Romaines (by the experience of his dedes) found him invincible. For in the space of 13. yeares, they could neuer have any victorie of him: the which when they sawe, they determined to poison hym, and did so in dede. At whose death they more reioysed; then if they had wonne the signorye of all Lusitanye. For if Viriatus had not dyed, they had neuer brought the Lusitaynes vnder their subiection. Iunius Rusticus in his epistomis saith, that this Viriatus in his youth was a herde man, & kept cattell by the ryuer of Guadiana, and after that he waxed older used to robbe, & assault men by the highe waies. And after that he was 40. yeares of age, he became kinge of the Lusitaynes, and not by force, but by election. For when the people sawe them selues environned & assaulted on euery side with enemies: they chose rather stout, strong, & hardy men for their captaynes, then noble men for their guydes. As the ancient Historiographers deceiue me not, when Viriatus was a chere, he led with him alwayes at the leaste a hundred theues: the which were shodde with leaden shooes; so that when they were enforced to runne, they parte of their shooes. And of this sort although in the daye they wente with leaden heales; yet in the night they ranne lyke swift buckes: for it is a generall rule, that the losse of the soynes are, the more swifter shall the legges be to runne. In the booke of the gestes of the Lombardes, Paulus Diaconus saith, that in the olde tyme, those of Capua had a law, that until the chyldren were maried, the fathers shoulde giue them no bedde nor nappe, nor permitte them to sit at the table to eate: but that they shoulde eate their meat in their handes and take their rest on the

ground. And trulye it was a commendable lawe; for rest was neuer inuented for the yong man which hath no beard: but for the aged; beinge lame, impotent, and crooked. Quintus Cincius was seconde Dictator of Rome, and in dede, for his desertes was the first emperor of the earth. This excellent man was brought vp in so greate traualle, that his handes were found full of knories, the plough was in his armes, and the sweete in his face, when he was sought to be Dictator of Rome. For the auctorities desired rather to be ruled of them that knewe not, but how to plough the ground: then of them that delited in nothing els, but to lyue in pleasures amonge the people. Caligula whiche was the fourth emperor of Rome (as they saye) was broughte vp with such cost and delicatenes in his youth, that they were in doute in Rome, whether Drusus Germanicus, his father employed more for the Armes: then Caligula his sonne spent in the tradell for his pleasures. This reuerfed agayne, I would now knowe of Princes & great lordes, what part they would take (that is to wete) whether to Cincinnatus, whiche by his stoutnes wanne so many strange Countreyes: or with Caligula, that in his ylythy luster, spared not his proper sister. In mine opinion, there needeth no greate deliberation to aunswere this question (that is to wete) the goodnes of the one, and the wickednes of the other: for there was no battayle but Cincinnatus did ouercome, nor there was any byte, but Caligula did intene. Suetonius Tragus in the seconde booke of the emperours saith, when the chyldren of the emperour Augustus Cesar entred into the high capitol, where all the senat were assembled, the Senators rose out of their places and made a reuerence to the chyldren, the which when the Emperour Augustus saw, was displeased, & called them backe agayne. And on a day beinge demanded, why he loued his chyldren no better, he answered in these

THE DIALL

wise. If my children will be good, they shall
 live hereafter wher I live now: but if they be
 euill, I wyll not their viues should be reue-
 renced of the Senators. For the auctoritie
 and grauitie of the good, oughte not to be
 employed in the service of those that be wick-
 ed. The .xv. Emperour of Rome was Ale-
 xander, the whiche (though he was yonge)
 was as much esteemed for his vertues as
 amongst the Romaynes: as euen Alexan-
 der the greake was for his valpannes as
 amongst the Grekes. We can not say, that
 longe experience caused him to come to the
 gouernement of the common wealthe, for as
 Herodian sayth, in his sixte booke, the day
 that the Senators proclaimed him empe-
 rour, he was so litel, that his owne me bare
 him in their armes. Thatfortunate empe-
 rour had a mother, called Mamea, the whi-
 che brought him vp so well, and diligently,
 that she kept alwaies a great garde of men
 to take hede, that no vicious man came vn-
 to him. And let not the diligence of the mo-
 ther to that child be litle esteemed: for prin-
 ces oft times of their owne nature are good,
 and by euill conversation onely they are
 made euill. This worthy woman keppe
 alwaies suche a faithfull garde of her child,
 that no flatterers should enter in to flatter
 him, nor malicious, to tell him lyes: by
 chaunce on a day a Romaine sayd vnto her
 these wordes. I thinke it not mete (most ex-
 cellent princeesse) that thou should be so dili-
 gent about thy sonne, to forget the affaires
 of the common wealthe: for princeesses ought
 not to be kept so close, that it is more easie
 to obtaine a sute at the gods, then to speake
 one worde with the prince. To this the em-
 peresse Mamea answered, and saide. They
 whiche haue charge to gouerne those that
 do gouerne, without comparison oughte to
 feare more the bites of a king; then the ene-
 mies of the realme. For the enemies are de-
 stroyed in a battaile, but bites remaine du-
 ring the life: and in the end, enemies do not
 destroy but the possessions of the lande, but

the vicious prince, destroyeth the good ma-
 ners of the common wealthe. These wordes
 were spoken of this worthy Romaine. By
 hyposities which I haue declared, & by those
 which I omitte to recyde, all vertuous men
 may knowe, how much it profiteth them, to
 bringe vp their children in traunples, or to
 bringe the vp in pleasures. But no wise Symo-
 nine, that those which shal reade this, wyll
 praise that which is well written: and also
 I trust, they wyll not geue their children so
 much their owne willers. For men that reade
 much, & worke litte, are as brilles, the which
 do sound to eal others, and they themselves
 neuer enter into the church. If the fathers
 did not esteeme that service they do vnto God,
 their owne honour, nor the profite of their
 child: yet to preserve them from diseases,
 they ought to bringe them vp in vertue, and
 withholde them from vices. For truely the
 children which haue bene brought vp dai-
 rely, shal alwaies be diseased & sikely. What
 a thing is it to se that sonne of a labourer, that
 without pointes, the shyppe tortered, & rote,
 their feete bare, their head without a cappe,
 the body without a girde, in somer without
 a hat, in winter without a cloke, in the day
 ploughyng, in the night dnyng his herbe, ea-
 tinge breade of Rye or Otes, lyenge on the
 earthe, or els on the strawe: and in this tra-
 uaille, to se this yonge man so holpe and ver-
 tuous, that euery man desireth and wissheth,
 that he had suche a sonne. The contrary co-
 meth of noble mens sonnes, the whiche we
 see are nourished and brought vp betwene
 two fyne hollande shettes, layed in a costly
 cradell, made after the newe fashions: they
 geue the nource what she wyll desire, if per-
 chaunce the child be sick, they chaunge bys
 nource, or els they appoynt him a diet. The
 father and the mother slepe neither nighte
 nor daye, all the house watcheth, they lette
 him eat nothing, but the broth of chyckins,
 they kepe him diligentlye that he fall not
 downe the staires, the chylder asketh no
 thinge but it is geuen hym immediatelye.

finallye

Fittally they spende their time in seruynge them, they wast their riches, but in geyng the their delights, they occuppe their eyes, but to beholde them, and they imploye not their hartes, but to loue them. But I sweare, that those fathers (whiche on this wyse doe spende their riches, to pomper them) shall one day water their eyes to bewaile them.

What it is to see the waste, that a bayne man maketh in bynginge by his chyldre: speciallpe yf he be a man somewhat agyd, and that at hys desyre hath a childe borne. He spendeth so much goodes in byngynge him by wantonly, whyles he is yonge: that oft times he wanteth to marie him when he cometh to age. And that whiche wo:ffe of all is, that that whiche he spendeth and employeth, he thinketh it well bestowed, and thynketh that to muche that he getteth for gods sake. Though the fathers are bette large in spendinge, the mothers berpe ceterious, and the nources full of pleasures, and the seruantes berp diligent and attentiu: yet it soloweth not, that the chyldren should be moze hoole, then others. For the moze they are attended, the moze they be diseased: the moze they eate, the moze they are weake: the moze they reioice, the wo:ffe they prosper: the moze they wast, and spende, so muche lesse they prosper. And all this is not, without the secret permission of God, for God will not that the cloutes of chyldren be of greater value, then the garmentes of the pooze. God withoute a greate miserie toke not in hande the custodie of the pooze, and doth not suffer that the chyldren of the riche men should prosper: for the pooze byngeth by his chyldren without the prejudice of the riche, & to the profit of the common wealth: but the riche byngeth by his chyldren with the sweet of the pooze, and to the domage of the common wealth. Therfore if this thing be true (as it is) it is but reason that the wolfe whiche deuouret vs, do dye: and the shepe whiche clothereth vs, do lyue. The fathers ofte tymes for tendernes wyll not

teache nor bynge by their chyldren in doctrine, sayenge, that as yet he is to yonge, and that there remaineth tyme enough for to be learned, and that they haue leysure enough to be taughte: and further for the moze excuse of theyr erroz, they affirme, that when the chyldre in hys youth is chastened, he runneth in daunger of his health. But the euill respect whiche the fathers haue to their chyldren, God suffereth afterwards that they come to be so slaunderous to the common wealth, so infamous to their parentes, so disobediente to theyr fathers, so euill in their condicions, so vnadvised and lyght in their behauiour, so vnmeate for knowlege, so vncorrigible for discipline, so inclined to lyes, so enuyge the truth: that their fathers woulde not onely haue punished them with sharpe correction: but also they woulde reioyce to haue them burped, with hytter teares. An other thing there is in this matter wo:thye to be noted, and muche moze wo:thye to be commended, that is, that the fathers and mothers vnder the couller that their chyldren shoulde be somewhat grattous, they learne them to speake, to bable, and to be greate mockers and scoffers, the which thing afterwards, reboundeth to the greate infamy, and dishonour of the father, to the greate peryll of the sonne, and to the greatesse greife and dyspleasure of the mother.

For the chyldre, whiche is broughte by wantonlye withoute doctrine in his youth: of necessitie must be a soole when he is old. If this whiche I haue saide be euill, this whiche I wyll saye is wo:ffe: that the fathers, and the mothers, the governours, or nourices, doe teache them to speake byhoneste thynges, the whiche are not lawefull, and therefore oughte not to be suffered to be spoken, in that tender age: nor the grantie of the auuncientes oughte not to lyent vnto them. For there are no men (vnlesse they be shamelesse) that wyll permytte their chyldren to be greate bablers.

Those

THE DIAL

Those whiche haue the charge to gouerne good mens children, ought to be very circumspect, that they kepe them in awe, feare, & subiectiō, & that they ought not to be corrected, though the fathers say they are pleased. For the disordinate loue that fathers haue to the, is the cause that they can not see, whether they be mockers, or euil brought vp. And if it chanced (as oft times it doth) that the father should come to the master to cause him to withdraue correction, in this case, if the master be a wise man, he ought no lesse to reprove and admonyshe the father: then to correct the sonne. And if this did not anaple, I counsell him to forsake and leaue his charge. For the man of an honest nature, after he hath taken any charge in hande, wyll ether bringe it to passe, or els he wyll dye in the same. I wyll not denaye, but that it is reason noble mennes sonnes be more gently brought vp, handled, and honoured, then the sonnes of the Plebeians: for more delicately is the palme tree which bringeth forth dates, cherished: then the oke which bringeth forth Akornes, wherewith the hogges are nourished. Let princes and greate Lordes beware, that the pleasures which they geue their chyldren in their yowthe, be not so excessive, nor of so longe continuance: that when they would withdraue them, the world hath not alreedy fettered them. For the chyldren brought vp with too much delicatenesse, are disobedient to their fathers and mothers, or els they are sicke in their bodie, or worse then that, they are vicious in their behauiours: so that their fathers should be better to burie them quicke, then to bringe them vp vicious.

The xxxiiii. Chapter.

That Princes and greate Lordes ought to be carefull in seekinge wyse men to brynge vp theyr children. Of .x. conditions, that good maisters ought to haue. Of an offyce whiche was in Rome, the officer whercof had auctoritie to chastise all yonge men, idle loyterers. It is a notable chapter for him that hath a sonne, vvhom he entierly loueth and desired to haue hym well brought vp.



WHEN he that is withoute endegate beginninge to the worlde, in this sorte he beganne. The Monday he created heauen and earth, The Monday he created the element, the Tuesday he created the Planettes, the Wednesday he created the Sonne and the Moone, the Thursday he created the birdes in the ayre, and the fishes in the sea, the frydaye he created Adam and Eue his wyfe, and truly in that he created, and howe he created, he shewed hym selfe as God.

For as sone as the house was made, he furnished, & peopled it, with that that was necessary, as he coulde well do. Omittinge therfore the creator, and talking of creatures: we see by experience, that a householder in plantinge a vintarde, immediatly maketh a dyche or a hedge, to the ende that the beastes do not hurt it, and eate it vp. And whē it is well growen he byereth some poore laborer to wathe, that traualers do not gather, nor eate the grapes therof. The riche man that traffiqueth by Sea, after he hath

hath made a great shippe, and bestowed .6.
 thousand ducates, if he be wise, he wil
 firste provide a man that may governe her,
 before he wil seke marchandise for to fraite
 her: for in perillous tempelles, the greatnes
 of the shippe lytel availeth, if the pilot ther-
 of be not experie. The householder that hath
 many cowes and shepe, and likewise hath
 faire feeldes, and pleasant pastures for his
 cattel, doeth not only seke herdmen to keape
 the cattel, but also dogges to feare the wol-
 fes, and cabannes to lodge the herdmen.
 For the cabanne of the sheperdes, and the
 bayning of the dog, is but as it were a saue-
 garde of the sheps, from the rauening of the
 wolfe. The myghty and valiant princes
 whiche in the frontiers of their ennemyes
 keape strong forresses, seke alwaies stout
 and hardy captaynes to defende their wal-
 les: for otherwyse, it were better the forte
 shoulde be battered to the ground, then it
 shoulde come into the power of their enne-
 myes. By the comparysons aboue named,
 there is no discreete man, but doeth under-
 stande to what ende my penne doeth write
 them: that is, to know, to keape, and proue,
 howe that men whiche loue their chyldren
 wel (adding this vnto it) haue greete neede
 of good maisters and gouernours, to teache
 and bring them vp. For whyles the palme
 tree is but lytel, a frost doeth easely destroye
 it. I meane, whyles the childe is yonge, if he
 haue no tutour: he is easely deceiued with
 the world. If the lord be wise, and of under-
 standinge, there is no forte so esteemed,
 neither ship so faire, nor herd so profitable,
 nor vine so fruitful, but that he better este-
 meth to haue a good sone, then al these thin-
 ges together, or anye other thinge in the
 world. For the father ought to loue his chil-
 dren, as his owne proper: and all the rest
 due as gyftes of fortune. If it be so (as it is
 in deede) since that for to keape and warche
 the herde, they seake a good sheperde, if for
 the vine they seake a good labourer, if for
 to governe the shepe, they seke a good ma-

ster, and if for to defende a forte, they seke a
 good captayne: why then wil not the wise
 fathers seke for good maisters, to teache,
 and bringe vp their chyldren? O Princes
 and greete lordes, I haue nowe tolde you,
 and agayne doe saye, that if you trauaile
 one yere, to leaue your chyldren goods: you
 oughte to sweate .50. yeres, to leaue them
 wel brought vp. For it availeth lytel, to ca-
 rpe much come to the myl: if the mil be out
 of frame. I meane that in daye riches and
 treasures are gathered: when the childe that
 shall inherite them, hath not witte to vse
 them. It is no smal matter, to knowe howe
 to choose good gouernours. For the prince
 is sage, that findeth suche a one: and muche
 more happy is he, that of him shalbe taught.
 For in my opinion, it is no smal charge for
 one man to bringe vp a Prince, that shall
 governe many. As Seneca, saith, the wise
 man ought to conferre all thinges with his
 frend, but firste he ought to knowe, who he is
 that is his frend. I meane, that the wise fa-
 ther ought for his chyldren to seke one good
 maister, and to him he shoulde recomende
 them al: but firste he ought to knowe, what
 he is. For that man is very simple, which
 wil bye a horse before he se, and proue him,
 whether he be hole, or lae. We ought to haue
 many, and good conditions, and qualities,
 that shoulde bringe vp the chyldren of prin-
 ces and greete lordes: for by one waye, they
 nourishe the tender trees in the orcharde,
 and after another forte, they plante the wild
 trees, in the mountaynes. Therefore the
 case shalbe this, that we wil declare here
 what conditions, and behauiours, the ma-
 sters, and gouernours, of noble mens sones
 ought to haue, whiche maye bringe them to
 honour, & their dysciples to be wel taught,
 and brought vp. For the glory of the discipule,
 alwaies redoundeth to the honour & prayse
 of his maister.

The first condition is, that he which ought
 to be tuto: to noble mens sones, shuld be no
 lesse then .40. yeres of age, & no more then

THE DIAL

So, because the master that is young, is ashamed to command, and if he be aged, he is not able to correct.

The. 2. it is necessary that tutors be very honest, & that not only in pureness of conscience: but also in the outward apparance, and cleannes of life. For it is vnpossible, that the childe be honest, if the maister be dissolute.

The. 3. it is necessary that tutors & gouernours of princes, and greate lordes, be true men, not only in their wordes: but also in their conuauces. For to say & trueth, & mouth which is alwaies ful of lyes, ought not, by reaso, to be a teacher of the trueth.

The. 4. condition, it is necessarye that the gouernours of princes and great lordes (of their owne nature) be liberal: for oftentimes, the greate couetousnes of maisters, maketh & hartes of princes, to be greedy & couetous.

The. 5. it is necessarye that the maisters and gouernours of princes, & great lordes, be moderate in wordes, & beary resolute in sentences: so that they ought to teache the childe to speake litle, and to harken muche. For it is the chiefe vertue in a prince, to heare wth paciẽce, and to speake wth wysedom.

The. 6. condition is, it is necessarye that the maisters & gouernours of princes and great lordes be wise men, and temperate: so that & grauite of the master, may restrayne the lightnes of the schollers, for there is no greater plagues in realmes, then for princes to be young, & their masters to be light.

The. 7. it is necessarye & the maisters and tutors of princes and great lordes, be wel learned in diuine, & humaine letters, insuch sorte, & that whiche they teache the princes by word, they may shew it by writing, to the end & other princes maye execute, & put the same in bre: for mens hartes are sooner moued by the exāples of those whiche are past, then by the wordes of them that are present.

The. 8. conditiō, it is necessarye that the maisters & tutors of princes be not geuē to the vice of the flesh: for as they are yōg, and naturally genen to, the fleshe, they haue no

strength to abide chast, neither wysedem to beware of the snares. Therefore it is necessary, that their maisters be pure, & honest: for the disciples shal neuer be chast, if & maister be vicious.

The. 9. it is necessary that the maisters and tutors of princes, & great lordes, haue good cōditions: bycause the chyldre of noble men (being daintely brought vp) alwaies learne euil cōditions, & which their maisters ought to reforme, more by good cōuersation, then by sharpe correatiō. For oftentimes it chaunceth, & whereas the maister is cruel, the scoller is not merciful.

The. 10. it is necessarye & the maisters and tutors of princes, & greate lordes, haue not onely sene & red many thinges: but also that they haue proued, chaūgeable, & sickle fortunes. For sene noble mens sōnes (by the gift of god) haue greate estates, they ought therfore to prouide, to speake to manye, to aunswere to manye, & to entreate with manye, & it is very profitable for them to be cōuersant wth experie mē, for in the end, the approued mā, in cōuncel hath preeminẽce. I was willing to bring in these rules in my writing, to the end that fathers may heape them in their memoire, when they doe seke maisters to reache their childe: for in my opiniō, the father is more in faulte to seke an euil maister, then the maister is to make an euil scoller. For if I choose euil tailours to cut my gowne, it is my faulte that my cloth is lost, & my gowne marred. Albest the romaines were in all their doings circumspect, yet for this one thing, I must enuy the good doctrine which they gaue to noble mē's chilozen. For without doubte, it is vnpossible that in any city there be a good common wealth, vnlesse they are very circūspẽce, to bring vp young childe. Sabellic^{us} in his rapsonies saith, that in the. 400. & 15. yeares, of the foundatiō of Rome, Quin^{us} Seruilius, and Lucius Geminus, then cōsulles, being in the warre againste & Volces, & front aduersurous captaine Camillus, raised a great

Arise,

strife, and contention in Rome, amongest the people, & the knightes: & that contentio was vpon the prouision of offices. For in greateson
 * common wealthes it hath ben an auncient quarrel, that in knightes & gentlemen, there surmounteth pride in commaunding: and among the people, there wanteth patience in obeying. The knightes & gentlemen would, they shuld chose a tribune Militaire in the senate, to speake in the name of al the knightes, that were absent and present: for they saied, that seince they were alwayes at the warre, the whole common wealth remained in the power of the people. The commons on the other parte importuned, and desired, that a newe officer shuld be created, by which shuld haue the charge to examine and take accompte, how the youth of Rome were brought by: because the common people did accuse the knightes, and gentlemen, that the longer they remained in the warres, the more sensuallie their childre liued in Rome. It was decreed then, that a Tribune Militaire shuld be erected, the which in auctoritey and dignitey, should be equall with the senators, & that he shuld represent the state of warlike knightes: but that office continued no longer, then .4. yeares in Rome (that is to wete) til the time
 * that Camilla returned from the warres. For thinges that are grounded of no reason, of them selues they come to nought. All the knightes & gentlemen sought, to the bittermost of their power, to mainteine their preeminence: on the other side, all the commonalty of Rome was agaynst it. In the end, the good captain Camilla called al the knightes, and gentlemen together, and saied vnto them these wordes. I am greatly ashamed, to see that the frontes shuld be so little off from the knightes, if they shuld condescend to the wil
 * of the plebeians: for in dede, the mightie do not get so much honour, to overcome the litel: as the litel doeth, to stricke with the great. I saie, that the strife and debate amongest you in Rome, doth displease me much: therefore (you knightes) if you wyl not lose your

honours, you must either kill them, or overcome them. You cannot overcome them, because they are many: & kyll them you ought not, for in the end they are poures, & therefore there is no better remedy, then to dissemble wth them. For thinges which suffer no force nor obserue not iustice, ought alwayes (vntil commensent tyme) to be dyssembled. The immortal gods did not create romaine knightes, to gouerne people: but to conquer realmes. And I say so order, that they did not create vs, to teache lawes to oures: but to geue lawes to straungers. And if we be the children of our fathers, & imitators of the auncient romaines: we wil not content oure selues to commaund in Rome, but to commaund those, which do commaund in Rome. For the parte of a true romayne, doeth litel esteeme to se him selfe lord of this world: if he knowe that there is another to conquer. You others did creat this tribune Militaire, we being in the warre: wherof now there is no necessity, since we are in peace. And the cause why I was willing there shuld be none in the common wealth, was for that there was not riches in Rome sufficient, to acquite the desayntes of the romaine chualrye. And if you esteeme it an honorable office, to be a tribune Militaire: since you cannot all haue it, me thinkest you shuld all wane it. For among the noble men & plebeians, it is not mete, that one alone shuld enjoy it, which many haue deserved. This history Sabellicus declareth, & allegeth Pulio for his author, and reciteth, that for this good worke that Camilla did in Rome (that is to wete) to set the great, and the smal at one: he was as wel beloued of the romaines, as he was feared of the enemies. And not without a iust cause: for in my opinion, it is a greater vertue to pacify his owne, then to robbe straungers. As touching the office of this tribune, wherupon this greateson contention rose in Rome: I cannot tel which was greater, the foolishness of the knightes to procure it, or the wisdom of Camilla to abbolish it. For to

THE DIAL

say the trueth, the arte of chenalry was in-
 vented, more to defend the common wealth:
 then to bide at home, and haue the charge of
 iustice. For to the good knight, it seemeth
 * better, to be lobed with weapōs, to resist e-
 nemies: then to be enuironed with bookes
 to determine causes. Returning therfore to
 that which the people sayd against the soul-
 diars, it was ordeined (by the consent of all)
 that in rome an office should be erected, and
 that he which shuld haue it, should haue the
 charge to go thorough rome, to se what they
 were in rome, & did not instruct their chyl-
 dzen in good doctrine: and if perchaunce he
 found any neighbours childe that was euil
 taught, he chastised & banished the father.
 * And truly & punishment was verpe iust, for
 the father deserueth more punishment, for
 that he doth therunto consent: then the childe
 deserueth, for & offences which he doth com-
 mitte. Whē rome was rome, & that of al the
 world the cōmon wealth thereof was com-
 mended, they chose for an officer therin, the
 most auncient and vertuous romaine, who
 was called the general visiter of the childe
 of rome: & it seemeth to be true, for somuche
 as he which had this office one yeare, hoped
 to be consul, dictatour, or cesor: the next. As
 it appereth by Marcus Portio, who desired
 to be corrector of & chylde: and afterwarde
 succeeded, to be cenfor of the Romayne peo-
 ple. For the romayns did not offer the office
 of iustice to any man, butlesse he had had ex-
 perience of al offices. Patricius Senēses in
 the booke of the cōmon wealth sayeth, that
 before the warrs were betwene Carthage
 and Rome, the common wealthe of Car-
 thage was verpe wel gouerned, and as it
 seemed such a noble citie: but it is an aun-
 cient pceptledge of the water, that it killeth
 the parsones, consumeth the goods, and a-
 boue al, engendreth a newe passion and mis-
 serye, and in the ende, destroyeth all good
 auncient customes. The Carthaginians
 therfore had a custome, that the childe, and
 especiallpe those which were of honest men,

shoulde be put in the Temples, from 3.
 yeares, tyl 12. and so fro 12. tyl 20. they learn-
 ed craftes, sciences, and occupations: and
 from 20. vntill 25 they instructed them in the
 seates of warre: and at the ende of 30. yea-
 res, they gaue them selues to mariage. For
 amongst them, it was a lawe inuolable,
 that no man should marie, vntill he were
 30. yeares of age: and the woman, vntill 25.
 And after that they were married, & moneth
 followyng, they oughte to present them sel-
 ues before the Senate, and there to chos
 what kynde of estate they would take vpon
 them to liue in, and what their mindes most
 desired (that is to wete) if they would serue
 in the Temples, followe the warre, or tra-
 uayle the seas, or get there lyuing by lande,
 or followe there occupation which they had
 learned. And loke what estate, or office that
 day they chose, the same they kepte and oc-
 cupied pūryng their lyfe: and truly the
 lawe was verpe good, because such change
 of estates, and offices in the world, are oc-
 casyon that presentlpe, so manpe come to
 distraction. All the excellent, and auncient
 pñces, had manpe great philosophers for
 their maisters: and this seemeth to be true,
 by this, & kinge Darius had Lichanius the
 philosopher, for his maister. The grete A-
 lexander had Aristotel the philosopher for
 his maister. King Astarges, had Pindarus
 the philosopher for his maister. The aduen-
 turous & hardye captayne of the Atheniās
 Palino, had Xenocrates the philosopher
 for his maister. Xerxes (only king of the
 Corinthians) had Chilo the philosopher for
 his maister, and tutor, to his chylde.
 Epamynundes, pñce of the Thebaines,
 had for his maister and counsellor: Mar-
 chus the philosopher. Vlisses the Greke
 (as Homere saith) had for his maister and
 compaignon in his trauals, Catinus the
 philosopher. Pirrus (which was king of the
 Epirotes, and great defendour of the Tha-
 rentines) had of his maister and croncler,
 * Arthemius the philosopher, of whom C-
 cero

Cero speaketh ad artium, that his swerde
 was sharper to fighte then his penne ready
 to wyte. The greate kynge Ptholomeus
 Philadelphus was not onely scholer of the
 moste singuler Philosophers of Grece: but
 also after he was kynge, he sente for 72.
 Philosophers whiche were Hebrues. Ce-
 rus kynge of the Persia, that destroyed the
 greate Babylon, had for hys master Pri-
 sticus the Philosopher. Traian the Empe-
 roure had Plutarke for hys mayster, who
 dyd not onely teache hym in hys yowthe:
 but also to late hym a booke, how he oughte
 to gouerne him selfe, & his common wealch.
 By these fewe examples whiche I haue ex-
 pressed; and by many others which I omitte,
 Princes at this present may see, how care-
 ful princes were in times past, to geue their
 chyldren wyse and learned men. Whiche
 and great lordes, since you that are at this
 present, doe presume and take vpon you,
 that whiche yowre fozefathers dyd: I would
 that now you would consider, who brought
 them to so hygh estate, and who leaueth of
 them eternal memozy. For without doubt,
 noble men neuer wanne renowne, for the
 pleasures they had in byces: but for the tra-
 uayles, they toke in vertues. Againe I say,
 that Princes in tymes past were not sa-
 mous for their floutenes, and apse dysposi-
 tion of their bodies, neyther for discent of
 hygh and noble linage, nor yet for hys posses-
 sion of many realmes, or heapinge by of greate
 treasures: but they wane and obeyned im-
 mortal renowne for yheir fathers in their
 yowth, put them vnder hys tutour of wyse and
 learned tutours, whiche taught them good
 doctrine, & whis they were of age, gaue them
 good counsailers to gouerne hys comon wealch.
 Laertius in the life of hys philosophers, & Bo-
 cace in the booke of the linage of gods say,
 That among the philosophers of Athens,
 there was a custome, that no strange phi-
 losopher shuld reade in their scooles, before
 he were first crampned, in natural & moral
 philosophy: for amonge the Grekes it was

an auncient prouerbe, that in the scoole of
 Athens, no bitious man coulde enter, nor
 sole word be spoken, neyther theyd consent,
 that any ignoraunt philosopher shuld come
 in to rede there. As by chance many philo-
 sopher were come from the mount Olim-
 pus, amongest the residue, there was one
 came to se the philosophers of Athens, who
 was natife of Thebes, a man as afterwar-
 des, he declared him selfe in moral & natural
 philosophy very wel learned: & since he desi-
 red to remaine in Athens, he was cramp-
 ned, and of manye and dyuers thinges de-
 maunded. And amongest the others these fo-
 lowing were some of them.

First they asked him, what causeth wo-
 men to be so frowarde, since it is true, that
 nature made them shamefast, and created
 them simple: the philosopher answered.

Woman is not frowarde, but bycause she
 hath to much her wyll, and wanteth shame.

Secondly they asked him, why yonge
 men are vndone: he answered: bycause
 tyme aboundeth them for to do euill, & ma-
 sters wanteth, to enforce them to doe good.

Thirdly they asked him, why are wise men
 deceiued, aswel as the simple: he answered,
 The wise man is neuer deceiued but by him,
 that useth faire wordes, & hard euill condicions.

Fourthly they asked him, of whom men ought
 most to beware: he answered. That there
 is to a man no greater enemy, then he which
 seeth that thing in the, whiche he desireth to
 haue in him selfe.

Fifthly they asked him, why many prin-
 ces beginne wel, & end euill: he answered,
 princes beginne wel, bycause their nature
 is good: and they end euill, bycause no man
 againe saue them.

Sixtly they asked him, why do princes co-
 mitte such folies: he answered. Bycause flate-
 rerers aboundeth that deceiue them: & true
 men wanteth which shuld serue them.

Seuenthy they asked him, why the aunc-
 entes were so sage, and men at this present
 so simple: he answered. Bycause the aun-

THE DIAL

sciences dyd not procure but to knowe, and they present do not trauaile but for to haue.

Eighly they asked him, why so many vices were nourished in the pallace of princes? he answered. Becaufe pleasures abound, and counsell wanteth.

The ninth, they asked him why the moste parte of men liued without rest, and fewe without paine: he answered. No man is more without rest, & suffereth more payne: then he which dieth for his goods of another, and liuel esteemeth his owne.

The. 10. they asked him wherby they might knowe the common wealth to be vndone: he answered. There is no comon wealth vndone, but where the pong are lighte, and the olde vicious.

The. 11. they asked him wherwith the common wealth is maintained: he answered. The common wealth cannot decay, where iustice remaineth for his poore, punishment for the straungers, weight & measure plentiful: and chesely, if there be good doctrine for his yonge, and liuel conseruations in the old. A firo the historiographer declarerh this, in his 10. booke de rebus atheniensium. Truly in my opinion, the wordes of this philosopher were fewe, but the sentences were many. And for none other cause I did bring in this history, but to profite me of the last word, wherin for answer he saierh, that al the profite of his comon wealth consisteth, in that there be princes that restraine his auarice of the aged: that there be maisters, to teache his yongful wile se by experience, that if the brute beastes were not tised, & the corne & seedes copassed wth hedges or ditches, a man shuld neuer gather his fruite when they are ripe. I meane, that strife & debate wyl rise continually am^og the people, if the yonge men haue not good fathers to correct them, and wise maisters to teache them. We canot deny, but though the kniue be made of fine Steele, yet sometimes it hath neede to be whet: and so in lyke manner the yonge man, during his time of his youth, though he do not deserue it, yet from tyme to tyme

he ought to be corrected. O princes & greates lordes, I knowe not of who you take counsell wh^{er} your sonne is bozne, to prouide him of a maister & gouernour, whom you chooseth not as the most vertuous, but as the moste richest: not as the moste sagest, but as the most vile & euill taught. Finally, you do not trust him with your children that best deserueth it: but that most procureth it. Againe I say, O princes & great lordes, why doe you not withdraw your children from their handes, whiche haue their eyes more to their owne profite, then their hartes vnto your seruice. For suche to enrichen them selues, do bringe by princes viciously. Let not princes thinke, that it is a trifle to knowe, how to finde and chouse a good maister: the lord which hererin doeth not employ his diligence, is worthy of great rebuke. And because they shal not pretend ignorance, let them beware of that man whose lyfe is suspitious, & extreme covetous. In my opini^on, in the pallace of princes, his office of tutorship ought not to be geuen as other comon offices, & is to wete, by requestes of money, by priuities of importunities, either els for recouery of seruices: for it foloweth not, though a man haue ben imballatour in straungerealmes, or captaine of greates armyes in warre, or that he haue possessed in the roial pallace offices of hono^r, or of estimatioⁿ, that therefore he shuld be able to teache, or bring by his children. For to be a good captaine, sufficeth onely to be hardye, & fortunate: but for to be a tutor, and gouernour of princes, he oughte to be both sage, and vertuous.

The. xxxv. Chapter.

Of the. ii. children of Mar. Aurelius the emperour, of the vvhich, the best beloued dyed. And of the maisters he prouyded for the other named Comodus.



Marcus Aurelius the .17. Emperour of Rome, in þe tyme þe he was married to Faustine, onely daughter of þe Emperour Antonius Pius, had only .2. sones, wherof þe eldest was Commodus, & the seconde Verissimus. Of these .2. childre, the heyre was Commodus, who was so wicked in the .13. yeares he gouerned the empire: that he seemed rather the disciple of Nero the cruell, then to descende by the mothers side, from Anthonius the merciful, or sonne of Marcus Aurelius. This wicked childe Commodus was so light in speache, so dishonest in parol, & so cruel to his people: þe oft times (he being allue) they layed wagers, & ther was not one vertus in him to be found, nor any one vice in him þe wanted. On þe contrarye part, þe secōd sone named Verissimus, was comely of gesture, pꝛopꝛe of persone, and in witte very sēperate: & the most of all was, þe by his good cōuersation, of all he was beloved. For the faire and vertuous pꝛinces by their beaultie draweth vnto the mens eyes: & by their good cōuersatio they winne their hartes. The childe Verissimus was þe hope of the cōmō people, & the gloꝛy of his aged father: so þe Emperour determined that this childe Verissim^{us} shuld be heyre of þe empire, & þe pꝛince Comod^{us} shuld be disinherited. Wherat no man ought to maruaile, for it is but iuste, since the childe doth not as meā his life: & the father do disinherite him. When good wil doth want, & vicious pleasures abound: the children oft times by peruerse fortune come to nought. So this Marcus Aur. being .52. yeares of age, by chaunce this childe Verissimus (which was þe gloꝛy of Rome, & the hope of the father) at þe gate of Hostia, of a sodaine sickness died. The death of whom was as vniuersally lamented: as his life of al mē was desired. It was a pitiful thing to se, how wofully þe father toke the death of his intierly beloved sone: & no lesse lamentable to behold, how þe Senat toke the death of their pꝛince, being þe heire,

for the aged father, for sozow did not go to the Senat: and the Senat for few daies, enclosed them selues in the high Capitoll. And let no man meruaile, though the deathe of this yong Pꝛince was so token thorough Rome: for if men knete what they loose, when they loose a vertuous Pꝛince, they would neuer cease to bewaile & lament his death. Whē a knight, a gentilmā, a squier, an officer, or when any of the people dieth, ther dieth but one: but when a pꝛince dieth, which was good for al, and that he lyued to the pꝛofit of al, then they ought to make account that all do dye, & they ought al greatly to lament it. For oft times it chaunceth, that immediatly after .2. or .3. good pꝛinces, a soule floche of tyrantes succeedeth. Therfore Marcus Aurelius the Emperour, as a man of greate vnderstandinge, and of a pꝛincely parsonne, though the inward sorow from the rootes of the hart coulde not be plucked: yet he determined outwardly to dissemble, & hide the griefes of his sozowes with in enclosed. For to saue the truth, none ought (for any thinge) to shew extream sorrow: but lest it be that he hath losse his honour, or þe his conscience is burdened. The good pꝛince, as one þe had his vnsard frok wherin was al his hope, contented him self with that which remained, his so dearely beloved sonne being dead: and cōmanded the Pꝛince Commodus to be broughte into his pallace, beinge his onely heyre. Iulius Capitolinus, whiche was one of those that wrote of the tyme of Mar. Aur. saide vpon this matter, that when the father saue the disordinate frailties, and lightenes, & also the litell shame whiche the pꝛince Commodus his sonne broughte with him: the aged man began to weape, and shed teares from his eyes. And it was, because the symplenes, and vertues, of his dere beloved sonne Verissimus came into his mynde.

Though this Emperour Marcus, for the deathe of his sonne was verpe sozowfull: yet notwithstandinge thys he pꝛouided,

how

THE DIAL

how his other sonne Commodus should be governed, and thus before that either of age or bodye he were greater. For we can not deny, but when princes are men; they will be such as in their youth they haue ben brought vp. The good father therfore knowinge the euill inclinacions of his sone should do him damage, and the emperour in like manner: he commaunded & sent throughte oute all Italy, for the most sageste & expert me to be gouernours and Tutors of Commodus, the Prince. He made the like for the most profoundest in learning, the most renowned of good fame, the most vertuous in deedes, and the most deepest in vnderstanding: so; as he dust is not sweapt wth fyne cloth, but wth dye broomes: so the lightnes & follies of yonge men are not remedied, but by the harde discipline of the aged. This commaundement being published & proclaimed in Rome, and the bryde scattered throughte Italye, there came & ranne thither diuerse kind of sages, whom he commaunded to be examined.

He beinge informed of the bloude of their predecessours, of the age of their parsones, of the gouernement of their houses, of the spendinge of their goodes, of their credit amongeste their neighbours, of the sciences they knewe, & aboute all, they were no lesse examined of the purenes of their liues, the of the grauitie of their parsones: for there are many men, whiche are graue in open wordes, & very light in secret workes. Speaking therfore moze particularly, he commaunded they should examine the Astronomers of astronomy, the philosophers in philosophy, the musiciens in musike, the Orators in orations. And so forth of other sciences in order, wherein euery one said he was instructed. The good emperour was not so contented to do this vnce, but soday times, not all in one day, but in many, not only by an other man, but also by him selfe. Finally, they were all examined, as if they had ben all one, and he the same one should haue remained & bene kept for all, to be onely master & tutor

of the yong child, & prince Commodus. To acquire a perfect knowledge, & to be sure not to erre in choyce of thinges, in my opinion, is not only required experierce of him selfe & cleare vnderstanding: but also the aduise of an other. For the knowledge of thinges wholly together, is easie: but the choyce of the particularly, is hard. This thing is spoken because he good emperour sent, & commaunded to chole gouernours & masters of his child. Of many he chosse few, & of few the most wisest, of the most wisest the most expert, of the most expert the best learned, of the best learned the most temperate, of the most temperate the most ancient, & of the most ancient the most noble. Certainly such a train is worthy praise, because they be true masters & teachers of Princes, whiche are noble of blood, ancient in yeares, honeste in life, free of litle folly, & of great experierce. According to the .7. liberal sciences, .2. masters of euery one were chosen, so that the prince was but one, & the others were .14. but this notwithstanding, the workes of this prince Commodus were contrary to the expectation of his father Mar. Aur. because the intention of the good father was, to teache his sone all sciences: & the study of the sonne was, to lerne all vices. At the bruite of so great a thinge as this was, he the emperour soughte to provide tutors, for he prince Commodus, & that they should not be those which were best fauoured, but those whiche were found the most wisest: in whose space, there came so many philosophers to Rome, as if the diuine Plato had bene reuiued again in Grece. Let vs not meruaile at al, if he sages desired the acquaintance & familiaritie of this good emperour. For in the end, there is no man so sage, nor so vertuous in this life, but sometime will seke after he fauours of he world. Since ther were many sages, & that of those he chose but .14. It was necessarie he should honestly and wisely dispatche and geue the others leaue, as did be houe him. And herein the good emperour shewed him selfe

selfe so wise, that shewing to some a very
 countenance, to others speaking gently,
 and to others by a certain hope, & to others
 by giftes & presentes, al the good company of
 the sages departed: & the good Emperour
 dispatched them, nor one beinge sad whiche
 departed, but very wel pleased. For it is not
 comely for the magnificence of a Prince,
 * that the man which cometh to his pallace
 only for his seruice, should returne murmu-
 ring, or without rewarde. This good Em-
 perour shewed him selfe sage, to seeke so
 many sages, he shewed him selfe wise, in his
 choyce of some, & of a good vnderstanding,
 in dispatching others, & in coniecting the al.
 * For as we se daily by experice, though the
 elections be good, commonly great afflictions
 ther vpon engender. For those for not being
 chosen are sozpy, & to se the others chose, are
 shamefast. In such case likewise, let it not be
 esteemed like to seeke a good remedy. For his
 goldsmith oft times demaundeth more for his
 workmanship, than his siluer is worth: I meane,
 that sometime princes do deserue more ho-
 nore for the good meanes they vse in their
 affaires: than for the good successe wherunto
 it cometh. For the one aduerture gyveth, but
 * the other wisdom aduanceth. The good
 Emperour not contented w this, provided
 that those 14. philosophers which shulde re-
 maine in his pallace, should sit at the table,
 & accompany his person: the which thing he
 did, to see if their life were conformable to
 their doctrine, & if their wordes did agree to
 their dooings. For ther are many men, which
 * are of a goodly tong, & of a wicked life. Iu-
 lius Capitolinus, and Cinna Catullus,
 which were wasters of this history say, that
 it was a wonder to se how this good empe-
 rour did marke them, to know if they were
 sober in feeding, temperate in drinking, mo-
 dest in going, occupied in studying, & aboue
 al, if they were very sage in speakinge, and
 honest in living. Would to god the princes
 of our time were in this case, so diligent, &
 careful, and that in coniecting in truth their

affaires, they would not care more for one,
 then for others. For speaking with due re-
 uerence, ther aboundeth no wisdom in a
 prince, which comitteth a thinge of impo-
 tance to a man, whom he knoweth not,
 whether he is able to bring it to passe or not.
 Many talke euill, & marnasse the princes, and
 great lordes, in so many thinges do erre: &
 for the contrary, I marnasse howe they hit
 any at al. For if they comitted their waytis
 affaires to skilful men, though perhaps they
 erre once: yet they hit it a hundred tymes,
 but when they commit their busines to ig-
 norante men, if they hit once, they misse a
 100. tymes againe. In this case I saye, there
 is nothing destroyeth yong princes more,
 then for that they comitte not their affaires
 to their old and faithfull seruantes: For in
 syne, the vnfayned loue is not, but where
 they eate their bread together. It is but rea-
 son, that by the example of this prince, other
 princes take example, to seeke good masters
 for their children: & if the masters be good,
 and the scollers euill, then the fathers are
 blamelesse. For to princes & great lordes,
 it is a great discharge of conscience, to see,
 * that though their children be losse: yet it is
 not for want of doctrine, but for aboundance
 of malice. The Romayne Prince had a
 custome to celebrate the feast of the God
 Genius, who was God of their byrth, and
 that feast was celebrated euery yere once,
 which was kept the same daie of the byrth
 of the emperour ioyfull, though he oure all
 Rome: for at that day, al the prisoners were
 pardoned, and deliuered out of the prison
 Mamortina. Yet notwithstandinge you
 ought to knowe, that if any had sowd sedi-
 tion among the people, or had betrayed the
 armes, or robbed or done any mischiefe in
 their temples: those three offences were ne-
 uer pardonned nor excused in Rome. Euen
 as in christian religion, the greatest orbe is
 to sweare by the holpe Euangeliste: so as
 mongest the Romans ther was no greater
 orbe, then to sweare by the God Genius.

And

And since it was his greatest oth none could sweare it, but by the licence of the senate: & that ought to be, betwixt the handes of the priestes of his god Genius. And if perchance such an oth were taken of light occasiō, he whiche swore it, was in daunger of his life. For in Rome it was an auncient law, that no man shuld make any solēpne othe, but first they should demand licence of the senate. The Romans did not permit, & lyers nor disceyours should be credited by theyr othes: neither did they permit the to sweare. For they said, that periured men do bothe blaspheme the gods, and deceptue men. The aboue named Marcus Aurelius was borne the .27. day of Apryll, in Mounte Celio, in Rome. And as by chaunce they celebra-
 * ted the feast of the god Genius, which was the day of his byrth, there came maisters of fence, Juglers, and comon players, wth other loyterers, to walke and solace them selues. For the Romaines in their greatesse feastes,
 * occupied them selues al night in offering sacrificies to the gods, & afterwarde they consumed all the day in pastimes. Those juglers, and players, shewed so much pastime,
 * that all those which beheld them were prouoked to laugh: and the Romaines (to save the truth) were so earnest in matters of pastime, and also in other matters of weight, that in the daye of pastimes, no man was sadde, and in the time appointed for sadnes, no man was mery. So that in the publicke affaires, they bled all eyther to mourne, or els to reioyce. Cinna Catullus sayth, that this good Emperour was so welbeloued,
 * that when he reioyced, all reioyced: & when the Romaine people made any great feast, he him selfe was there presente, to make it of more auctoritie, and shewed such mirth therein, as if he alone and none other had reioyced. For otherwise, if the prince looke sadly, no man dare shew him selfe merye. The historiographers say of this good emperour, that in topfull feastes, and triumphes, they neuer saw him lesse merye, then

was requisite for the feast: & nor they euer saw him so mery, that it exceeded the gravitie of his personne. For the prince which
 * in vertue p^{re}sumereth to be excellent, ought neither in earnest matters to be heauy: nor in thinges of small importaunce, to shewe him selfe light. As p^{ri}nces now a daies goe environned with men of armes: so did then the good Emperour go accompanied with
 * sage philosophers. Per and more then that, whiche oughte more to be noted, is that in the dayes of feastes and pleasures, the p^{ri}nces at this presente goe accompanied wth hongrye flatterers: but this noble Emperour wente accompanied wth wyse men. For the Prince that useth him selfe wth good companye, shall alwaies auoide the
 * evyll talke of the people. Sextus Cheronensis sayth, that a Senator called Fabius P^{ro}culus, seinge that the emperour Marcus went alwaies to the senate and Theaters, accompanied and environned with sages: saide one day to him merrily. I pray the (my Lorde) tell me, why thou goest not to the Theater, as to the Chater, and to the senat, as to the senate. For to the Senate, Sages ought to go to geue vs good counsell: & to
 * Theaters, fooles to make vs pastime. To this his good emperour answered: my frend, I say thou art much deceaved. For to the sacred senate, wherein there are so many sages, I would leade all the fooles, to the end they might become wise: & to the Theaters wher all the fooles are, I would bringe the sages, to the end to teache them wisdom. To solve this sentence was fyr for hym that
 * spake it. I admonishe p^{ri}nces and great lordes, that in stead to kepe cōpany wth fooles, flatterers, and parasites, they prouide to haue about the wise & sage mē, inesp^{er}ially if his fooles be malicious: for his noble hartes, wth one malicious word are more offended: then if they were wth a venemous arrowe wounded. Therefore returning to our matter, as his emperour was in the feast of his god Genius: & that wth him also were his sage philosophers, maysters,

masters of the prince Comodus, a sugler
(more conuynge then all the reste) shewed
sondy tricks, as commonlye suche bayne
loyterers are wonte to do. For he that in
like vanities, sheweth moste pastime, is of
the people best beloued. As Marcus Aure-
lius was sage: so he set his eyes more to be-
holde these .14. Masters, then he did staye at
the lightnes of the fooles. And bychaunce
he espied that .5. of those laughed so inordi-
nately at the folly of these fooles, that they
clapt their hâdes, they bette their feete, and
lost the grauitie of sages, by their inordi-
nate laughter: the which was a very vncom-
ly thing in such graue parsonnes. For the
honest modestie of the body, is a great wir-
nes of the wisdom, and grauitie of the
mind. The lightnes and inconstancy of the
sages sene by the emperour, and that al the
graue Romans were offendid with them,
he toke it beaulye, aswell to haue broughte
them thither: as to haue bene disceyued, in
electing them. How be it with his wisdom,
then he helped him selfe as muche as he
coule, in nor manifestynge any grieke
in his hearte: but he dissembled and
made as though he saw them not. For sage
princes must nedes feale thinges as men,
but they ought to dissemble the as discrete.
The emperour presently would nor admo-
nische them, nor before any repone the, but
he let the feast passe on, & also a fewe dayes
after, the which being passed, the emperour
spake vnto them in secret, not telling them
openly, wherein he shewed him selfe a mer-
cyfull prince: for trulve, the open correction
is vnusall, wher secret admonition maye
take place. The thinges whiche Marcus
Aurelius said to those .5. masters, when he
put them out of his house, he him selfe dyd
write, in the thirde booke, and the fyrste
chapter, vnder the title, ad stultos peda-
gogos. And said, that he saide vnto them;
these, and suche other like wordes:

The xxxvi. Chapter.

Of the vvordes vvwhich Marcus au-
relius spake to .5. of the .14. may-
sters, vvwhich he had chosen for
the education of his childe, and
howe he exiled the rest frō hys
pallace, for that they behaued
them selues lightly at the feast
of the God Genius.



Y vvill vv as not, my frē-
des, to fore see that vv which cā
not be excused, nor I vvill not
cōmaund you that, vv which I
ought not to cōmaunde: but
I desyre, that the gods of their grace doe
remainē with me, & that vv you & same vv
gods may go, & that likewise from me, and
from you, the vnlucky & vnfōrtunate chaū-
ces may be vvithdrawen. For the vnluckye
man vvēre better be vvith the dead: then re-
maine hēre vvith & vsing. Since that now
I had receyued you, and vvith greāt dely-
gence sōught you, to that ende you shoulde
be tutors to my sonne (the prince Comod⁹).
I protest to the immortall gods, that I am
sory, & that of your shame, I am ashamed, &
that of your paine, the greātteste, parte is
mine. And it can be no other vvise, for in the
vvorld ther shuld be no frēdshipp so vvreight,
that a man therfore shoulde put his good
name in daanger. The sages that I haue
sought, vvēre not prouided onely to learne
the prince Comodus: but also to resourme
al those, that liued euill in my pallace. And
now I see the contrary, for vvher I thought
the fooles shoulde haue bene made vvise, I
see that those that vvēre vvise, are become
fooles. Knowe you not, that the syne
golde descendeth hys purēnes amonge the
burninge cooles: and that the man cri-
dned vvith vvysedome, sheweth hym selfe
vvise, yea in the myddeste of many fooles.
For cruelye as the golde in the fyre
is proued: so amonge the vvyshtenes
of

THE DIAL

of fooles, is the wisdom of the wise discerned. Do not you know, that the sage is not known among the sages, nor the foole among the fooles: but that among fooles wise men do shine, and that among the sages fooles are darkened: for thre the wise sheweth his wisdom, and the foole sheweth his folly.

Do not you know, that in the sore wounds, the surgeon sheweth his cunning, and that in the dangerous diseases, the physician sheweth his science? And that in the doubtful batayles, the captaine sheweth his courages, and that in the boisterous stormes, the master sheweth his experience? So in the manner, the sage man, in that place where there is great ioye, and solace of people, ought to shewe his wisdom and discretion. Do not you know, that of a moderate witte, there proceedeth a cleare understanding, a sharpe memory, a graue parson, a quiet minde, a good name, and above all, a temperate tongue: for he onely ought to be called wise, who is discrete in his wordes and resolute in his wordes. Do not you know, that it lyeth anayleth to haue the tongue expert, the memory true, the understanding cleare, to haue greates science, to haue profounde eloquence, a swete style, and ample experience, if with al these thinges, you beinge as Masters, and in youre wordes, as wicked men: certaynely it is a great dishonour to a vertuous Emperour, that he should haue for maisters of younge Princes, those whiche are Schollers of vaine Juglers. Do not you know, that if al the men of this world are bounde to leade a good life, that those which presume to haue science, are much more bounde then others are, whiche by their eloquence presume to confounde the world: for it is a rule certayne, that alwayes euill wordes take awaye the credyt from good wordes. And to the end it seame vnto you that I speake of honour, I will bringe here into your memory, an auncient lawe of Rome, the whiche

was made in the tyme of Cinna, whiche said: We ordeine & commaunde, that more greuous punishment be geuen vnto the sage, for one follye onely committed by him openly: then to the simple man, for a greater offence committed secretly. Iuste, and very iust lawe: Iust, and happye Romaynes, I say vnto all those, that togethers did send, & ordeine the law. For the simple man, leueth but one man with his swerde of wrath: but the sage, killeth manye by the euill example of his life. For accordinge to the sayeng of the deuine Plato, the princes and sage sinne more, by the euill whiche they geue: then in the faulte and offence, that they committe. All the aunciente writers affirme, that the triumphat Rome neuer beganne to decay vntil the Senat was replenished with sage serpentes, and destitute of simple dones. For in the end, ther is nothinge that sooner destroyeth princes, then thinkinge to haue aboute them wise men, that shoulde counsel the: when in dede they are malicious, that seek to deceiue them. What a thing was it in old tyme, to see the pollicie of Rome before that Sylla & Marius did alter it, before that Cautilina & Catullus did trouble it, before that Iulius Cesar, and Pompeius slandered it, before that Augustus, and Marcus Antonius destroyed it, before that Tiberius, & Caligula did deface it, and before that Nero and Domitia did corrupt it: for the moste part of these, though they were valyaunt, and wanted many Realmes: yet notwithstanding, the vices which they brought vs, were more then the Realmes they wanted vs. And the worst of al is, that al our kingdoms are losse, and our vices abyde still. If Linius and the other Historiographers do not deceiue vs, in olde tyme they myghte haue sene in the sacred Senate, some Romaynes so auncient, with heeres so honorable, others so expert men, others aged so modest, that it was a maiesty, to se what they did presente, and a comforte, to heare that which

which they saide. I speake not that without teares which I wyll saue, that in steade of these auncient aged parsonnes, ther sprang by other yong bablers, the which are such, and so manye, that all the common wealth is altered, and Rome her selfe slandered. For y^e lande is cursed, and wth much miserie copassed: where the gouernaunce of the yong is so euil, that al wishe for y^e reuoluing of the dead. If we credite that which the auncientes w^{rote}, we cannot deny, but that Rome was the mother of all good wo^rkes, as the auncient Grece was the beginner of all sciences. So that y^e effecte of the grekes was to speake, & the glo^{ry} of the Romaines was to wo^rke. But now, though oure woful destines, it is all contrary: for Grece hath banished from it all the speakers to Rome, and Rome hath banished from it, all the sages to Grece. And if it be so (as it is in dede) I had rather be banished to Grece with the sages: then to take parte with Rome amonge the fooles. By y^e faith of a ch^ristiaⁿ I sweare vnto you (my frendes) that I being yonge, sawe an Oratour in Rome, whiche was brought vp in the pallace of Aⁿdria my lord, whose name was Aristonocus: of his body he was of meane stature, leane of face, and also he was of an vnknowen countrey, but he had such a pleasaunt tonge, that though he had made an oration in the senate of th^{re} ours long, there was no man but willingly was desirous to here him. For in hold time, if he that made an oratio in the senate were eloquent in his speache, he was hard no lesse then if god Apollo had spoken hym selfe. This philosopher Aristonocus was on the one parte, so gentel in his speache, and on the other parte, so dissolute in his life: that he neuer spake wo^rd to the senate, but it deserued eternall memo^{ry}, and out of that place, they neuer sawe hym do good wo^rke, but it merited greuous punishment. As I haue saide, though in that time I was yonge, yet I remember, that to see this philosopher so losse, all the people dyd p^{er}rye, and the wo^rst

of all was, that they neuer hoped of hys amendment, since daylye moze and moze he lost his hono^r. For there is no man, that by his eloquence maye haue such renowne: but in the end he maye lose it againe by his euill lyfe. Now I aske you, my frendes, sirhe you are in the reputacion of sages, whiche was better, or to say better, whiche had ben lesse enuied: that this philosopher had ben a symple man, and of good lyfe: then to be (as he was) a man of highe eloquence, and of euill condicion. It was vnpossible, if he had once hard of me that, which many tymes I haue hard saue of him, that he had not counsailed me, y^e and furdre to doe it he had constrained me, rather to choose the graue, then to liue in Rome with infamy. For he is vnwo^rthy to liue amongst men, whose wo^rdes of all are approued, and his wo^rkes of al condemned. The firste dicatour in Rome, was L^ogius, and the first lord of the knyghtes, was E^lparus. And from the tyme of the first dicatour, vntill the tyme of Silla & Iul^lus (whiche were the first traistes) were. 4. hundred, & 15. yeares. In the whiche space, we neuer red that anye Philosopher spake anye vaine wo^rdes, no^r yet committed anye slanderous deades. And if Rome had done any otherwise, it had ben vnwo^rthy of such prayse and estimation as it had: for it is vnpossible, that the people be well gouerned, if the Sages whiche gouerne them, are in their liues dissolute. I protest to the immortall gods, & sweare by the faith of a ch^ristian, that when I consider that whiche of Rome I haue red, and that whiche at this present with myne eyes I see: I cannot but syghe for that that is passe, and wepe for y^e whiche is present. That is to wete, to see then howe the armyes fought, to se how the yong men traunpled to be good, to se how wel princes gouerned, to se the obedyence of the people, and aboue all, it was a merueylous thing, to see the lybertye and fauoure whiche the Sages had: and the subiection and smal estimation that the symple were in. And no^rre

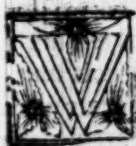
THE DIAL

by our euil fortune, we se þe contrary in our
 woful time, so that I canot tel, whether first
 I should bewaile the vertues, & noblenes of
 them that are past, or the vices & infamies
 of these whiche are present. For we neuer
 ought to cease, fro praisinge the goodnes of
 the good: nor to cease, from reprobuinge the
 wyckednes of the euil. ¶ That I had bene to
 se those (gloious world) so honozable & annu-
 cient sages, to gouerne in pleasure: & for the
 contrary, what greife and petye, shame and
 dishonoz is it, to se now, so manye dissolute
 sages, and so manye ponge and busy heades,
 the whiche (as I haue sayd) doe destroye all
 Rome, & slaunder all Italy, & dishonoz them
 selues. For þe want of vertue whiche in them
 aboundeth, endoynageth, the comon wealth:
 and the other vices, wherewith they are re-
 plenished, corrupteth þe people in such sorte,
 that the weale publyke is more dyshonored
 throught the dissolute lyfe of them, then it is
 anoyed by the weapons of their enemies. I
 say agayne, and repete, my frendes, that the
 prosperitey of Rome endured .415. yeares, in
 the which time there was a greate maistrey
 of wordes, and a marueillous simplicitie of
 wordes: & aboute all, that the best that it had
 was, that it was rich of the good & vertuous
 men, & poore of euil & vicious loyterers. For
 in the end, that citee canot be called prosper-
 ous, which hath in it many people: but þe,
 which hath in it fewe vices. Speaking ther-
 fore more perticulerly, þe cause þe moued me
 to put you fro me is, bycause in þe day of the
 great feast of god Gen⁹ you shewed (in the
 presence of the senate) your litle wisedom. and
 great folly: for somuch as al men did behold
 more þe lightnes of your parol, then they did
 the follies of the iuglers. If perchaunce you
 shewed your folly, to the: et me shuld thinke
 that you were samplare in my roial pal-
 lace, I tel you, þe errour of your thought
 was no lesse, then þe euil & example of youre
 worke: for no mā ought to be so familiar wth
 princes. but þe (whether it be in spoote, or in
 earnest) he ought to do him reuerence. Since

I geue you leaue to departe, I knowe you
 had rather haue to helpe you in your iorney
 a litle money, then many counsellors: but I
 wil geue you both, þe is to wete: money for to
 bring you to your iournies end, & also coun-
 sels to þe end you may liue. And meruaile not
 that I geue counsel to them, þe haue an office
 to counsel others, for it chaunceth oftentimes,
 that þe phisicians do cure þe diseases of others,
 & yet in dede he knoweth not his owne. Let
 therfore the last word & counsel be, whē you
 shalbe in the seruices of princes and greate
 lordes, that firste you lat out to be counned
 honest: rather then for wise. That they doe
 chose you rather for quiet mē: then for busy
 heades, and more for youre feawe wordes,
 then for your muche talyng. For in the
 pallaces of princes, the wise man can but
 please, but the honest man can neuer dys-
 please.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

That princes and other noble men
 ought to ouer see the tutours of
 their children, least they counfel
 the secret faultes of their scollers.



WE haue before reherfed
 what condicions, what age, and
 what granterie maisters oughte
 to haue, which shuld bring vp þe
 children of princes. Nowe reason woulde
 we shuld declare, what the counsels shoulde
 be that princes shuld geue to the maysters,
 and tutours of their chyldren, befoze they
 ought to geue them anye charge. And after
 that, it is mete we declare, what the counsell
 shalbe whiche the mayster shuld geue to his
 dysciple, hauing the govt. rmentes of him.
 For it is impossible, that there shoulde
 anye mysfortune happen: where as rrepe
 counsell is. It shalbe teame vnto those that
 shal

that profoundly consider this matter, that it is a superfluous thing to treat of these things: for either the princes chose the good, or els they chose the euill. If they chose not good maisters, they labour in vaine, to geue them
 * good counsel: for the folyshe maister is lesse capable of counsel, then the dyscolute scolar is, of hollosome admonition. If perchance p^rinces do make elections of good maisters, then those maisters, bothe for them selues, and also for others, ought to minister good counsels, for to geue counsell to the wyse
 * man, it is eyther a superfluous dede, or els it cometh of a presumptuous man. Though it be true, that he whiche dare geue counsell to the sage man is presumptuous, I saye in like maner, that the dyamonde being set in gold, loseth not his vertue, but rather increaseth in pryce, and value: I meane, that the wyser a man is, somuch the more he ought to desire, to knowe the opinion of another: certainly he that doeth so, cannot erre. For
 * to none his owne counsell aboutherly somuch, but that he nedeth the counsell and oppynion of another. Though p^rinces & greate lordes do se with their eyes, that they haue chosen good maisters & tutors to teache their chyldren: yet they oughte not therefore to be so negligent of them selues, but that sometymes they may geue the maisters counsel. For it may be, that the maisters be bothe noble, and stout, & they be auncient, sage, & moderate: but it may be also, & in teachinge chyldren, they are not expert. For to maisters and tutors of p^rinces, it is not somuch necessary that science vorth abound, as it is shame, that
 * expertise shuld want. Whē a rich man doth comit into the hādes of a laborer any possession, he consydereth with him selfe, not only that which he ought to geue him: but also he telleth hym how he oughte to gouerne and mainteine his possessions. And not cōtēred to receiue the third parte of the frute of his vine: but also he goeth twyfe or thryse in a yere to visite it. And in seing it he hath reaso, for in the end, the one occupyeth the good as he

naute: and the other doth vewe the ground, as these lordes. Then if the father of the family with so great diligence doeth recomēd the trees, and the ground to the labourer: howe much more ought the father to recomēd his chyldren to the maisters: for the father geuing counsell to the maister, is no other: but to delyner his childe, to the treasurer of science. The p^rinces and greate lordes cannot excuse them selues of an offence, if after that they haue chosen a knyghte, or gentleman, for to be maister, or els a learmed, and wise man to be tutor, they are so negligēt, as if they neuer had had chyldren, or byd remember that their chyldren ought to be these heires: certainly this thing shoulde not be so lightlye passed ouer, but as a wyse man, which is careful of the hono^r, and profite of his childe, ought to be occupied, aswel in takinge hede to the matter: as the maister ought to be occupied, in takinge hede to the childe. For the good fathers ought to knowe, whether the maister that he hath chosen, can commaund, & whether his childe will obeye. One of the norablest p^rinces amonge the auncientes, was Seulencus, king of the Assirians, and husband of Estrabonica (the daughter of Demetrius, king of Macedony) a ladye for her beauty, in all Grece the most renowned of herfame, though in dede she was not very fortunate. This is an olde disease, that hapneth alwayes to beautiful womē, & ther be many that desire them, & mo that flānder them. This king Seuleucus, was first married with another woman, of whom he had a sonne called Antigonus, the whiche was in loue with the seconde wyfe of his father, that is to wete, with the quene Estrabonica, and was almost deade for loue. The whiche the father vnderstādyng, married his sonne, with her, so that she that was his stepmother, was his wife: & she that was a faire wyfe, was a faire daughter: & he whiche was his sonne, was made his sonne in law, & he whiche was father, was stepfather. The autho^r here of this plusarke in his liues, as Sextus Cheronē

THE DIAL

As saith, in the third booke of the sayenges of the grekes. The king Seulenc⁹ laboured diligently to bring up his sonne Antigonus wel, wherfore he sought him, & notable masters, the one a greke, and the other a latine. The king Seulencus herewith not contented, prouided secretly (by the meane of a seruant of his, named Parthemius) that he shuld haue no other office in the pallace, but that what the masters taught or did to his sone Antigonus in the day, he should secretly come and tel him in the night. But by the negligence of Parthemius, it came to the knowledge of the tutors, that they had overseers: for in the end, there is nothing accustomably, but at the last will be reuelled. Since the philosophers knew the secret, one day they sayd vnto the king Seulencus these wordes. Righte prince Seulencus, since thou hast of trust committed thy sone Antigonus into our handes, why dost thou appoint thy seruant Parthemius, as accuser of our liues? if thou countest vs euill, and him good, thou shalt shewe vs greaue fauoure if thou wilt discharge vs, & commit to hym, the tuition of him. For we let the to know, that to me of honor, it is an intolerable euill to shame the: and no dishonor to liue the. Thou hast appointed Parthemius, to go, & dog vs, to see what we do, or say openly, & afterwarde to make relation vnto the secretly: & the worst is, that by the relation of the simple, we shuld be condemed, albeit we be sages: for triacle is not so contrary to poison: as ignorance is to wisdom. And truly (most noble prince) it is a great matter, that daily inquisition be made of man: for there is no beard so bare shauen, but that it will grow againe. I meane, that there is no man of so honest a lyfe: but if a man make inquisition, he maye finde some spotted therein. The king Seulencus answered them. Consider my frendes, that I doe know right wel, that neither the authority of the parson, nor the good credite of renoume would be stept for any other frend in this world: if the rude me do it not,

much lesse ought the sages to doe it. For there is nothing that men trauaile for so much in this lyfe, as to haue of them good renowne after their death. Since you are sages, and masters of my sonne, and likewise counsaillers of my house, it is not meete you shuld with any be offended: for by good reason, he alone ought to be esteemed in the pallaces of princes, that will geue vnto the prince good counsel. That whiche I haue said to Parthemius, was not for the doubt of your faith, neither to thinke any danger in your authority. And if the thing be wel considered, it goeth well for you, and not euill for me: and the reason hereof is, that either you are good, or els you are euill. If you be good, you ought to be glad, that daily your seruices be reported vnto me. For the continual bearing in the princes eares of the good seruices of his seruantes: must needs cause at the last, their seruices to be well rewarded. If you be euill, and in teaching my sonne negligent: it is but reason, that I be aduertised. For if the father be deceiued in his opinion, the sone shall receiue poison in his doctrine, and also, because you shall not vndo my realme, nor flander me by your euill counsel. If the fatal defendes permit, that my sonne be euill, I am he that loseth most thereby: for my realme shall be destroyed, & my renoume utterly abolished, & in the end, my sone shall not enioye the heritage. And if al passe so, you will care little: for you will say, you are not in the faulte, since the child would not receiue your doctrine. Wherefore, me thinke it not euill done, to ouer see you, as you ouer see hym: for my dutie is, to see that you be good, and your dutie is, to trauaile that your disciples be not euill.

This kynge Seulencus was an honorable man, and dyed aged (as Plutarke saith, and Parroclus more plainely declareth, in the third booke of the warre of the Assyrians) and so the contrarie, his sonne Antigonus, came to be a wretched prince in all his doings.

And

And this a man maye wel perceiue, that if he had not bene of hys father so muche corrected, and of the maysters so well instructed: withoute doubte, he woulde haue proued muche more wicked then he was.

* For yonge men on the one parte beinge euyl inclinied, and on the other parte euil taught, it is vnpossible, but that in the ende they shuld be virtuous, & defamed. In my opinion, though children be not euyl inclined, yet the fathers therfore ought not to cease to correcte them: for in tyme to come, those that write wyl commende the dyligence of the fathers, in correcting the vices of h children. I haue declared this example, to counceel that the father be not so negligent, that he should utterlye forget to loke vnto hys sonne, thinking h now the mayster hath the charge of hym. And of my counceel, h father ought in this thing to be so aduertised, that if at the first he beheld the childe with two eyes: that then he shuld loke vnto him with 4. eyes. For oftentimes it is more requysite, that the maysters be punished, then the scollers. Though princes are not daylye informed of the life of the maysters, as king Sewleucus was: yet at the least, oftentimes they ought to enquire of the state, of the life, & of the behauiour, both of the maysters, and also of the children. And this thinge they ought not to doe only once, but also they ought to call the maysters, and counceel them lykewise, that they haue great respecte to the doctrine of their children: thinking alwayes to geue them good counseel, to shew vnto their scollers afterwarde. For otherwyle, the mayster immediatlye is discouraged, when he seeth the father to be negligent, and no thinge careful for the bynginge vp of hys children. Princes in one thinge oughte to haue greate respecte (that is to wete) lest the maysters beare with the secrete vices of the children. And he oughte not to doe thus, but also to call them vnto hym, to aduise them, to warne them, to praye them, to counseel, and commaunde them, that they

haue greate respecte to the bynginge vp of his children: and further, that he geue them some notable counceel, to the entente that the maysters afterwarde maye make relation therof to their scollers. For there is no man so weake, nor chylde so tender: but the force whiche he hath to be virtuous, is ynough (if he wyl) to be vertuous. I woulde nowe demaund the maysters, and tutores, which doe gouerne the children of noble, and vertuous men, what more strengthe is required to be a glutton, then to be a sober man: to be a babler, or to be silent: to be dyligente, or to be negligent: to be honest, then to be dissolute: and as of those fewe I speake, so I could resite manye others. In this case I wyl not speake, as a ma of science, but as one of experience: and that is, that by the faith of a christian I sweare, that w lesse trauaill of the mayster, and more profyte of the scoller, he maye be soner vertuous, then vicious. For ther is more courage required, in one to be euil: then strengthe is required in another, for to be good. Also the maysters commonly haue another euil property, worse then this whiche is, they beare with their scollers in some secrete vices, when they are yong: fro the which they cannot be w dyaunen afterwarde, when they are old. For it chaunceth oftentimes, that the good inclinacion is overcome, by the euil custome: and certainly, the maysters which in such a case shoulde be apprehended, ought to be punished as traitors paritid. For to the mayster it is greater treason, to leaue his disciple amongest vices: then to deliuer a force into the handes of the enemyes. And let no man maruell, if I call such a mayster a traitor, for the one yeldeth the force which is but of stoness builded: but the other aduētureth his sone, who is of his proper body begote. The cause of al this euil is, that as h chylde of princes ought to inherite realmes, & the children of greate lordes hope to inherite the great estates: so the maysters are more couetous then vertuous. For they suffer their puples to rine at their

THE DIAL

owne willes, whē they be yong, to chend to
 winne their hartes whē they shalbe olde: so
 that y extreame couetousnes of themaiſters
 now a daies is such, y it cauſeth good mens
 ſonnes commonly to be euil and vitious. O
 tutors of princes, and maiſters of great loz-
 des, I do admoniſhe you and beſides that, I
 counſel you, that your couetousnes deceiue
 you not, thinkinge y you ſhalbe better eſte-
 med, for beinge clokers of vices: then louers
 of vertues. For there is none (old nor yōg)
 ſo wicked, but knoweth that good is better
 then euil. And further I ſaye to you in this
 caſe, that oftentimes God permitteſh (when
 thoſe y were chyldre become old) their eyes,
 to be opened wherby they know the harme
 that you haue done them, in ſuffering them
 to be vitious in there youth: at what tyme,
 your dtype had bene to haue corrected their
 vices. You thought by your goods to be ho-
 noyed for your flattery: but you find the co-
 trary, that you are deſpiſed worſhely. For it
 is y iuſt iudgement of god, that he that com-
 mitteth euil, ſhal not eſcape without puniſh-
 ment: and he that conſealeth the euil comit-
 ted, ſhal not liue vndefamed. Diadume the
 hiſtorigrapher, in the liſe of Seuerus (the
 21. Emperoure) declareth, that Apuleius
 Ruſticus, who had ben conſul twiſe, and at
 that tyme was alſo tribune of the people (a
 man who was very aged & likewise of great
 auctoritey throughte out Rome) came one
 day to the emperour Seuerus, & ſaled vnto
 him, in this ſorte, Poſſe inuite Prince, al-
 waies Auguſtus know, that I had .2. chyld-
 ren, the which I committed to a maiſter to
 byng vp, and by chaunce, the eldeſt increa-
 ſing in yeares, and diſmiſſhing in vertues
 ſet in lone with a Romaine lady, the which
 lone came to late to my knowledge: ſo to
 ſuche vnfortunate men, as I am, the diſeaſe
 is alwayes paſſe remedye, beſore the daun-
 ger thereof commeth to our knowledge.

The greateſt greſe that herein I ſele, is,
 that his maiſter knew, & conſealed the euyl,
 and was not only not a meanes to remedye

it: but alſo was the cheſe woꝝker of the ad-
 ultery betwene them to be committed. And
 my ſonne made him an obligatiſon, wherin
 he bound him ſelfe, if he would byng him
 that romaine lady, he would geue him after
 my death, the houſe and herprages which I
 haue in the gate Salaria: and yet herewith
 not contented, but he, and my ſonne toge-
 ther, robbed me of muche mohey. For loue
 is coſtlye to hym that maynteineth it, and
 alwaies the loues of the chyldre, are charge-
 ſul to the fathers. Iudge you now therefore
 noble Prince, this ſo heinous and ſlaunbe-
 rous cauſe, ſo it is to muche preſumption
 of the ſubiecte to reuenge any iniury, know-
 ing that the loꝝde hym ſelfe wil reuenge all
 woꝝges. When the emperour Seuerus had
 vnderſtoode this ſo heinous a caſe, as one
 that was both in name and dede ſeuer, com-
 maunded good inquiſition of the matter to
 be had, & that beſore his preſence they ſhuld
 cauſe to appeare, the father, the ſonne, and
 the maiſter, to the ende eche one ſhoulde al-
 ledge ſo his owne right: ſo in Rome, none
 coulde be condemned ſo any offence, vn-
 leſſe the plainetiſe had firſt declared y ſaine
 beſore his preſence, and that the accuſed
 ſhuld haue no tyme to make his excuſe. The
 truth then known, and the offenders con-
 feſſinge the offeſſis, the Emperoure Seue-
 rus gaue in this wiſe iudgemente. I com-
 maunde, that this mayſter be caſt alpye a-
 monge the beaſtes of the parke Palatine.

For it is but mete, that beaſtes deuoure
 him: which teacheth others to lyue like bea-
 ſtes. Alſo I doe commende, that the ſonne
 be viterlye diſinheried of all the goods of
 his father, and banyſhed into the Iles Bal-
 leares.

For the chyld, whiche from his youthe
 is vitious, oughte iuſtlye to be banyſhed
 the countrey, and diſheried of his fa-
 thers goods.

This therefore (of the mayſter, and of the
 ſonne) was done, by the complaynte of A-
 puleius.

How vnconstant fortune is, and how oft
(not thinking of it) the threde of life dothe
bryake. I say it, because if this maister had
not bene couetous, the father had not bene
depryued of his sonne, the childe hadde not
bene banished, the mother had not bene des-
famed, the comon weale had not bene slau-
dered, the maister, of wilde beastes had not
bene deuoured, neyther the Emperour had
bene so cruell againste them, no; yet theit
names in hystories (to their infamies) had
alwaies continued. I doe not speake this
without a cause, to declare by wytyng, that
which the euyl do in the world: For wyse
men, ought more to feare the infamy of the
litle penne, then the slander of the babling
tongue. For in the end, the wicked tongue
can not defame but the lyuing: but the litle
pene, doth defame them that are, that were,
and that shal be. To conclude this, my mind
is, that the mayster shoulde endeavour him-
selfe that his scoller shoulde be bettuons, &
that he do not dispatre, though immediatly
for his paynes he be not rewarded. For
though he be not of the creature, let hym
be assured that he shal be of the creator. For
God is so mercyfull, that he ofte times tak-
ing pittie of the swette of those y be good,
chastneth the vnthankful, and taketh vpon
him to requyte their seruices.

The. xxxviii. Chapter.

Of the determination of the Em-
perour vwhen he committed his
childe to the tutors, vvhiche he
had prouided for his educatiō.

INNA the Hystorien, in the firste booke declar-
eth, that Marcus Aureli-
us the Emperour chose. 14.
maisters learned, and wise men, to teache

hys sonne Commodus of the whiche, he re-
fused syue, not for that they were not wise;
but for that they were not honeste. And so
he kepte these nyne onely, whiche were
bothe learned in the sciences, and also ex-
perte in bynginge by the chyldren of the
Senatours, though in dede they were ve-
ry vnluckye in the byngynge by of the
Prince Commodus, for this cursed prince
hadde nyne masters, which instructed him,
but he hadde aboue nyne thousande byres
whiche vndid him. The Emperour made
syue bookes of declamations, and in the
thirde booke the sytte Chapter; vnder the
title, ad Sapientes pedagogos he brought
in these nyne maysters, and perswaded
them greately, that they shoulde be dily-
gent, and attentue to teache hys sonne
Comodus. And in this matter, he spake
vnto them, manye and graue sentences,
the wordes whereof doe folow.

The matter is manyselle in Rome, and
no lesse publyshed thorowgh oute all Italy,
what paynes I toke, to seache oute so ma-
nye Sages to instructe my sonne Com-
odus: the whiche al beinge examined, I kepte
onely the wysest, and the best, and though
in verie dede I haue done muche, yet I
haue not done so much as I am bounde.

For Princes in doubtfull matters,
oughte not onely to demaunde counsell, of
all the good that be alyue: but also to take
payne to talke with these, whiche are dead.
That is, to reade the dedes of the good, in
their wytynges. You were fouretene may-
sters chosen, whereof I haue put out syue:
so that presentelye you are but nyne, and yf
in dede you be wise men, you shal not be
offended with that I haue done. For the
greeke of euyl thynges procedeth of wyse-
dome, but the admiratiō of good thynges
cometh of smal experyence. I do not deny,
but that wise men do fele in them, passions
as men: but in the end, there is no arte, no
science, that doth excuse vs from y miseries
of me. But y wher at I maruaile is, how se

THE DIAL

is possible, that a wise man should meruaile at any thing in this world: for if the wise man should be astonied at every thing of the world, it appeareth that ther is litle constan-
 cye or vertue in him at al. Returning ther-
 fore to our particular talke, I haue taken
 you to be masters of my sonne, and you se,
 of maner I chose a fewe, to the ende that
 with fewe my sonne should be taught. For
 as it is the fathers durie to searche oute
 * good masters, so it is the masters durie to
 be diligent aboute hys scoller. The nource
 of my sonne Comodus gaue hym sucke
 two yeares with her teates, at the gate of
 Hostia. And hys mother Faustyne, other
 two yeares, brought him by wantonly in
 Capua. Howe be it, thys was a sufficiente
 excuse. I woulde as a pittifull father (yf
 I coulde) geue hym correction, at the leasse
 this twentieth yeares. For I sweare by the
 * immortall Gods, that to a Prince that
 shalbe an enheritour, one yeares punish-
 ment is more worth: then twenty yeares
 of pleasure. Synce the nources whyche ge-
 nereth the children sucke knoweth lytell, and
 since the mothers whyche bare them doe
 loue them muche: and since the childe per-
 aduenture (as yet) is but of a weake under-
 standinge, they are occupied aboute the
 thinges that are present, not consideringe
 that chastysmente is muche more better
 for him, then pleasure. But the wise man,
 whyche hath the vnderstandinge, oughte to
 thincke of that that is passe, and by muche
 wysedome to prouyde for that that is to
 come: for he can not be counted wise, that
 onely in one thinge is carefull. My sonne
 * Comodus was bozne the laste daye of the
 moneth Sextilis, in a cite by Danubio. I
 shall not forget the day, that the gods gaue
 him vnto me: nor yet this day, in the which
 I comyt hym vnto you. Of greater rea-
 son I shoulde remember that day, wherein
 I put him to be taught: then the day which
 I saue him to be bozne. And I geue hym
 to you as mortall, since he is a man, to the

intent that you shoulde restore hym againe
 vnto me: and I lykelike hym to the Gods
 as immortall, if he be wyse. What wyll
 you I saye more vnto you, but if you re-
 garde that any thinge at all whiche I say,
 you wyll regarde muche more thys which
 I wyll saye. When the Gods determynd
 that I shoulde haue a child of my wyfe, and
 that my wofull destinees deserued, that I
 shoulde haue suche a child: truly the Gods
 made me a man in the spyte, and I begot
 hym a beaste, amongeste the beastes in the
 fleshe. But if you wyl, you may make hym a
 god amongest the gods by science. For prin-
 ces winne infamy, for beinge farse & selfe
 * willed: but they get good renowne, for be-
 ing wise & patient. I would you should ap-
 ply this busines wel, & therfore it is necessa-
 ry that you examine hym ofte. For it is a
 general rule, that precious iewel is litle
 * regarded, when he whiche hath it, knoweth
 not the value thereof. I requyre that you
 aunswere me in this one thinge. What did
 I geue vnto my sonne Comodus, when
 the gods gaue hym me, but fragile and mor-
 tall fleshe: by the corruption whereof, hys
 life shall ende: but you shall geue hym highe
 doctrine, whereby he shall alwayes deserue
 perpetuall memozy. For the good renowne
 * is not gotten, by that the weake fleshe
 doth: but by that whiche the highe vnder-
 standinge inmagyneth, and by that the cu-
 rious harte executeth. Yf his tender age
 knewe, what I gaue to his weake fleshe,
 and if his dull vnderstandinge could come,
 to the wysedome which you may geue him:
 he woulde call you his righte fathers, and
 me but hys stepfather. For he is the true
 father, that geueth vs doctrine to liue: and
 he is but an vnusse stepfather, that geueth
 vs fleshe to dye.

Certainelye, the naturall fathers of
 children, are but their open enemyes, and
 cruell stepfathers: synce we geue them such
 dull vnderstandynge, so weake a memozy,
 a wyll so frowarde, lyfe so shorte, fleshe so
 fragile

feyle, honour so cōstlye, health so vn-
certaine, ryches so troublefome, prosperytie
so scarce, and death so fearefull. Finallye,
we geue them a nature, subiecte to infinite
alterations and greate misfortunes. Rea-
son woulde not, you shoulde litle regarde
that whiche I committe vnto your iudge-
ment, that is to wete, that you haue the
charge of Commodus my sonne: For the
thinge that Princes cheselye oughte to
soylese, is, to whom they oughte to recom-
mende the gouernement of their chyldren.
To be a maister, and Tutor of a Prince in
the yearth, is to haue an office of the Gods
whiche are in heauen: bycause he gover-
neth him that ought to gouerne vs, he tea-
cheth him that ought to teache vs, he chast-
neth him that ought to chasten vs. Finallye
he commaundeth one, that oughte to com-
maund al. What wyl you that I say more
vnto you. Truly he that hath the charge to
teache the chyldren of Princes, and greate
Lords, is as the gouernour of the shippe,
a standarde of a battaylle, a defence of the
people, a gyde of the wayes, a father of the
Orphanes, the hope of puppyles, and a trea-
sourer of all: For ther is no other true trea-
sore in the common wealth, but the prince,
whiche doth mainteine and kepe it, in good
peace and iuste iustice. I will tell you fur-
ther more to the ende you shall esteeme it
more, that when I doe geue you my sonne
to teache, I geue you more then if I gaue
you all the ryches of a Realme. For in him
that hath the reformation of the chyldes
lyfe, dependeth the same of the father af-
ter he is deade.

So that the father hath no greater re-
nowme: then to see hys childe leade an ho-
norable life. I praye the Gods that they maye
be so mercifull, and the fatall destinies so
fortunate, that iftill thys tyme you haue
watched to teache the chyldren of others,
that from hence forwarde you watche, to
teache thys my sonne Commodus, whiche
I truste, shalbe to the comforte of all.

For the thinge that is vniuersally good
to all, oughte to be preferred, before that
whiche tenderth but to the commoditie of
some. You see my frendes, that there is a
greate difference to teache the chyldren of
Princes, and to teache the chyldren of the
people; and the cause hereof is, that the
greateste parte of those come to the scooles
and vniuersities to learne to speake, but
I doe not geue you my sonne Commodus,
to the ende you shoulde teache hym to
speake manye wordes, but that you shoulde
learne him to doe good wordes.

For all the gloire of the Princes is,
that in the wordes whiche he dothe, he be
vpyghte, and in the wordes that he spea-
keth, he be verye discrete. After that the
chyldren haue spent manye yeaeres in scoo-
les, after their fathers haue spent much
money vpon them, yf perchauce the childe
can dispute in Greeke or Latyn any thing
at all: though he be lyghte, and vpyghte,
the father thinketh hys goodes well im-
ployed: For in Rome, nowe a dayes, they
esteeme an Oratour more, whiche can doe
nought but bable: then a philosopher, whiche
is vertuous. Wofull men, that now lyue
in Rome, and muche more wofull shal those
be, whiche hereafter shal succede: For Rome
is no more that Rome, whiche it was wont
to be, that is to wete, that the fathers in old
tyme sente their chyldren to scooles and stu-
dies to learne them to be silent: and nowe,
they send them to lerne to speake to much.
They learned them then to be sage and re-
perate: nowe they learne them, to be disso-
lute. And the worste of all is, that the scoo-
les where the sage and patient were wont
to be, and from whence issued the good and
vertuous wordes: are nowe full of ba-
blinge Oratores, and none issue oute from
thence at this present, but the euill and vi-
tious. So that if the sacred Romain lawes
are exalted once in a weeke with their ton-
gues: they are broken tenne tymes in the
daye in their wordes.

What

THE DIAL

That will you I say more, since I can not
 tell you any thinge (without hurtinge my
 mother Rome) but that at this presente all
 the pleasures of vaine men, is to see their
 chilozen overcome others, by disputinge:
 but I let you vnderstande, that al my glorie
 shalbe, when my sonne shall surmount the
 others, not in wordes, but in silence: not to
 be troublesome, but to be patiente: not in
 speaking subtil wordes, but in doing be-
 tious workes. For the glorie of the good
 men is, in working muche, and speakinge
 litell. Consider my frendes, and do not for-
 get it, that this day I committe my honour
 vnto you, I put into your handes the estate
 of Comodus my sone, the glorie of Rome,
 the rest of y people, which are my subiectes,
 the gouernement of Italie, which is your
 countrey, and aboue al, I referre vnto your
 discretions, the peace & tranquillitie of the
 hole common wealth. Therefore he that hath
 such a charge, by reason ought not to sleepe.
 For as the wise men say, to great truste, is
 required much diligence. I will say no more,
 but that I woulde my sonne Comodus
 should be so well taught, that he shuld haue
 the feare of god, and the science of philoso-
 phers, the vertues of the aunient Romay-
 nes, the approued counsell of the aged, the
 courage of the Romaine youth, and the con-
 stancy of you, which are his masters. Espe-
 cially, I woulde that of all the good, he shuld
 take the good, as of me he ought to take the
 heritage and succession of the Emperre. For
 he is the true prince, and worthy of the em-
 perre, that with his eyes dothe beholde the
 great signozies, he ought to enheritte, and
 dothe employe his harte holwe to gouerne
 it, wherby he shall lyue to the great profite
 of the common wealth. And I proteste to the
 immortal gods, with whom I hope to go, &
 to the goodnes of my predecessours, whose
 faith I am bound to kepe. I proteste to the
 Romaine lawes, & which I dyd sweare to
 obserue, in the conquest of Asia, wherin I
 bound my selfe to continue, & to the frend-

shippe of the Rhodiens, the which I haue
 offered my selfe to kepe, to the enemye of
 the Africans, & which not for me, but for
 the oth of my predecessours, I haue bounde
 my selfe to mainteine. And I proteste vnto
 the vessel of the hyghe Capitall, where my
 bones ought to be burnt, that Rome do not
 complaine of me beinge aloue, nor that in
 the world to come the curse me after my
 death: If perchance the pynce Comodus
 my sonne by his wicked life, shoulde be oc-
 casion of the losse or hinderance to the co-
 mon wealth. And though you which are
 his masters vnder it, for not geuinge hym
 betwe punishmente, and he thozoughe hym
 wicked gouernement destroye it, yet I dis-
 charge my selfe by all these protestacions
 that I haue made, which shalbe witness
 of my wil. For the father is bound no more
 towarde his child, but to banishe him fro
 his pleasures, and to geue him vertuous mas-
 ters. And if he be good, he shalbe be the
 glorie of the father, the honoz of him selfe,
 the wealth of you, and the profite and co-
 moditie of the hole common wealth.

The xxxix. Chapter.

That tutours of noble mens chil-
 dren ought to be verye circum-
 spect, that their scollers doe not
 accustome them selues in vices,
 vvhiles they are yong, and spe-
 ciallye to kepe them from foure
 vices.



HE good and ex-
 pecte Surgeons, vnto
 greate and dangerous
 woundes, do not vnelye
 applye medecynes and
 oynementes which do
 resolute and stop: but also do minister other
 good

Good playffers, for to restrayne, and heale them. And verely they shewe them selues in the one no lesse sage, then in the other experie: for as greate diligence oughte to be had to preserve the weake fleshe, and to purge the rotten wounde, to the end it may be healed, so likewise, the wyse traualers learne diligently the waye, before they take vpon them any iorney, that is to wete, yf there be any daungers in the waye, eyther of robbynge or slepyng, wherein there is any by pathe, that goeth oute of the hyghe waye. Trulpe he that in this poynt is circumspecte, is worthy to be counted a sage man: For accordeinge to the myltitude of the perples of the worlde, none can be assured, vntill he knowe firste where the daunger is, wherein he maye fall. To shew therfore that which by these parables I meane, I saye, that the tutors and masters of princes, and great Lordes, ought not to be contented onely to knowe what science, what doctrine, and what vertue they oughte to shewe, and teache their scollers: but also with greater care and diligence they ought to knowe from what euyls or wicked customes they ought to withdraue them. For when the trees are tender, and yonge, it is moze necessarye to bowe them, and cutte of the superfluous branches with knyues: then to gather their frutes with Baskettes.

Those which take vpon them to gouerne poyles, of great pryse and value, and those that tame and breake hysles of a good race, take greate payntes, that suche beastes be light, that they leape wel, and be well made to the spore, and bydel: but they take much moze payntes, that they be gentill, familiar, and faithfull, and aboue all, that they haue no euil qualities. Then sith it is so, masters ought diligently to watche (if they be good) that in yonge Princes there be no apparauce of any notable vices. For all the vertues whiche the yonge do learne, dothe not them so muche profite: as one onely vice dothe them hurte, if they doe therunto

consent, knowynge that thereby they maye be hereafter blamed or despyed. For if any man knowe a beaste, that is wyld and fowburne, and not gentyll, and wyl be hurt at a greate pryce: suche a one hath his head moze full of follyes then of wisedome.

Albeit that masters oughte to withdraue their scollers from manie cytyll customes, amongest all there are foure principall, in any of the whiche, if the Prince be defamed, the master whiche hath taught him, shoulde deserue greate punishment: For accordeinge to the humaine lawes, and customes, all the damage and harme that the beastes do to the vineyarde, the keeper that hath charge thereof, shall (as he is bound) recompence.

Firste the masters ought to refraine in suche sort the tonges of their scollers, that neither in sport nor in earnest, they permit the to tel lyes. For the greatesse faulte that is in a good, and vertuous man, is to be hysse in the truth: and the greatesse villanye that is in a vitious man, is to be longe in lyes. Merula in h. 5. booke of Cezars saith, that the first warre that Vlpus Traianus made, was against Cebalus, king of Daces, who rebelled against the Romaynes, & with no small victorie, ouercame the Emperour Domitian, in a battaile whiche they fought togethers. For as Nalica saith, the pleasures that Rome had to see manie victories, were not so greate: as the displeasure was whiche she toke, to see her selfe once ouercome. The good Vlpus Traianus gaue battaile to king Cebalus, wher in Cebalus was not onely ouercome, but also taken, and afterwarde broughte before the emperour Traianus, whiche saide vnto him these wordes. Speake Cebalus, why dydest thou rebell against the Romaynes, since thou knowest, that the Romaynes are vniuersible. The kinge Cebalus answered him. If the Romaynes coulde not be ouercome, how did I then ouercome the Emperour Domitian,

Traian

THE DIAL

Traian the Emperour saide vnto hym againe; Thou arte greatly deceyued (kinge Cebalus) to thinke that when thou ouer-
 camest the emperour, thou haddest ouer-
 come the Romaines: For when that Ro-
 mulus founded Rome, the Gods ordeyned,
 that though their emperour died in any bat-
 tle, yet notwithstandinge it is not to be
 thought, that the empyre is ouercome. The
 Historiographers made a greate matter of
 the wordes, that this Vlpus Traianus
 spake. For therein he shewed, that the Ro-
 maine empyre was vniuersible. After that
 this kinge Cebalus was dead, and that (for
 his desertes) he was depriued: as the Em-
 perour Traian was a mercifull prince, so
 he prouided, that a litel child that Cebalus
 had, shoulde be broughte by in his pallas,
 with intention, that if the childe became
 good, they woulde geue him the Realme
 whiche his father (thorough Treason) had
 lost. For in Rome there was an aunciente
 ✱ lawe, that all that which the father losse by
 treason, the sonne shoulde recouer by his
 faithfull actes. It chaunced, that the good
 Traian taking his pleasure in the gardins
 of Vulcan, saue the sonne of kinge Ceba-
 lus, & many other yonge childzen of Rome,
 stealing fruite forth of an orcharde: and it
 is no wonder, for the Locustes did not so
 ✱ muche harme to the Corne, as the chyl-
 dren do to the frutes, when they entre into the
 orchardes. When the emperour afterwar-
 des demaunded him from whence he came,
 he answered: from his studie, hearinge
 Rethorike: but in dede he came from stea-
 ling of frutes. The emperour Traian was
 so angrie, and displeased, that the childe was
 a lyer, that he prouided, and commaunded,
 that he shoulde viterly be depriued, and
 made voyde of all hope, to recouer his realme
 of his father. The Emperour Traian was
 greately importuned, as well of straunge
 Ambassatours, as of his owne Countrey
 men, that he would chaunge that cruel sen-
 tence: For princes in a furie do commaund

that, which when they are pacient, they doe
 vndo. The emperour Traian answered
 then, if the father of this childe whiche was
 kinge Cebalus had bene a true prince, he
 had not losse his lyfe, neyther his Realme,
 nor had not put me and the empyre so many
 times in daunger: but since the father was
 a lyer, and the sonne is not true, it were to
 vniuste a thing, to render him the Realme.
 For to me it shoulde be great reproche, and
 to our mother Rome as muche dishonour,
 that she, beinge the mother of truth,
 shoulde geue realmes, to childzen beinge ly-
 ers. This was it that Vlpus Traian spake
 vnto the sonne of kinge Cebalus. Marcus
 Aurelius the .17. emperour of Rome had .2.
 sonnes, as befoze we haue reherfed, the el-
 dest of the whiche, was called Commodus
 and his father procured greately, to distin-
 herit him of the empyre: for he would that
 the second sonne named Verissimus, shuld
 haue inherited it: and he did not onely be-
 termine it, but also spake it oft times open-
 ly. For that thinge is with great difficulty
 ✱ dissembled, that exceedingly is beloued. By
 chaunce an old Senatoz, and frend of Mar-
 cus the emperour. One day, both going out
 of the Senate house, said vnto him: I mer-
 uayle at the muche, moste excellent prince,
 why thou doest disheritte thy sonne which
 is eldest, to make thine heire the yongeste,
 knowinge that they are both thy sonnes, &
 that the gods haue geuen the none others
 but them. For the good fathers are bounde
 to chasten their childzen: but they haue not
 ✱ licence to disherit the. The emperour Mar-
 cus Aureli⁹ answered him. If thou were
 a greke philosopher, as thou art a Romain
 citizen, and if thou knewest the fathers loue
 towards his childe, thou wouldest not take
 partie on my sonne, which vndoeth the Em-
 pyre: but thou shouldest haue compassion
 on me his father, which doth disherit him.
 For the childe scarcely knoweth what he
 loseth, but I that am his father, doe be-
 wyle the damage whiche I doe vnto hym.

For in the end, there is not in the worlde so cruel a father: but if his sonne shuld be hurt with the point of the swerde in the hande, the father woulde fele (incontinently) the dent of his blade at his harte. In this case, I sweare vnto the by the immortall gods, that I do that which I would not do: and I take that fro him, which I would not take. For Anthonius my lozde, and father in lawe, gaue me the empire, for no other cause, but because he neuer found in me anye lye: and for this occasion I doe depryue my sonne from it, for that I neuer found in hym anye truth. For it is not mere, that the Empire beinge geuen vnto me for that I was true: shoulde be lesse in heritage to him, & is a lie. For in the end, it is better that the sonne do lose the heritage, then the father shoulde lose his renowne. By these two examples, those which are the tutors and maisters, of princes and greate lordes, maye take ensample, how to be diligent to kepe them from lies, whilst they are yong: and it ought to be in such sorte, that neither in pastime, or testing neither in earnest aunsweryng, they shoulde not vnbeked tell a lye. For those that for their pleasure, were accustomed to lye in their youthe: wyl not sayle for there profite, to lye in there age.

Secondarely, the tutors & maisters ought to keape their disciples, & they be no gamesters, and that they doe not accustome them selues, in their youthe to be vnchastite: for it is a great token of the decay of the empire, when the prince in his youthe is affectionated to play. Expertice sheweth vs, that play is a vice, as Seneca sayeth, which hath the proprietye of a raging dogge: with whom, if a man be once bitten (vilelke he hath present remedye) sozth with he runneth madde, and the dysease also contynueth with him, vntill the houre of his deathe. Players not with out a cause, are compared to madde dogges: for al those that vse it, hurt their conscience, lose their honoure, and consume their substance. It chaunceth, that in that wherein

maisters shoulde be moste circumspecte, they (for the moste parte) are moste neglygent: that is, so much, that vnder the couler of some honest recreation, they agree to their scollers, to vse some pastyme, which if there in be contayned no commendable creature, the chyldren ought not to vse it, nor yet the tutors to suffer it. For the vse of such a proprietye, that if a child in his youthe dare play apointe: it is to be feared when he cometh to yeares, he wyl playe bys cote. Delayinge the matter more depely, and aggrauatinge this vice, I saye further, and asseure, that when the chyldren of princes and greate lordes play, a man ought not to make account of that which they maye winne or loose: for that of all mysertes, were moste misertie, if therefore my penne shuld forbide them play. For play ought not to be forbyden to yong chyldren, for the money that they loose: but for the vyces with therat they wyne, and for the corrupte maners, which therein they learne. Octavian, who was the second emperor of Rome, and one of the fortunatest Emperours that euer was, amonge all his vertues was noted of one thinge onely, which is: that from his youthe, he was so much geuen to play at tennis. Of the which vice, he was not onely admonished secretly: but also was forbyden it openly. For (as Cicero saith in his booke of lawes) when the emperor was noted of any open vice, they myghte boldly reprove hym in the open Senate. When Octavian was for this vyce reaproved by the Senate, they sayed he spake these wordes: You haue reason (O you graue senators) in takyng fro me my pastyme: for it is necessarye, that the vertues of Princes shoulde be so manye, that all men myghte prayse them and their vices so fewe, that no man myghte reprove them.

These wordes were notable, and wo: by of suche an excellent prince. For in the end, we oughte to beare with the wantones of their byngynge by, with the libertie that they haue: and to commend the good wo:ds

THE DIAL

kes whiche they doe, and moſte of al, to re-
 lyce at the vices whiche they wante. To
 ouer matter therefore, amongest the other
 wycked vices, that Chyldren get in theſe
 youthe, when they are players, this is one:
 that they learne to be thieues, and liers. For
 the money that they playe, to demaunde it
 their fathers, they are aſhamed, & aſhamed:
 and of their owne proper goods, as yet they
 haue none in their handes. Wherefore a man
 maye eaſely conclude, that if chyliden playe,
 of neceſſitye they muſt ſteale. The .35. Em-
 perours of Rome, was Claudius Lucas-
 nus, a man verie temperate in eating, mo-
 derate in apparel, ſpyghte in iuſtice, and
 verie fortunate in chynal: for he did not
 onely repulſe the Gothes from Illiria, but
 alſo banquiſhed in a battayle, the Germai-
 nes, wherewith were ſlayne aboue a hundred
 thouſande. This battayle was nere vnto the
 lake Verarque, in a place called Luga-
 nus, and for a memoire of that greate bat-
 taye, and blazye, they called him Claudio
 Lucano. For it was a cuſtome among the
 Romaynes, that accoꝝdyng to the good or
 euill workes that Princes dyd: ſo they were
 iudged, and knowe by ſuch ſurnames, whe-
 ther it were good or euill. This Emperour
 had but one onely ſonne, the whiche was a
 prince, comely of perſonage, and liuely of
 vnderſtandinge: but aboue all thinges, ge-
 nien to playe, ſo that theſe good giftes, which
 nature gaue hym to worke in vertue, he
 myſed alwayes in playe. And amongest
 yonge men, he deſpyerh rather to haunte
 hyce: then amonge the Philoſophers, to
 learne vertue. And hereat a man ought not
 to meruaile, for all men of greate courage
 (vneleſſe they be compelled to doe vertuous
 actes) doe exercyſe of them ſelues many de-
 reſtable vices. It chaunced, when this yong
 Prince had no moze to playe, nor gage, he
 robbed oute of his fathers chamber, a riche
 ſewel of gold, wherewith alſo his maſter was
 pryed. And when the knowlage thereof came
 to the Princes eares, he immediately diſhe-

ryed his ſonne of the Empire, and cauſed
 the hed of the payſter, to be cutte from his
 boode, and all thoſe lykewyſe that played
 with hym, to be banſhyed the countrey.
 This acte made euery man aſtrayed, for cor-
 rection executed after a good ſorte, hath this
 proprietye: that it encouragerh the good to
 be good, and ſearith the wycked, from their
 wyckednes.

In Merula in the tenth booke of Celſus
 (where as at large he mentioneth this mat-
 ter) ſaith, that the Romaynes eſteemed moze
 the banſhment of thoſe players from
 Rome: then to haue dꝛouen out the Gothes
 from Illiria, and to ſaue the trueth, they had
 reaſon. For a Prince deſerueth a greater
 crowne of gloꝝe, to banſhe the diſſon-
 from his pallace: then he doeth, for chaſſing
 the enemyes out of his dominion.

The .xl. Chapter.

Of two other vices perillous, in
 yonge men, vvhiche are, to be
 ſhameles in countenance, and
 addicted to the luſt of the fleſhe.



HARDLY, tutors
 oughte to trauaile, that
 the chyliden whiche they
 haue in charge, be not
 light & worldly, nor that
 they do conſent that they
 be ſo hardy, or ſhameles. And I ſay, y they do
 not ſuffer them to be ſo light, or vnconſt-
 for of yong men, inconstant and light, com-
 meth oftentimes an old man, ſond, and vn-
 charyte. I ſaye that they doe not ſuffer them
 to be ſo raſhe: for of ſo hardy yonge men,
 commeth rebellious and ſeditious parſons.

I ſaye that they doe not conſente they be
 ſhameleſſe: for of the vnſhamefaſtneſſe, com-
 meth ſlaunderous parſones.

Princes

Princes and great lordes ought to haue much circumspection, that their chyldren be brought vp in shamesfastnes, with honesty. For the crowne doth not geue somuch glory to a kinge, nor the head doeth moze set forth the man, nor the Jewell moze adourne the breast, nor yet the scepter moze become the hand: then shamesfastnes, with honesty, bewittifieth a yong mā. For a man of what estate so euer he be, the honesty which outwardely he sheweth, doeth hide many secreate vices, wherewith inwardely he is endued. In the tyme of the reigne of the emperour Helius Pertinax (the .19. Emperour of Rome) two consullus governed the common wealth, the one named Verus, and the other Manlius; one daye they came to the Emperour, beseeching his grace, that it woulde please hym to receiue their two chyldren into hys seruice, the eldest of the whiche, passed not as yet .12. yeares of age the whiche request, after the emperour had graunted, the fathers were not neglygent to bringe them vnto hym, and beinge come before hys presence, eache of them made an Oration, the one in latine, and the other in Greke. Wherewith the Emperour was greatly pleased, and all the residue amazed: for at that time none serued the romaine princes, but that he were either very apte to cheualrye, or els to warde in sciences. As these two chyldren in the presence of the Emperoure made their Oration, the one of them behelde the Emperoure in such sorte, that hys eyes neuer wente of hym, neyther once moued hys heade to loke downe to the earth: and the other contrarie, behelde the earth alwayes, and neuer lyfte by hys hed duringe hys Oration. Where with the Emperoure (beinge a graue man) was so hyghlye with the demeanours of this chyldre pleased, that he dyd not onelye admytte hym to serue hym at hys table: but also he suffered hym to enter into hys chamber, and this was a preferment of greate estimation. For princes dyd not bide to be serued at their tables,

nor in their chambers with anye, vnlesse they were of hys owne kindred, or annexed seruantes. And concernynge the other chyldre, whiche was his compaignon, the Emperour retourned agayne to his father sayinge, that when hereafter he shoulde be moze shamesfast, he woulde receiue hym into hys seruyce. And certaynelie the Emperoure had reason: for good and graue princes, ought not to be serued with light and shamesleste chyldren. I woulde now demaund fathers whiche loue their chyldren very wel, and woulde they shoulde be valorous, what it anayleth their chyldren to be faire of countenance, wel dysposed of bodye, liuely of spryghte, white of skinne, to haue yellets beites, to be eloquent in talkynge, profound in science, if with all these graces that nature geueth them, they be so bolde in that they doe, and shamesleste in that they saye: the authour hereof, is called Patritius Senensis, in the first booke de rege et regno. One of the most fortunat princes was the great Theodosius, the which amongst al other vertues, had one most singuler, which was: that he was neuer serued in hys pallace with any yong man, that was vnshamesfast, or seditious, nor with an olde man whiche was dishonest. For he sayed oftentimes, that Princes shall neuer be wel beloued: if they haue about them liers, or flatterours. This good emperour spake as a mā of experyence and very sage: for of counsellors if princes be euill taught & vnpatient, they offend many, and if they be liers, they deceiue al, & if they be dishonest, they flatter & people, & these offenses be not so greate vnto them as committe the, as they be vnto the prince, which suffereth them. The emperour Theodose had in his pallace, .2. knyghtes, the one called Rufinus, and the other Estilionus, by whose prudence and wysedome, the common wealth was ruled and governed. And as Ignacius baptista sayeth, they .2. were tutors & gouernours of the chyldren of Theodose, whose names were Archadius, and Honorius:

THE DIALL

for as Seneca saith, when good princes do dye, they ought to be more careful to procure maisters and tutors, which shal teache them, the to procure realmes or kingdomes for to enriche them. These two maisters, Eulconus and Rufinus, had in the pallace of Theodose, eche of them a sonne, the which were maruellously wel taughte, and verie shamefast, and for the contrarie, the two Princes Honorius and Archadius were euil manered, & not very honest. And therefore the good Emperour Theodose, toke these chyliden oftentimes, and set them at his table: and contrarie, he would not once be holde his owne.

Let no man meruaile, though a prince of suche a grauyte dyd suche a thinge, of so smale importaunce: for to save the trueth the shamefast chyliden, and wel taughte, are but robbers of the hartes of other men. Forthly, the tutors and maisters of princes ought to take good hede, & when they were great, they doe not vse them selues to & wicked vices of the fleshe: the sensualitie, and euyl inclination of the wanton childe, ought to be remedied, by the wisdom of the chaste maister. For this cursed fleshe is of such condition, that if once by wantones the wicked be opened, death shall soner approche: then the gate shalbe shutte.

The trees whiche budde and cast leaues befoze the tyme, our hope is neuer to eate of their frute in season. I meane, that when chyliden haunte the vice of the fleshe, whyles they be yonge: there is smale hope of goodnes to be looked in them, when they be olde. And the elder we see them ware, the more we maye be assured of their vices. And where we se that vice encreaseth: there we maye affirme, that vertue dymynisheth. Plato in his seconde booke of lawes ordeyneth, and commaundeth, that yonge men shoulde not marpe befoze they were .25. yeares of age: and the yong maydens at .20. because at that age, their fathers abide lesse daungers in begettinge them, and geuinge

of them lyfe, and the chyliden also whiche are yonge, haue more strengthe agaynst the assaultes of death. Therefore if it be true (as it is true in dede) I aske nowe, if to be married and get children (whiche is the ende of maryage) the Philosophers doe not suffer, vntill suche time as they be men: then I saye that maysters ought not to suffer their scolers to haunte the vyces of the fleshe when they be chyliden. In this case, & good fathers ought not alone to commit this matter to their tutors: but also there vnto to haue an eye them selues. For oftentimes they wyl saye, they haue bene one pylgrymage at some deuoute saynte, that is deade, when in dede they haue embraced the faire bodye of some harlot, whiche is alpye. The vyce of the fleshe is of suche condycion, that a man cannot geue hym selfe to it, withoute grudge of conscience, withoute hurte of his renouwme, withoute losse of his goods, withoute shortenyng of his lyfe, and also withoute offence to the common wealthe: for oftentimes, men enclined to suche vyce, doe rebell, trouble, and flaunter the people. Seneca satisfieth me greatly, in that whiche he wyrteth in the seconde booke de Clemencia to Nero, where he sayeth these wordes.

If I knewe the G O D I woulde pardon me, and also that men woulde not hate me: yet I ensure the, for the vylenes thereof, I woulde not synne in the fleshe. And truly Seneca had reason, for Aristotle saith that al beastes after the deades of the fleshe are forye, but the cocke alone.

O gouernours, and Maysters, of greate Princes, and Lordes, by that immortall God whiche created vs, I censure you, and for that you owe to the noblytie I desyre you, that you wyl byddell with a sharpe snaffell youre charge, and geue them not the rayne to followe vyces: for if these yonge Chyliden lyue, they wyl haue tyme inoughe to searche, to followe, to attayne, and also to cast of those pokes.

For

For though our fraplerie, this wicked vice of the fleſhe, in euery place, in all ages, in euery eſtate, and at all times (be it by reaſon, or not) is neuer oute of reaſon. What ſhal I ſaye to you in this caſe: if the chyldren paſſe the ſurpouſnes of their youthe withoute the bydel: then they be boide of the loue of god, they followe the trompet of the ſenſualitye after the ſounde whereof, they rurne headlong into the yoke, and loſe that which proſiteth, to winne that which hurterh: For in carnal vices, he that hath the leaſt of that, that ſenſuallytye deſireth, hath much more thereof, then reaſon willeth. Conſiderynge that the maſters are negliſent, the chyldren bolde, their vnderſtandynge blinded, and ſeing that their appetites doe accompliſhe beaſtly motions: I aſke nowe, what remaineth to the child, and what cōtentation hath he of ſuche filthe and naughtines: Trulpe ſince the fleathly and vicious man is ouercome, with his appetite, of thoſe that eſcape beſt: I ſee none other frute, but that their bodyes remayne diſeaſed, and their vnderſtandynge blinded, their memozye dulled, their ſence corrupted, their wil hurte, their reaſon ſubuerted, and their good fame loſt, and worſte of all, the fleſhe remayneth alwaies fleſhe. How manye yonge men are deceiued, thinkinge that for to ſatiſſye, and by once engaging them ſelues to vices, that from that tyme forwarde, they ſhal ceaſe to be vicious: the which thing not only doeth not proſite them, but alſo is verpe hurtful vnto them. For fier is not quenched with
 * drye wood, but with colde water. But alas

what ſhal we doe, ſince that nowe a dayes the fathers do aſmuch eſtyme their chyldren for being ſine, and bolde minions amonge women, as if they were verpe profounde ſcience, or hardye in feates of armes: and that which is worſte, they oftentimes make more of their baſtardes gotten in adultery, then of their beaulyfull childe conceived in matrimony. What ſhal we ſay then of mothers: truly I am aſhamed to ſpeake it, but they ſhould be more aſhamed to do it, which is, becauſe they woulde not dyſpleaſe their huſbandes, they hide the wickednes of their chyldren, they put the chyldren of their baſtardes to the noſe, they rede me their gages, they geue them money to playe at dice, they reconcyle them to their fathers, when they haue offended, they bozewe them money to rede me them, when they are indebted: ſpecially they are makers of their bodyes, and vndoers of there ſoules. I ſpeake this incidently, for that the maſters, woulde correcte the chyldren, but the fathers, and mothers, forbide them. For it lytel auayleth for one to
 * pricke the hoſe with the ſpurre, when he that ſitteth vpon him, holdeth him backe with the bydel. Therefore to oure matter, what ſhal we doe to remedye this yll, in the yong man, which in his fleſhe, is vicious: trulpe I ſe no other remedye, but with moiſte earth to quenche the flaminge fier, and to heape
 * him from the occaſions of vice. For in the warre, honour by tarpeng is obteined: but in the vice of the fleſhe, the victory by ſileng is wonne.

FINIS

F. 111,

**The ende of the
 ſecond booke.**

Firste longing for that vnder shade of leaues
 To see the face of my beloved
 In hope betwixt to trye if any way
 I might have myne owne love to see
 And thus I was as fittly bound
 By myne owne harted one angelles winged
 Whome blake ymbe & token face
 To make as weale one sinne of deare
 And thus I was whole Christed with bright
 And thus I was whole Christed with bright

Comendat se lorde comendat my soule
 Toke my fore wrongs and on the them holds
 Toke my wrongs of grace and promised me
 Toke my wrongs let the fall from the
 Close up my ^{hand} that y^e doo so me darst
 Toke my ^{hand} that in right
 Hande f^r Governor may stande
 fms Sermds
 Libris

The thirde Booke of the

DIAL OF PRINCES, VVITH THE

famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius. wherein

he entreateth of the vertues which Princes ought

to haue, as iustice, peace, and

magnificence.



The firste Chapter.

How Princes and great lordes
ought to trauaile to administer
to all equall iustice.



E GIDIUS FI-

gulus, one of the moste
famous and renowned
Philosophers of Rome,
saide that betwene. 2. of
the Zodiackall signes
(Leo, and Libra) is a virgine named ius-
tice: the whiche in times passe bluelled a-
monge men in earth, and after she was of
them neglected, she ascended vp to heauen.
This philosopher would let vs vnderstand,
that iustice is so excellent a vertue, that she
passeth all mens capacitie: since she made
heauen her mansion place, and could finde
no man in the whole earth, that would en-
tertaine her in his house. During the time
that men were chaste, gentle, pitifull, pa-
ciente, embracers of vertue, honest, & true,
iustice remained in the earth with the: but
since they are converted vnto adulterers,
tyrantes, geuen to be pproude, vnpaciente,
liars, and blasphemers, she determined to
forsake them, and to ascend vp into heauen.
So that this Philosopher concluded, that
for the wickednes that mē comit on earth,
iustice hath lefte from them into heauen.
Though this seme to be a poetickall fiction,

yet it comprehendeth in it, high & profound
doctrine: the which semeth to be very clere,
for so much as where we se iustice is, there
shalbe few theues, few murderers, few cru-
el men, & few blasphemours. Finally I say,
that in that house of comon wealth, where
iustice shal remaine: a man can not comyt
vice, & much lesse, dissemble to the vicious.
Homere desirous to exalt iustice, could not
tell what to say moze, but to cal hē kinges, hē
children of the great god Iupiter: and that,
not for the naturalitie they haue, but for hē
office of iustice, whiche they minister. So hē
Homere concludeth, that a man ought not
to cal iust princes other, but the children of
god. The deuine Plato in the fourth booke of
his comon wealth saith, hē the chiefest gifte
that god gaue to men is: that they being (as
they be) of such vyle cley, shuld be gouerned
by iustice. Woulde to God, that all those
whiche shoulde reade this writinge, vnder-
stande righte well that whiche Plato
saide: For if men were not endued with
reason, and gouerned by iustice, amongst
all beastes, none were so vnprofitable. Let
reason be taken from man, wherewith he is
endued, and iustice whereby he is gouer-
ned: then shall men easely perceiue in what
sorte hys lyfe he wyll leade. He can not
fyghte as the Elephante nor defende hym
selfe as the Tigre, nor he can hunte as the
Lyon, neyther labour as the Oxe: and that
wherby he shuld profite (as I thinke) is, that
he

THE DIAL

he should eate beares and lyons in his life, as now he shalbe eaten of womes after his deathe. All the Poetes that inuented fictions, al the Oratours which made Orations, al the philosophers which wrote booke, al the sages which left vs their doctrines, and al the princes which instituted lawes, ment nothinge els, but to perswade vs, to thinke howe byfese & vnprofitable this lyfe is, & how necessary a thing iustice is therein. For the filth & corruption, which the bodye hath without the soule: the selfe same hath the comon wealth, wout iustice. We can not deny, but y^e y^e Romaines haue bene proud, enuolous, aduouterers, shamelesse, and ambitious: but yet with all these faulces, they haue bene great obseruers of iustice. So y^e if god gaue the so many triumphes, beinge laden and enuironned with so many vices: it was not for the vertues they had, but for the great iustice which they did administer. Plinie in his second booke saith, y^e Democritus affirmed, there were .2. gods, whiche gouerned the vniuersal world: y^e is to wete, reward, & punishment. Wherby we maye gather, that nothing is moze necessary, the true & right iustice. For the one rewardeth the good, & the other leaueth not unpunished the euill. Saint Austyne in the firste booke De ciuitate dei, saith these wordes, Iustice taken away, what are realmes, but denues of theues: truly he had great reaso. For if ther were no whips for bacabondes, gags for blasphemers, synes for perjurpe, fyre for heretiques, sword for murderers, gallouse for theues, nor prisō for rebels: we may boldly affirme, y^e ther would not be so many beastes on the mountaines, as there would be theues in y^e comon wealth. In many thinges, or in y^e greatest parte of y^e comon wealth, we se y^e bread, wine, cozne, fleshe, woll, & other thinges necessary for y^e life of the people wanteth: but we neuer saw, but malicious men in euery place did abound. Therefore I sweare vnto you, that it were a good bargayne, to chaunge all y^e wycked

men in y^e comon wealth, for one onely good sheepe in the field. In the comon wealth, we se naught els but whipping dayle, beheading, slepeng, drowning, & hanging: but notwithstandinge this, the wycked whiche remaine styll, are so many in nombre, y^e if all those shoulde be hanged, that deserue it by iustice, a man could not finde hangmen sufficient, nor gallowes to hange them vpon. Admitte, according to the varietie of realmes, & prouinces, that diuerse lawes & customes, haue bene instituted therein. Yet for a truth, ther was neuer, nor neuer shall be found any nation, or comon wealth in the world so Barbarous, but hath bene founded of iustice. For to affirme y^e men can be preserued without iustice, is as much as to say, the fishe can liue without water. Howe is it possible, y^e a comon wealth may liue wout iustice: Nith without her can not be ruled, one onely personne. Plinie in an epistle saith, that he him selfe hauinge the charge of a prouince in Affrik, demaunded an old man, and in gouernement expert, what he might doe to administer iustice well: the aged man answered. Do iustice of thy self, yf thou wilt be a minister thereof: For the good iudge, wth the right yerde of his owne life, ought to measure the whole state of the common wealth. And he saide further, yf thou wilt be right with men, and cleane before God, beware of presumption in thyne office. For the proude & presumptuous iudges, often times do contrary in their wordes, & also excede in their deades. Plinie also sayth, that he profited moze wth y^e counsaile, whiche this old man gaue him: than wth all that, whiche euer he had red in his bookes. As to how much is he bound, that hath taken vpon him to administer iustice: For if such one be an by right mā, he accompliseth that wherunto he is bounde: but if such one of him selfe be vnjuste, iustye of god he ought to be punished, & likewise of men for to be accused. When princes commaund their seruantes or subiectes any thing, & that they

can

can not accomplishe the in such sorte, as they had charge to do: then he ought to haue the excuse (those excepted) which gouerne realmes & prouinces. For no mā leaue to administer iustice, but for wāt of knowledge, or experieñce: or els, though abondance of affectiō, or malice. If a capitaine loose a battaille, he may excuse him self, saying his mā were sleb, when they should haue assailed their enemies. A poast may excuse him self, for y the waters were so high. A hūter may say y beast is escaped an other way, & others suche like: but a gouernour of a common wealth, what excuse can he haue, y he dorhe not iustice: Cōscience ought to burden him, & also he ought to be ashamed, to take vpon him the charge of any thinge, if he doute to bring it to effect: for y shamefull faces, and haute courages, either ought to put y it excusō which they take vpon the, or els they ought to shewe a lawfull cause why it toke no effect. Let vs know first what iustice is, & the we shall know what is mete for y administraciō thereof. The office of a good iudge is, to defend y cōmon wealth, to helpe the innocent, to ayde the simple, to correct y offender, to honour the vertuous, to helpe y orphanes, to do for the poore, to bydel the ambitious: finally, by iustice he ought to gene eche one his owne, and to dispossesse those which hold any thing wrongfully of others.

When a prince cōmaunderh any man to take the charge of iustice, and suche one doth not him selfe seke it, if perchaunce afterwards he dyd not in all poyntes by righte in the administraciō thereof, he might haue some excuse, saying that though he hath accepted it, it was not wth mind because he would erre, but because wth good will he would obey. What shal we say of many, which wout shame, or wout knowledge, wout experieñce, & wthout cōscience, do procure the office of iustice: If princes knew what they geue, when they geue the charge to any to gouerne the cōmō wealth, I sweare vnto you, that they were better to

geue the goodes to find them for 20. yeres: then for to trust them with the charge of iustice 20. daies. What a thing is it to se some men shamelesse, dishoneste, greute talkers, gluttons, ambitious, & couetous: the which without any reasonable cause, auctoritie or knowledge, demaunde of princes an office of iustice, as if by iustice they did demaund their owne. Would to god the gener would haue an eye to those, which in this wise doe demaund. But what shal we say of those, y do sollicite the, procure the, impoigne the, beseeche the, & moze then y, euen as without shame they do demaund it: so wout cōscience likewise they buye it. There remaineth in this case moze as yet, that is, that if those cursed men doe not attaine to that which they demaund, and if those (having no cōscience) do not geue it: then they blaspheme, and cōplaine of those which are in fauour to princes, as if they had done them greuce inuoluntarily. What trouble it is for hym that is good, to behaue him selfe well: For ambitious, and couetous men would not, but that the care they haue to demaund it, the selfe same care the good shoulde haue to geue it.

Many tymes I haue thoughte wth my selfe, wherein so many domages of the common wealth shoulde consist, suche disobedience, suche contrarieties, and so many thestes: and in the ende I fynde, that all, or the mosse parte, procede in that, that they prouide for ministers of iustice, not for cōsciences sake, but for the couetousnes only. Admyt that it appertayne to all, to desyre, and procure iustice: yet to none it appertaineth so muche, as to the royall parsonne, whiche is bounde at all tymes, to minister it equallye to all men. It is a great matter, that Princes be pure in lyfe, and that they houses be well ordered, to the ende that they iustre be of credyte, and auctoritie: For he whiche of him selfe is vntrustworthy, there is small hope, that an other at his handes shoulde haue iustice. He whiche can not gouerne his owne house

THE DIAL

can euill gouerne the whole comon wealth. The princes whiche are true in their wordes, cleane in their liues, and iuste in their workes: though some times they erre in the administration of the common wealth, all excuse them, sayenge that they erre not thorough the malice of them selues, but rather thorough the euill counsaile of others. So that all whiche the good prince dothe, they commend, and all the euill that chaunceth, they excuse. Plutarke in the second booke of his common wealth sayeth, that herein some princes differ from others: For the euill prince is onely obeyed, but the good prince is obeyed, feared, and loved. And moreover, he that is good, maketh heauy thinges lighte with his goodnes: and the tyrante that is euill, maketh thinges which are light, to be verie heauy thorough his naughtines. Happpy is the prince whiche is obeyed: but muche moze happpy is he, the which is obeyed, feared, and loved.

* For the body is weary often times to obey: but the harte is neuer constrained to loue. Titus the Emperour, was once demaunded of these thinges, that is to wete: whether to rewarde the good, or to punish the euill, were for a prince moze naturall. He answered. As naturall as both the righte, and leste arme, is in a man: so necessary is rewarde, and punishment, in a prince. But as we helpe our selues moze with the right arme, then with the leste: so a prince oughte moze to endeouour him selfe to rewarde, then for to punish. For the punishment oughte to be, by the handes of a straunger: but the rewarde oughte to be, in his owne handes proper. When we perswade princes that they be iust, and that they doe iustice, it is not to be vnderstanded, that they shuld behead murderers, bannishe rebels, and seditions, hange thieves, and burie robbers aliue. For such, or other semblable thinges, apparteyne moze to bloudy hangemen: then to pitiful kirges. Al the profite of iustice is, in that the prince be honest in his person, carefull for his house,

hold, selous of the comon wealth, and not large of his conscience. For princes ought not to be comended, for murdering many cruelly: but for reforminge the common wealth louingly. Plutarke in the comfortable oration that he wrote to Appolonio, speaking of the lawes which Prometheus gaue to the Egyptians: amongst the residue, he recited these three that solowe.

The ordeine and commaund, that princes laye not handes on others, for any crimes, or offences done vnto him selfe. For princes oughte not to vse their handes, to reuenge their owne iniuries: but rather by iustice, to defend other that be iniured.

The ordeyne and commaunde, that all times when they shalbe in their common wealth, and not in warres, they shall not weare weapons defensiu, & much lesse offensiu. For good princes, neither ought to be hasty, to the end they maye kyll nor yet to haue vices, wherby they may be killed.

The ordeine and commaunde, that the prince do not onely kyll with his handes, but also that he do not see them doe iustice with his eyes.

For how muche noble, and worthy a thinge it is, befoze the presence of a prince that all should receyue honour: so sclaundersous a thinge it is, that any in his presence, should lose their lynes.

The.ii. Chapter.

The vway that princes ought to vse in chousing their iudges and officers, in their countreis.



Parthianus in the lyues that he wrote of 30. tirantes said, that Ciriaco the tyrant, had a memorisall made of certaine of the Senatours, whom he woulde haue kyll: and when the thinge was discovered, they slew him. They found in the hādes of another tiraunt named Regilio, after he was deade

dead, a memoriall of those, which with his
 owne handes he had depriued of their liues:
 wherefore they afterward, depriued him of
 his buriall. And how many iudges are there in
 this worlde, that do auaunt them selues of
 those whom they haue caused to be whipte,
 to be sleied, to be beheaded, to be hanged,
 quartered & flaine: as others do, which haue
 redeemed many captiues, or haue maried
 many orphans. Those iudges which reco-
 ding to the order of lawes, customes, & lu-
 rifications, do punish the euill, I doe well
 allowe: but to resoyce and auaunt them
 selues of them, whom they haue condem-
 ned, I utterly abhorre. For the vertuous
 and christian iudge, ought rather to shed
 teares in the Churches: then by affliction, to
 shed blood of men, in the seat of iudgement.
 And for the confirmation of that which I
 haue saide, I asseyne, that the good iudge
 and gouernour of the common wealth,
 ought not to beare in mind, the murders,
 and slaughters, done by others: but to re-
 toyce the iniuries, which they haue done
 them selues. For in other mens offences,
 we ought to be silent: for our owne iniqui-
 ties, we ought to be penitent. Judges ex-
 ecute some punishments which are disallow-
 ed, & god doth approue: an other time, god con-
 demneth the, though he would do allow the:
 wherefore the surest thing for such iudges is,
 not to reioyce of their brethren whom they haue
 corrected, but what they the selues for their
 owne offences haue deserued. In iudging
 others, by false witness, the iudges many ti-
 mes against their wills, do erre: but in their
 owne matters, they can neuer erre (vntlesse
 they will) since the offences which we comit,
 are alwaies certaine. Therefore it greueth
 me, that there be some so euill, which beinge
 accused before god, would excuse the selues
 before men: yet their owne brethren, with
 false witness, they dare condemne. Great
 care ought princes to haue, to examine the
 whom they will make iudges, and gouer-
 nours. For the iudge which dayly maketh

not an accompt with his conscience in se-
 cret, that counte euery houre a thousande ci-
 uils in the common wealth. A poore & mis-
 serable common wealth, where the gouer-
 nours, and iudges thereof do not calke their
 eyes, but vnto them whom they ought to
 chastise: where they doe not thinke in their
 hart, but how they maye enriche their cof-
 fers: where they do not occupie their han-
 des, but to take bytches: and do not passe the
 time, but in banquettes. And I saide not w-
 out a cause, banquettes. For there are many
 iudges, which imploie their study more to
 get frendes, to mainteine their state prou-
 lythen for to reade booke, to iudge mens
 causes vp rightly. The iudge which neuer
 readeth, the iudge which neuer studieth, &
 iudge which neuer openeth booke, & iudge
 which is neuer in his house, & iudge which
 day & night robbeth, how is it possible he
 execute one true iustice? There can be no
 greater feare in a man, nor schlander more
 greace in a common wealth, the whiche iudge
 (who ought to iudge & chastise the offences
 of others) is alwaies ouerwhelmed w- bitches
 him selfe. The iudge which presumeth to be
 good, & wil be good, & desireth to be good: a
 man ought to finde him no where, vntles he
 be Audiencie in his house, or sittinge in the
 place of iustice. Let not princes trust vpon
 this, when they prouide iudges and gouer-
 nours for to iudge, sayinge: that if they fynd
 any euill, they will take him away shortly:
 for suche are so euill, & if they wait no mea-
 nes to get to those offences, they shall waite
 no certis, to mainteine the thowen. Vnto their
 princes & great lordes, shal fynde any iudge
 euill, I counsaile them to auoyde him im-
 mediately, or that they shew them selues not
 contented with his doinges: for suche one
 shall forthwith enioyne him selfe to doe ius-
 tice, with intention that those of the com-
 mon wealth mighte desire him, to be their
 iudge. Althoughe my penne dothe re-
 proue these iudges whiche are extreame
 me and cruell: yet my entencion is not

THE DIAL

to commend the others, which are negligent, & careless, the which neither by knowledge can iudge, nor with skutenes punish. The iudges which iudge, & gouerne, ought not to be with all so familiar, that all dare take vpon them to aske him: for in this case, if some commend his gentle conuersation, others will blame his porcyall iustice: and I counsaile admonithe and requite Princes, that they content them selues not only to be true, pittefull, honeste, and vertuous, nor yet to be iuste: but that it is as well necessary, they be obseruers of iustice. For let them knowe, that there is great difference, betwene him that is iust, and an other that doth minstre iustice: for to the Prince that is good, commeth honour to his personne, but from him that ministrith iustice, commeth profite to his common wealth. Peraduenture it is no wonder, to see the Prince that will tell no lye: and to se his ministers, not to speake one truth: peraduenture I do not thinke my selfe sclanderred, to see the prince temperate in eating: and to se all his seruantes disempered, both with eatinge and drinkinge: peraduenture, and it is no cause to muse vpon, to se the princes chaff, and honeste: and to see their seruantes in flethe, filthe, and dissolute: peraduenture it is no cause to meruaile, to se h prince iuste, and to loue iustice: and that very few of his ministers, doe minstre it: The end why all these thinges are spoken is, to aduertise Princes, that they be not so carefull to be chaff, sober, true, and iust: but y they know, whether their gouernours, and iudges are corrupted, conetons, grede, vnsamefast, lyers or byppers. For if it toucheth vs much, that our Princes be good: so muche more it toucheth vs, that the ministers be not euill. One of the thinges wherein princes ought to provide with their iudges and gouernours is, that by no meanes they suffer their lawes and auncient customes to be broken in their common wealth: and that in their freedes, straunge customes be

not introduced. For the comminaltye is so variable, in that they sape, and so lighte in that they aske, that they woulde deydre see a new king, and hourelye change a verpe lawe. Phioe in an epistle that he saith in Escario saith: Optimo apud perlas capitale per legem fuit, nouos, aut peres grinos mores inducere. As if he spake more plainely Amongest the Perles it was a law intolable, that no man should bring into the common wealth any straunge custome: and so: suche an offence they should paye none other ranfome, but the losse of their heades. As men daylye do diminish in vertue (unless by force they be withholden) and augment in vanitie: so they woulde inuente newe deuises and straunge customes, wherewith men should be decayde, and the common wealth destroyed. For straunge meates, do altere mens stomaches: When those of Creta were vngently vsed of the Rhodiens, they did not pray to their gods to send them pestilence, warre, famine, or sedition amonge their enemies: but that they woulde suffer some euill maners, to be brought in amongest their people. Let not those thinke, that shall reade this, that it was a small curse, that those of Creta desired: that it was a small reuenge, which G D gaue them of their enemies, yf he gaue them that which they did requite. For from warres, from famine, and pestilence, some maye escape: but with the newe and straunge deuyces, we se that all do perishe. Of manye thinges the Historians doe reprove the Emperour Sergio Galba, and for one alone they doe prayse him, wherhe is, that he neuer consented, that in Rome any newe law should be made, nor any old custome be broken. And he commaunded, that those shoulde be greuously punished, which brought in any newe lawe: and he rewarded those, which put him in mynde of any olde custome, the which he commaunded to be obserued. It is a mockerye, yea (better to sape) a sclander, to see that some

pong

ponge iudges wyl doe that of the common wealth, whiche a raylour doeth of a golwe, (that is to saye) to turne hym within, and withoute, before, and behinde: whiche they oughte not to doe, noz the people to consent there vnto. For the Prince doeth not sende them to make lawes, and Pragmatiques: but to the ende that they do preserve the common wealth in their good customes. Princes ought also to take greate care, that vnto lytel and greate, riche, and pooze, they minister equal iustice: sithe there is no dyuine, noz humane law, that geueth them power, or authorite to corrupte it, for if a Prince cannot without reaso dispose his owne good: muche lesse he can make lawes, & sel iustice. We doe not denye a Prince, but that he is lord of beastes, of fishe, of birdes, of myntes, of mountaynes, of seruauntes, & of fieldes: finallye, that he is lord of the sea, and land: but therefore we wyl not graunte him, that he be lord of iustice. For there is none other true lord of iustice, but God, whiche is the selfe same iustice. When a prince dyeth and maketh his wyl, he sayeth: I leaue all my realmes & signories, to the prince my sonne, and legitimate heire, and do leaue vnto my second sonne, such an estate & duchie, and to my daughter, such lades, and to al I recomende iustice, to the end they do obserue it, and cause it to be obserued, euery one in his owne dition. It is much to note, that the father doeth not say, that he leaueth vnto his sonne iustice: but that he doeth recomende it vnto hym: so that the good princes ought to thinke, & they haue not inherited iustice of their predecessours, in forme of patrimony: but that god gaue it vnto the of trust. Princes of al thinges may be called lordes, saue only of iustice, wherof they are but only ministers. We dare boldly say, & the prince or great lord, which iudgeth causes, not according to his diuine wyl, but according to their owne affection: we wyl not call hym a iust iudge, but a rounge these. For the Princes muche worse, which robbeth god of iustice:

then the these, which stealeth the goods from men. Suetonius Traquillus recterh much wickednes of Domician, & the greatest of al was, the pooze, the Orphanes, & those which could do liuel, he allwayes punished: and the other that were riche, and of authorite, he pardoned. He compounded with some for money, and with other he dissembled for fauour. Alexander Seuerus, the 23. Emperour of Rome, saied of Lampridio, & he neuer kept in his house any euyl man, or suffered anye of his parentes to be vicious. And when he was demaunded on a tyme, why he banished one of his cosins, since he was ponge, and a childe: he answered them which entreated him for him, and alledged. That though he was ponge, and his cosyn: yet Charior est mihi respub. as if more plainely he had said. I haue none other nerer of kinne to me, in my palace. Whigh, and muche more higher wordes, worthy for a trueth to be written in princes hartes: wherby they ought to be aduertised, that he saied not, I take for my parent one parte of the common wealth. For the prince whiche seareth god, & desireth to be found iust, as he wyl indifferently be obeyed of all, so ought he equallye to administer iustice to al. If they wil not credite me, noz my penne, let them credite Plato, in the bookes of his common wealth: who generh liberty, and licence to al the Plebeians, to the end that euery one do loue his wiffe, his children, and his parentes. And this sorte of louing, he wyl not that princes haue, to whom he perswadeth, that firste aboute all thinges, they loue their common wealthe: for if the Prince doe loue any other thing aboute his common wealth, it is impossible but that one day, for & lone of that, he wyl wisthe iustice. When Plato gaue not licence to Princes, not to enlarge their loue on diuers thinges, peraduenture he woulde counsaile them, that they shuld do some wronges. It chaunceth oftentimes, that princes doe omit iustice: not for that they wyl not admyttise it, but because they wyl not be enfourmed of thinges,

THE DIAL

yes, whiche they ought to remedye, and loke vnto. And this is vnerusable, where he hurteth his honor, and burdeneth his conscience. For at the daye of iudgement, though he be not accused for malice, yet he shalbe condemned for neglygence. The Prince whiche is careful, to see & enquire the damages of hys realmes: we maye saye, that if he doeth not prouide for them, it is because he can do no more, but he whiche is neglygente to see them, and knowe them, we cannot saye, but if he leaue to prouide, it is for that he wyl not. The prince or greate lord, whiche dare take vpon him suche thinges, what name or renowne may we geue him? I wold not we shuld cal suche a one, father of the common wealthe: but destroyer of his countrey. For there can be no tyrannye greater, nor more vnequal: then for the phisician to aske his dutye for his cure, befoze he hath begone to minister the medicine. That princes and great lordes desire to knowe their reuenues, I aslowe them: but in that they care not to knowe the damages of their common wealthes, I doe discommend them. For the people paye tribute to their princes, to the end they shuld deliuer them from their enemyes, and defende them from tyrantes. For the iudges whiche wilbe euyl, though I say much, wil profite lytle: but to those whiche desire to be good, that which is spokē (as I thinke) suffiseth. Notwithstandinge that whiche is spoken, I say, that iudges & gouernours ought to consider wel with them selues, and see if they wilbe couered for iust ministers, or cruel tyrantes. For the office of a tyrante is, to robbe the common wealthe: and the office of the good Prince is, to resourne the people. Princes, and great lordes, haue more busynes then they thinke they haue: so fe al those whiche wyl see them, and to heare all those whiche wyl complayne vnto them. And the cause hereof is, admit that whiche the subiecte demandeth, he presently cannot geue, nor that wherof he complayneth, he cannot remedye: yet notwithstandinge, they re-

mayne after a sorte contented, sayeng that they haue nowe shewed all their complaints and iniuries to their Princes. For the wounded hartes, often tymes vnder their inward paynes, whiche they feele, withoute any hope to receyue comforte, of that which they desire. Plutarke in his Apothegmes sayeth, that a poore, and aged woman, desired kynge Philippe of Macedonie (which was the father of kynge Alexander the great) that he would heare her with iustice: and like she was verie importunate vpon hym, kynge Philippe sayed on a daye vnto her, I praye the woman be contented, I sweare by the gods, I haue no leasure to heare thy complaynte. The olde woman answered the kynge, Beholde kynge Philippe, if thou hast not time to heare me with iustice, resigne thy kyngdome, and another shal gouerne the common wealthe.

The.iii. Chapter.

Of an oration vvhiche a villaine dwellinge nere to the ryuer of Danuby made before the senators of Rome, concerninge the tyrannies and oppressions, vvhich their officers vsed in hys countrey.



IN the .x. yere of the reigne of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius, there happened in Rome a generall pestilence: the which being so ouer raging, the good emperor went into Campaigne, whiche at that tyme was verie healthfull, and without dysseases, though it was verie drye, and wanted muche of that which was necessary: yet notwithstandinge, the

the good Emperour was there, with all the
 principal senators of rome. For in time of
 * pestilence, men doe not seke where they shuld
 reloyce their parsons: but where they may
 save their lyues. Marcus Aurelius beinge
 there in Campania, was soze bered with a
 feuer. And as his condition was alwayes,
 to be amongst Sages: so at that tyme his
 sickenes required to be visited of phisitions.
 The resozte that he had in his pallace, was
 verie greate, aswel of Philosophers for to
 teache: as of phisitions to dyspute. For this
 Prince ordeyned his lyfe in suche sorte, that
 in his absence, thynges touching the warre
 were wel prouided: and in his presence, was
 * nothing but matters of knowledge argued.
 It chaunced one day, as Marcus Aurelius
 was enuironed with Senators, Philoso-
 phers, phisitions, and other sage men, a que-
 stion was moued among them, how greatly
 Rome was chaunged, not onely in buildin-
 ges, which almost were utterly decayed: but
 also in manners, which were wholly corrup-
 ted: the cause of all this euyl growe, for that
 Rome was full of flaterers: and destitute of
 those, which durst say the trueth. These, and
 suche other like wordes harde: the emperour
 toke by his hand and blessed him, and decla-
 red vnto them a notable example, sayeng. In
 the first yere that I was consul, there came
 a poore villayne from the riuer of danubye,
 to aske iustice of the Senate, agaynst a cen-
 sor, which did soze oppresse the people, and
 in dede he dyd so wel propounde his com-
 playnte, and declare the follye and iniuries
 whiche the iudges dyd in his countrey: that
 I doubt, whether Marcus Cicero could
 utter it better with his tonge, or the renown-
 med Homere haue wryten it more eloquent-
 lye with his penne. This byllayne had a
 smale face, greate lippes, hollowe eyes, his
 colour burnte, curled heere, bare head, his
 shoes of a porpige skynne, his cote of gores
 skynne, his girdel of bull rustles, a longe
 bearde, and thicke, his eye brydes couered
 bys eyes, the stomacke, and the necke, co-

uered with skynnes, heared as a beare, and
 a clubbe in his hande. Without doubt, when
 I sawe hym enter into the Senate, I
 imagyned it had bene a beaste in fourme of
 a man: and after I hearde that whiche he
 sayde, I iudged hym to be a G O D (if there
 are Gods) amongst men. For if it was a
 fearefull thyng to beholde his personne, it
 was no lesse monstrous to heare his wordes.
 At that tyme, there was greate presse,
 at the doore of the Senate, of manye and dy-
 ners persones, for to sollicite the affaires of
 their prouinces: yet notwithstanding, this
 villayne spake befoze the others, for two cau-
 ses. The one, for that men were desirous to
 heare what so monstrous a man would say:
 the other, because the senators had this
 custome, that the complayntes of the poore
 should be heard, befoze the requestes of the
 riche. Wherefoze this villayne afterwarde
 in the midst of the senate, began to tel his
 tale, and the cause of his coming thither:
 in the whiche he shewed hym selfe no lesse
 bolde in wordes, then he was in his attire
 strange, and saied vnto them in this sorte.
 O fathers conscripte, and happye people, I
 Mileno a ploughman, dwelling here vnto
 the riuer of Danube, doe salute you two-
 chy, Senators of Rome, which are assem-
 bled here in this Senate, and I beseeche, the
 immortall Gods my tounge this daye to go-
 gouerne, that I maye saye that whiche is
 conuenient to my countrey, and that they
 helpe you others to gouerne wel the comen
 wealth. For withoute the helpe of God, we
 can neyther learne the good, nor auoide the
 euyl. The fatale destinye permitting it, and
 oure wretchedfull gods for takinge vs, oure
 mischappe was suche, and to ye others, for-
 tune shewed her selfe so fauourable: that
 the proude captaynes of Rome by force of
 armes toke our countrey of Germany. And
 I saye not without a cause, that at that tyme
 the gods were dyspleased with vs: for if we
 * Germanes had appealed our gods, ye Ro-
 maynes myght wel haue excused your sel-

THE DIAL

pes for ouercommings vs. Great in are glo-
 ry of you Romaynes, for the victories ye
 haue had, and triumphes, whiche of manye
 realmes ye haue conquered: but notwithstanding
 standynge, greater shall your infamye be in
 the worlde to come, for the cruelties which
 you haue comyncted. For I let you knowe,
 if you do not knowe it, that when the wicked
 wente before the triumphing chariotes say-
 eng, lyue, lyue, inuincible Rome: on the o-
 ther syde, the poore captiues wente sayeng
 in their hartes, iustice, iustice. My prede-
 cessours enhabited by the ryuer of Danuby,
 for when the dyke earth annoyed them, they
 came to recreate them selues in the freshe
 water: and if perchance the vncōstant wa-
 ter dyd annoy them, then they woulde re-
 tourne agayne to the mayne lande. And as
 the appetites and conditions of men are va-
 riable: so there is a time to flye from the land,
 to refresh our selues by the water. And time
 also, when we are annoyed with the water,
 to retourne agayne to the lād. But how shall
 I speake Romaynes, that whiche I woulde
 speake: your couetousnes of takynge other
 mens goods hath ben so extreme, and your
 pride of cōmaūding straunge countries, hath
 bene so dysordinate: the neither the sea can suf-
 fise you in the depenes therof, neither the land
 assure vs in the fieldes of the same. How great
 comforte it is, for the troubled men, to thinke
 and be assured, that ther are iust gods: the which
 will do iustice on the vniust. For if the oppressed
 me thought the selues not assured, the gods
 would wreke their insury of their enemies:
 they wold their owne hādes, would destroy the
 selues. The end why I speake this is, for so
 much as I hope in the iust gods, as you o-
 thers without reaso have cast vs out of our
 houses: so by reason shall others come after
 vs, and cast ye others out of Italy, & Rome.
 There in my countrey of Germany, we
 take it for a rule vnfallyble, that he whiche
 by force taketh the good of another: by rea-
 son oughte to lose his owne proper ryghte.
 And I hope in the gods, that that which we

haue for a prouerbe in Germany, you shall
 haue for experyence here in Rome. By the
 grosse wordes I speake, and by the straunge
 apparayle whiche I weare, you maye wel
 imagine, that I am some rude villayne: but
 yet notwithstanding, I wante not reason to
 know, who is iust and righteous in holding
 his owne: and who is a tyrant in possesing
 of others. For the rude men of my professiō,
 though in good stile they cannot declare that
 whiche they woulde utter: yet notwithstan-
 ding that, we are not ignoraunt of the which
 oughte to be allowed for good, nor whiche
 oughte to be cōdemned for euyl. I would say
 therfore in this case, that that which the euill
 with all their tyranny haue gathered in ma-
 ny dayes, the gods shall take from them in
 one houre: and contrarywyse, all that which
 the good shall loose in manye yeaeres, the gods
 will restore it them in one minute. For spea-
 king the trueth, the euill to prosper in riches,
 is not for that the gods wyl it, but that they
 doe suffer it: and thoghe, at this houre we
 complayne dissemblynge, we suffer muche,
 but the time shall come, that will paye for all.
 Beleue me in one thing, O Romaynes, and
 doubte not therein: that of the vnlawefull
 gaine of the fathers, foloweth after the iust
 vndoing of their chyldren. Many ostentines
 do maruelles in my countrey, what the cause
 is, the gods do not take fro the wicked that
 whiche they winne, immediately as sone as
 they winne it: as I thinke, the reason hercof
 is, for the dissembling to the, by lytle & lytle they
 gather together diuers thinges, & afterwar-
 des when they thinke least theron, it is taken
 from them all at once. For the iust iudgeme-
 nt of the gods is, that since without reaso they
 haue done euyl to others: others by reason
 should come in lyke maner whiche doe euyl
 vnto them. It is vnpōssyble, that the balde
 auntye and sage man, who in his deades pre-
 sumeth to be wise, shuld take any losse in an-
 other mans good: for if he do he woulde neuer
 cōfēt him selfe w any thing, sith he hath not
 a conscience in that whiche is euyl gotten,

I know not Romaines, whether you vnderstand me, but because you shal vnderstand me better, I say, that I maruelle, & I should rather wonder, how the man keappng another mans goods, can slepe or rest one hour, sithe he knoweth he hath done iniury to the gods, slandered hys neyghbours, pleased his enemies, lost his frendes, and endamaged those that he robbed, & worse of all, that he hath put his person in peril. And I saye, that he hath put his person in peril; for the day that anye man determineth to take my goods, he wyl also the same daye (if he can) take my lyfe. It is an odious thinge to the gods, & very slanderous among men, that men should haue so muche (thorough their fleshely desires) vertue bound, and the raine of their euil woorkes so much at liberty, that another mans misery semeth to him riches, and that his owne riches semeth to him, selfe pouertye. I care not whether he be Greke, barbar, Romayne, present or absent, I saye and affirme, that he is, and shalbe cursed of gods and hated of men, which without consideration wyl chaunge his good fame into shame, iustice into wrong, righte into tyrannye, trouthe into lyes, the certayne for the doubtful, hatynge his owne proper, & slighing for that of other mens. He that hath this chiefe intention to gather goods for his children, and seeketh not a good name amonge the renowned: it is iust, that suche one doe not onely lose the goods which he hath gathered, but also that without good name he remaine shameful amōg the wicked. Since you other Romaines naturally are proude, and pryde doeth blinde you, you thinke your selues happy, that for hauing so much as ye haue more then others, & therfore you shuld be more honored then al, the which, truly is not so. For if presentlye you wyl not open your eyes, and confesse your owne errors, you shal se, that whereas you auaunte your selues to be Lordes of straunge prouinces: you shal fynd your selues made slaues, with your owne proper goods. Gather as muche

as you wyl, let them doe all you doe commaunde them: yet as I thinke, it lytle annoyeth, to haue Plebetians houses with goods, and contrarywise the hartes to be possessed with couetousnes. For the riches which are gotten with couetousnes, and are kept with auarice, doe take away the good name from the possessor, and doe nothinge auail him to maineteine his lyfe. It cannot be suffered many dayes, & muche lesse hidde many yeares, that one man shuld be counted both for riche among the riche, and for honored among the honorable: for it is vnpossyble, that he whiche is a great louer of tēporal goods, should be a frende of hys good name. And if the couetous men were of their owne honor as gredye, as they are of the goods of another desirous: I sweare vnto you, by the immortal gods, that the lytel worke or mothe of couetousnes, woulde not gnawe the rest of their lyfe, nor the canker of infamy shuld destroye their good name after their death. Herken you Romaines, herken what I wil saye, and I beseeche the gods that you maye vnderstand it: for otherwise I shuld lose my laboure, and ye others should take no frute of my wordes. I se that all the worlde hateth pryde, & yet there is none that wil folow humanitye. Euery man condemneth adultery, and yet I se no mā that liueth chaste. Euery man curseth excess, & I se no man liue temperately. Euery man praiseth patience, & I se no man that wyl suffer. Euery mā blameth slouth, & I se no man, but those y are ydel. Euery one blameth auarice, and yet euery man robbeth. One thing I saye, & not withoute teares in this senate, openlye I doe declare it, which is, that with the tonge euery man praiseth vertue: and yet they them selues with all their lymmes, are seruauntes vnto vices. Doe not thinke that I saye this onely for the Romaynes whiche be in Illiria: but for the Senatours, whiche I se here in the Senate. All you Romaynes, in your deuises aboute your armes, beare these wordes. Romanorū est de bellare superbos,

THE DIALL

& parcere subiectis to romaines it perta-
neth the proud to subdue, and the subiecte to
forgeue. Truly you shuld better haue sayd:
Romanorum est expoliare innocentes,
& inquietare quietes, the romaines vse to
expel innocentes, and wrosgfully to trouble
peacible people. For you Romaines are not,
but destroyers of h people, that be peacible:
and robbers of the swette of other men.

The.iiii. Chapter.

The villayne argueth agaynste the
Romaines, vvhiche vvythout
cause or reason conquered their
countrey, and proued manifest-
ly that they through offending
of their gods, vvere vanquished
of the Romaines.



Aske ye romaines vvhath
occasio ye haue, h are brought
by nigh to the riuer of Tiber,
against vs that lyue in peace,
nighe to h ryuer of Danuby.
Peraduenture ye haue sene vs frendes to
your foes, or els we haue shewed our selues
your enemies: peraduenture you haue hard
say, that forsaking our owne land, we shuld
goe conquer foreyne realmes: peraduen-
ture ye haue bene aduertised, h we rebelling
against our owne lordes, shuld become obe-
dient to the cruel barbarous: peraduenture
ye haue sent vs some imbassadour, to desire
vs to be your frēdes: or els there came some
frō vs to come, to desye ye as our enemies:
peraduenture some king died in our realme,
whiche by his testamēt made ye heires to our
realme: whereby you claime your title, and
seke to make vs your subiectes: peraduenture
by some aunient lawe or custome ye haue
found, h the noble and worthy Germany, of
necessity is subiecte, to the proude people of
rome: peraduenture we haue destroyed your
armies, we haue wasted your fieldes, sacked

your cities, spoiled your subiectes, or fauou-
red your enemies: so h to reuēge these inius-
ries, ye shuld destroy our lād: If we had ben
your neighbours, or ye ours, it had bene no
maruel, though one shuld haue destroyed the
other. For it chaunseith oftentimes, h through
controversy of a lytle pece of ground, redious
warres betwene people arise. Of a trowthe,
none of all these thinges whiche I haue na-
med, hath chaunled betwene ye Romaines
and vs Germanes. For in Germany we
felte your tyranny, so sone as we hearde of
your renowne. If ye be greued with that I
haue saied, I pray you be not offended with
that I wyl say, whiche is: that h name of Ro-
maines, and the cruelty of tirātes, arryued
together in one daye vpon our people. And
whāt moze to say, I know not romaines, of
the lytel care the gods do take, & of the great
audacitye that men haue, For I see, that he
whiche possesseth muche, doeth oppresse hyr
whiche hath but lytle: & he that hath but lytle,
waiteh not him h hath much. So, disordered
couetousnes striueth to secrete malice, & se-
crete malice geueth place to opē thefte, and
opē robbery no man resisteth, & therof com-
meth, h the couetise of a malitious man is
accomplished, to h p̄sūdice of a whole state.
Harkē ye romaines harkē, & by h immortall
gods I do cōfure you, gene eare to h I wyl
say, whiche is, consider wel what you haue
done: for the gods woordes be in vaine, or els
mē must haue an end, h woold in tyme must
nedes fal, or els the woold shalbe no woold.
Fortune muste nedes make sure h pinne of
the whele, or els h shalbe sene, whiche neuer
was sene, whiche is: that within .3. yeres ye
haue wōne, ye shal within .8. daies lose. For
nothing can be moze iust, since ye by force,
haue made your selues tirātes: then h the
gods by iustice, shoud make ye slaves. And
do not thinke ye romaines, though you haue
subdued germany, and be lordes therof, h it
was by any warrelly industry: for ye are no
moze warlike, no moze coragious, nor moze
hardy, ne yet moze dalaūt, thē we germai-
nes,

nes but sins through our offences we haue
prouoked & goddes to wrath, they for y^e pun-
ishment of our disordinate vices, ordey-
ned, y^e ye shuld be a cruel plague & scourge
to our persons. Do not take your selues to
be so strong, neither repute vs to be so weak
y^e if the goddes at y^e time had fauoured the
one parte, as much as y^e other: it might per-
chance haue happened, ye should not haue
enioyed the spoyle. For to say the truth, ye
waⁿ not y^e victorie through the force of wea-
pons, y^e you brought fro Rome: but through
the infinite vices, which ye found in Ger-
many. Therefore since we were not ouers-
come for being cowards, neither for being
weake, nor yet for being fearfull, but onely
for being wicked, and not hauing the god-
des fauourable vnto vs: what hope ye Ro-
maines to become of you, being as you are,
vicious, & hauing the gods angrie wth you:
Do not thinke Romans, to be the moze vic-
torious, for y^e ye assemble great armies, or y^e
ye abound in treasures, neyther for y^e you
haue greater gods in your ayde, or that ye
build greater temples, nor yet for that ye
offer such great sacrifices. For I let you
* knowe, if ye do not know it, y^e no man is in
moze fauour wth the gods, than he which
is at peacc wth verue. If the triumphes of y^e
conquerours consisteth in nothing els but in
subtyll wittes, politike captaines, valiaunt
souldiers, & great armies: without doubt, it
wold litle anasle to carp al this to y^e warre,
sins afterwarde we se by experiece, y^e men
can do no moze but giue y^e battailes, & the
gods the selues must giue the victories. If I
be not deceyued, I thinke y^e for our offences
we haue sufficiently satisfied y^e gods wrath.
But truly I beleue, y^e y^e cruelties which ye
haue done vnto vs, & the vnthankfulnesse
which you haue shewed y^e gods (though as
yet ye haue not payed it) y^e ones ye shall pay
it. And hereafter it may chaunce, y^e as pre-
sently ye counte vs for slaues: so in time to
come, ye shal acknowledge vs for lordes.
Since y^e traauelling by the way, I haue sene
the high mountaines, diuers prouinces, su-

dy nations, countreys of sanage, people so
barbarous, such, & so many miles as Ger-
many is distant fro Rome, I muse what
sonde toy came in y^e Romaines heades: to
sende to conquere Germany. If couetous-
nes of treasures caused it, I am sure they
spēt moze money to cōquere it, and at this
presēt do spend to kepe it, thē y^e whole reue-
nues of Germany amounteth, or maye a-
mount in many yeares: & perchance they
may lose it, before they recouer y^e they spent
to conquere it. And if ye saye vnto the Ro-
maines y^e Germanye is not conquered of
Rome for eny, but that onely Rome shoulde
haue the gloze to be mistres of Germany,
this also I say is vanity & folly. For litle a-
uaileth it to haue y^e fortres, & castels of y^e peple
whē y^e hartes of y^e inhabitantes are abset. If
ye say y^e therfore ye cōquered Germany, to
amplify & enlarge y^e limittes & boundes of
Rome, also me thinketh this as folpse an
enterpryse. For it is not y^e point of wise and
valiant mē, to enlarge their dominions: & di-
minishe their honour, If ye say ye sent to
conquere vs, to the ende we shulde not be
barbarous, nor liue like tirauntes but that
you wold we shoulde liue after your good
lawes and customes, yf it be so I am well
contente. But howe is it possible ye shuld
giue lawes to straungers, when you breake
the lawes of your owne pdecessours: great
shame ought they to haue, which take vpon
them to correcte others, when they haue
moze neede, to be corrected theym selves.
For the blynde man oughte not to take vpon
hym to leade the lame. If this be true
(as presently it is) what reason or occasyon
had proud Rome, to take and conquere the
innocent Germanye? Let vs all go therfore
to robbe, to kyll, to conquer, and to spoyle
syns we see the world so corrupte, and so
far from the loue of god, that euerye man
(as we may perceyue) taketh what he cā, kyll-
eth whom he will, and that which worst of
all is, y^e neyther those whiche gouerne, will
remedi so many euilles, as are cōmitted, nei-
ther those which are offended, dare cōplagne,

THE DIAL

Ye chiefe iudges at this day, are so hard to be entreated, & ye take so litle regard vnto þe pooze oppzessed: þe they thik it moze quiete to remaine in trouble at home, the to come & put by their cōplaintes befoze you here at Rome. And þe cause heretof is, þe ther in their cōstrey, they haue but one whitth pursueth the: here in this senate, they are euill willed of al, & þe is, because he which cōplaineth is pooze, & the other which is cōplained on, is riche. Therfoze since fortune would it, & the satall destinies permit it, þe the proude Rome shuld be maisters of our Germany, it is but reaso ye shuld kepe vs in iustice, & mainteine vs in peace. But you doe not so, but rather those which com thither do take fro vs our goodes, & ye þe are here do rob vs of our good name, saying, þe since we are a people wout law, wout reaso, & wout a hig (as unknownen, barbarous) ye may take vs for slaves. In this case, ye Romanes are greatly dectured, for me thinketh to reason ye ca not cal vs wout reaso, since we being such as we are, & as þe gods created vs, remaine in our prapze cōstres, wout desirig to seke, or invade sojeyne realmes. For to moze reaso we might say, þe ye were men to out reaso, being not cōtēred with þe swete & fertile Italye: but that throug thedinge of bloud you should desire to conquere all the yearth. In þe ye say we deserue to be slaves, because we haue no pñce to cōmaund vs, noz senat to gouerne vs, noz army to defend vs, to this I will answere. That since we had no enemies, we neded no armies, & sith euery mā is cōtēnted to his lotte & fortune, we had no necessitie of a proude senat to gouerne vs, & we being as we are, all equal, it neded not we shuld cōsēt to haue any pñces amongst vs. For the office of pñces is, to suppress tyrannies, & to mainteine þe people in peace. If ye saide further, þe we haue not in our cōstrey a cōmon wealt, noz pollicy but that we lyue as þe brute beastes in the mountaines, in this also you haue but smal reaso. For we in our countrey did suffer no lyers, neither rebels, noz sedicious persons,

no: me þe brought vs (fro straunge cōstres) any apparail so: to be dicious, so þe sith in apparail we were honest, & in meate berpe temperate, we neded no better behaviour. For although in our countrey there are no merchandis of Carthage, oyle of Mauritania, berges of Carabrie, odours of Asia, gold of Spaigne, Musc of Britaine, amber of Sidonie, silke of Damaske, cozne of Scicill, wine of Cady, purple of Arabye: yet for al this, we are not but the, neither cease to haue a cōmon wealt. For these, & suche other like thinges, geue moze occasion to stirre vp many vices: the so: vertuous me, to liue accordig to vertue. Blessed, & happy is þe cōmon wealt, not where great ryches abound, but where vertues are highly cōmēd: not where many lighte & angrie men resorte, but where þe paciēt are resident: therfoze it foloweth, þe of the cōmon wealt of Rome so: being riche, we shuld haue pñce: & of þe cōmon wealt of Germany, so: being pooze, ye oughte to haue enye. Woulde to god, that þe cōsētation we haue to our poertie ye others had þe same to your riches. For then neyther ye had robbed vs of our cōstres, no: we had not comen hither now to cōplaine in Rome of your tirāny. I se Romanes, that þe one differeth much from the other. For ye others, though ye heare our oppzessions, yet thereby ye lose not your pastime: but we others, can neuer dype the teares of our eyes, no: cease to bewaile our infinite misfortunes.

The. v. Chapter.

The villaine concludeth his oratio against the iudges, vvhich minister not iustice, and declareth how prejudiciall suche vvycked men are vnto the publike vveale.



Ye would thinke I haue said al that I can say, but certainly it is not so. For ther remaineth many thiges to speake, which to heare ye will be affonted, yet be ye assured, that to speake the, I wil not be afrated,

sith you others in doig the at not ashamed.
 * For an op^r office, deserueth not secter cor-
 rection. I merueile much at ye Romaines,
 what ye meaned to s^ed vs (as you did) suche
 ignorant iudges, h^o which by h^o imortal gods
 I sweare) cā neither declare vs your lawes,
 & much lesse they cā vnderstād ours. And h^o
 cause of al this euil is, y^e ye s^et not those whi
 che be beste able to minister to vs iustice in
 germany, but those which haue best frēdes
 w^o you in rome, p^resuppōse, h^o to those of h^o se
 nat, ye geue h^o office of cōsourschip, moze for
 impo^runity, then for abillite. It is litle h^o I
 * cā say here, in respect of y^e they dare do ther.
 That which ye cōmaūd them here, I know
 not: but of y^e which they do there, I am not
 ignorant, whiche is. Your iudges take all
 bypbes, y^e are brought vnto the op^rly: & they
 powle & haue as much as they cā secretly.
 They greuously punish h^o offēces of h^o pooze,
 & diffible w^o the faultes of h^o riche: they cōsēt
 to many euils, to haue occasiō to cōmit grea
 ter thestes: they for get h^o gouernemēt of the
 people, to take their pleasures in vice. And
 being ther to mitigatē sclaunders they are
 those which are most sclaundersous: & w^out
 goods it anaseth no mā to aske iustice. And
 finally vnder the colour y^e they be iudges of
 Rome, they feare not to rob al h^o lād of ger
 many. What meaneth this, ye Romaines,
 shall your p^ride neuer haue an end: in com
 maundingē, noz your couerice in robbing:
 Say vnto vs what ye wil in words, but op
 p^res vs not so in dedes. If you do it for our
 childzē, loade thē w^o p^rōs, & make thē slaues.
 For ye cā not charge thē w^o moze then they
 * are able to cary: but of cōmaūdemētes & tri
 butes, ye geue vs moze, then we are either
 able to cary, or suffer. If you doe it for our
 goods, go thither & take thē all. For in our
 * countrey we do not vse as ye Romaines do,
 noz haue such cōditions as ye haue here in
 Rome. For you desire to liue pooze, because
 ye desire to dye riche. If ye say y^e we wil re
 bell, I maruell what you shoulde meane to
 thinke so, sith ye haue spoiled vs, robbed vs,
 & handled vs p^rill. Assure me ye Romaines, y^e

ye wil not vnpeople vs: & I wil assure you,
 we wil not rebel. If our seruice do not con
 tent ye, strike of our heades, as to euill mē.
 For (to tell ye the truth) the kniffe shall not
 * be so feareful to our neckes, as your tiran
 nies be abhorred in our hartes. Do ye know
 what you haue done, ye Romaines, ye haue
 caused vs of h^o miserable realme to sweare,
 neuer to dwell with our wiues, & to slep our
 o^rwn children, rather then to leaue them in
 the handes, of so wicked & cruell tyrantes
 as ye be. For we had rather they shulde dye
 in libertie, then lyue in bondage. As despe
 * rate men, we haue determined to suffer, &
 endure h^o beastly mociōs of h^o flesh, during
 the time we haue to lyue, to the end we wil
 not get our wiues w^o child. For we had rā
 ther liue chaste, 20. or 30. yea^res, thē to leaue
 our children perpetuall slaues. If it be true
 * that the children must endure, y^e whiche the
 miserable fathers do suffer. It is not onely
 good to slep them, but also it shuld be better,
 not to agree they shuld be bozⁿe. We oughte
 not to do this Romaines, for the land taken
 * by force, ought the better to be gouerned, to
 the intēt y^e the miserable captiues, seling iu
 stice duely administred p^reserly, shuld ther
 by forget the tirāny passed, & content them
 selues w^oth perpetual seruitude. And sith it
 is true, y^e we are come to cōplaine of h^o op
 p^ressions whiche your officers do here by h^o
 rpuer of Danuby, peraduenture ye whiche
 are of the senat, will heare vs, & though you
 are now determined to heare vs, yet ye are
 slow to remedy vs: so y^e before ye beginne to
 resourme an euil custome, y^e whole cōmon
 * wealth is alredy vndon. I wil tel ye of some
 thinges therof, to thintent you may knowe
 thē, & then to resourme thē. If there come a
 rig^ht pooze mā to demaund iustice, hauing
 no money to geue, noz wine to present, noz
 oyle to promise, noz frēdes to helpe him, noz
 renew to succour him, & mainteine h^o in
 expēces: after he hath cōplained they him w^o
 woordes, s^epence vnto him, that spedelye he
 shall haue iustice. What wyl ye I shoulde
 saye, but that in the meane tyme they make

THE DIAL

him to spend that little which he hath, & geue him nothinge, though he demaund muche, They geue him vaine hope, and they make him wast the best of his life, euerye one of the doth promise his fauour, & afterwards they all laye handes vpon him to oppresse him. The most of the say his right is good, and afterwards they geue sentence against him: so that the miserable personne which came to complaine of one, returneth home complaininge of all, cursinge his cruell de- strinies, and crying out to the iust and mer- cyfull gods for reuengement. It chaunseth also, that oft times they cometh to com- plaine here in the Senat, some flattering mā more for malice, the by reason of right, or iustice: and ye Senators creditinge his double wordes, and his fained teares, immediat- ly ordeine a Censor to go and geue audien- ce on their complaints. Who being gone, and returned, ye seeke more to remedy, and geue care to the complaints of that Judge: then to the sclanders, which were among the people. I will declare vnto you my life, O yee Romanes, & thereby ye shal se, howe they passe their life in my countrey. I lyue by gathering akornes in the winter, & reaping corne in the sommer, some time I fishe, aswell of necessity, as of pleasour, so that I passe almoste all my life, alone in the fieldes, or in the mountaynes. And yf you wote not why, heare me, & I wil shew you, I se such tyranny in your iudges, and such robberies as they comit amonge the poore people, and ther are such dissensions in that realme, such iniuries committed therein, & the poore comon wealth is so spoyled, there are so few that haue desire to do good, and also there are so few, that hope for remedye in y^e senate; y^e I am determined (as most unhap- pye) to banishe my selfe out of myne owne house, & to separate my selfe from my swete company, to the end my eyes shuld not behold so miserable a chaunge. For I had rather wandre solitarily in the fieldes, then to see my neighbours hourlye lamēt in y^e stretes. For there the cruell beastes do not offende

me, vnles I do assault the: but y^e cursed mē, though I do serue them, yet daily they bere me. Without doubt, it is a marueilous paine to suffer an ouerthrow of fortune: but it is a great torment, when one seleth it without remedy. And yet without comparison, my greatest griefe is, when my losse may be re- medied, & y^e which may, wil not: & he that wil, can not by any meanes remedye it. O cruel Romanes, ye sele nothing y^e we sele, in especiall y^e which I speake it, ye shal se how I sele it, since only to reduce it to me- moery, my eyes do dafell, and my tonge wyl ware weary, my ioyntes do seuer, my harte doth trouble, my entrailles do bryake and my fleshe consumeth, what a woful thing is it, in my countrey to se it with my eyes, to heare it, wth myne eares, & to sele it wth myne owne handes: Truly, the griefes which y^e wofull Germanye suffereth, are such, & so many: that I beleue yet the mercifull gods wyl haue compassion vpon vs, I will not desire ye, to thinke slander of my wordes: but onely I do beseeche ye, you wil vnderstande wel what I say. For you ymagining as you do presume to be discret shall see right wel that y^e troubles which came to vs from mē, & among men, wth men, & by the handes of mē: it is a small matter y^e we as men do sele the speaking. For according to the truth, & also with libertie, if I shuld declare euery other iust aduertisement which came from y^e Senat, & all the tyranny which your iudges com- pte in y^e miserable realme, one of those 2. things must ensue, eyther the punishment of me, or y^e depriuation of your officers, yf I say true. One thinge onely comforteth me, whereof I wth other infortunat people haue had experience, in that I thynke my selfe happy, to know that the iust plagues proce- de not from the iuste Gods: but through the iuste desertes of wicked men. And that our secret faulte dorthe waken those, to the end that they of vs maye erreute open ius- tice. Of one thinge onelye I am soye trou- bled, because the gods can not be contented, but for a small faulte, they punish a good

man much; and for many faultes, they pun-
nished the euill men nothinge at all, so that the
gods do beare with the one, and forgene no
thing vnto the other. A secret iudgementes
of gods, that as I am bound to prayse your
workes, so likewise if I had licence to con-
demne them, I durst say, that ye cause vs to
suffer greuous paines, for that ye punish &
persecute vs by the handes of suche iudges,
the which (if iustice toke place in the world)
whē they chastise vs with their handes, they
do not deserue to haue their heades on their
shoulders. The cause why now again I do
exclame on the immortal gods, is to se, that
in these .15. daies I haue bene at Rome, I
haue sene suche dedes done in your senate: y
if the lest of thē had bene done at Danuby,
the gallows & gibbets had bene hanged
thicker of thenes, then the vineyard is with
grapes. I am determined to see your doin-
ges, to speake of your dishonesty in apparel,
your litle tēperance in eatinge, & your dis-
order in affaires, & your pleasures in lusing:
and on the other side, I see that when your
prouisō arriueh in our countrey, we cary
it to the temples, & offer it to the gods, we put
it on their heades, so that y one beinge nere
vnto the other, we accomplishe that which is
commaunded, & he is rebuked that dothe
the cōtrary. And sith therfore my hart hath
sene, that whiche it desireth, my minde is ac-
rest, in spitting out the popson which in it a-
byderh. If I haue in any thinge here offen-
ded with my tongue, I am redy to make re-
compense with my head. For in good faith,
✱ I had rather winne honour in offeringe my
selfe to y death: then ye should haue it, in ta-
kinge from me my life. The villaine ended
his talke, and immediatly after Mar. Aur.
said to those which were about him. Howe
think ye my frendes, what kernell of a nut,
what gold of y myne, what coine of straw,
what rose of rosary, what mary of bones,
and howe noble & valiaunte a man hath he
shewed him selfe? What reasons so hye,
what wordes so wel couched, what truth so

true, what sentences so well pronounced, &
also what open malice hath he discovered?
By the faith of a good man I sweare, as I
may be deliuered from this feuer whiche I
haue: I saw this villaine standing boldly a
whole houre on his feete, & al we beholding
the earth as amazed, coulde not aunswere
him one word. For in dede, this villaine cō-
futed vs with his purpose, & affronted vs, to
se the litle regarde he had of his life. The se-
nat afterwarbes, being al agreed, the next
day folowing we prouided new iudges, for
the ryuer of Danubie, and commaunded the
villaine to deliuer vs by writing, all that he
had said by mouth, to the end it might be re-
gistred in the booke of good sayeng of stra-
ungers, which were in the senate. And furs-
ther it was agreed, that the saide villaine
(for the wise wordes he spake) shuld be cho-
sen senatour, and of the free men of Rome,
he shuld be one: and that for ever he should
be sustayned with the cōmon treasour. For
our mother Rome hath alwaies bene pray-
sed and esteemed, not onelye to acquite the
seruices whiche hathe bene done vnto her: ✱
but also the good wordes, whiche were spo-
ken in the Senate.

The.vi. Chapter.

That princes and noble mē ought
to be very circumspect in cho-
singe iudges and officers, for
therin consisteth the profyte of
the publike vveale.



Alexander the great
(as the historiographers
say) in his youth vied hū-
tinge very muche, spect-
ally of the mountaines:
and that whych is to be
marueyled at, he would not hunte, Deare,
goates, hares, nor partridges, but tigers, ly-
berdes, elephātes, chozodilles, and Lyons.

THE DIAL

So that this mighty prince did not onely shew the excellency of his courage, in conquering proude princes: but also in chas- singe of cruell, and sauage beastes. Plu- tarche in his Apothegmes sayeth: that the great Alexander had a familiar seruant, named Crethera, to whom often times he spake these wordes. I let the know Crethe- ra, that the valyaunte Princes oughte not only to be byright in their Realmes, which they gouerne: but also to be circumspect in pastimes, which they vse, that the audozitie which in the one they haue wonne, in the other they do not lose. When Alexander spake these wordes, trulye he was of more audozitie then of yeares: But in the end, he gaue this example, more to be folowed, and commaunded, then to be repoued or blas- med. I saie to be folowed, not in the hun- ting that he exercised: but in the greates courage, which he shewed. To the Plebey- ans and men of base condicion, it is a litle thinge, that in one matter they shewe their might, and that in other thinges their smal power is knowen: but to princes and great Lozdes, it is a discommendable thing, that in earnest matters, any man should accuse them of pryde, and in thinges of sport, they shoulde counte them for lyghte. For the noble and ballaunte Prince, in thinges of impoztaunce, oughte to shewe great wise- dome, and in meane thinges greates stout- nes. The case was suche, that Alexander the great, huntinge on the wyld mountai- nes, by chaunce met with a cruell Lyon, and as the good Prince woulde wyne his honour with the Lyon, & also the Lyon pre- serue his owne life, they were in gryppes the one of the other so faste, that both fell to the earthe, where they stryued almoste halfe an houre, but in the end, the Lyon remayned there deade, and the hardye Alexander es- caped all bloudye. This huntinge of Ale- xander thozoughe all Grece, was great- ly renoumed. I say greatly renoumed, be- cause the grauers, and painters, dyewe a

poutrayte forthwith in stonpe worke, wherein was engrauen Lisipo, and Leo- carco, marueylous grauers of antick wor- kes made of mettall, where they lyuelye set forth Alexander, and the Lyon fighting, and also a familiar seruant of his named Crethera, beinge among the dogges behol- ding them. So that the worke semed not onely to repesente an auncient thing: but that the Lyon, Alexander, and Crethera, and the dogges, semed also to be alpye in the same chase. When Alexander soughte with the Lyon, ther came an Embassatour from Sparthes to Macedonia, who spake to Alexander these wordes. Woulde to god (immortal prince) that the forces which with the Lyon you haue employed in the mountayne, you had imploied agaynst some prince, for to be Lozde of the earthe. By the wordes of the Embassatour, and the deedes of Alexander, maye easelye be gathered, that as it is comely for Princes to be honeste, ballaunt, and stoute: so to the contrary, it is vnseemly for them, to be bold, and rashe. For thozughe Princes of their goodes be lyberall, yet of their lyfe, they ought not to be prodygall. The diuine Pla- to, in the 10. booke of his lawes saith. That the 2. renoumed Philosophers of Thebes, whose names were Adon, & Clinias, sel- at variance with them selues, to know in what thinge the prince is bound to aduen- ture his life, Clinias saide, that he ought to dye for any thing touching his honour. Adon saide the contrary. That he shoulde not hazarde his lyfe, vnles it were for mas- ters touching the affaires of the common wealth. Plato saith, those 2. philosophers had reason in that they saide: but admytte that occasion to dye shoulde be offred the prince, for the one, or the other: he oughte rather to dye for that thinge touching iu- stice, then for the thyng touching his ho- nour. For there is no great difference, to dye more for the one, then for the other. Ap- plyenge that we haue spoken, to that we

will

Wyl speake, I say, that we do not desier, noz we wyl not, that p^rinces and greate lordes doe destroye them selues with Lyons in the chase, neither aduenture their personnes in the warres, noz that they put their lyues in peril for the commoⁿ weale: but we only requyre them, that they take some paines, and care, to prouyde for thinges belongynge to iustice. For it is a moze natural hunting for p^rinces, to hunte oute the vicious of their common weales: then for to hunt the wyld beestes, in the thicke wodes. To the end p^rinces accomplish this which we haue spoken, we wil not aske them time when they ought to eate, slepe, hunt, spozte and recreate them selues: but that of the 24. houres which are in the day, and night, they take it for a pleasure and commoditie, one houre to talke of iustice. The gouernemente of the common weale consisteth not, in that they shuld trauaile vntill they sweate, and molest their bodye, shede their bloude, shorten their lyues, and lose their pastimes: but al consisteth, in that they should be dyligente to for see the domages of their common wealth, and likewise to prouyde for good mynisters of iustice. We doe not demaunde p^rinces, and greate lordes, to geue vs their goods, noz we forbidd them not to eate, to forsake slepe, to spozte, to hunt, noz to put their liues in danger: but we desier, I beseeche them, that they prouyde good mynisters of iustice, for the common wealthe.

Firste they oughte to be very dyligent to serche them oute, & afterwarde to be more circumspecte to examine them: for if we sigh with teares to haue good p^rinces, we oughte muche moze to pray, that we haue not euill officers. What profyterh it the knight to be nimble, and if the horse be not redy: what a wasteth it the owner of the shippe to be sage, and experte, if the pilot be a foole and ignorant: What profyterh it the kynge to be valpaurice and skoute and the Capteyne of the warre to be a coward: I meane by this I haue spoken, what profyterh it a Prince

to be honest, if those which minister iustice be dissolute: What profyterh it vs that the Prince be true, if his officers be lyars: What profyterh it vs that the Prince be sober, if his mynisters be dronkerdes: What profyterh it, that the Prince be gentle, and lounge, if his officers be cruel, and malicious: What profyterh it vs, that the Prince be a geuer, lyberall, and an almes man, if the iudge that ministreth iustice, be a hye ber, and an open thefe: What profyterh it, that the Prince be careful, and vertuous, if the iudge be neglygent, and vicious: finallye I saye, that it lytel auayleth, that the Prince in his house be secreteely iust, if adioynge to that, he truste a tyrant, and open thefe, with the gouernemente of the common weale. P^rinces and greate Lordes, when they are within their pallaces at pleasure, their myndes occupied in highe thinges, doe not receiue into their secrete company, but their euiler frendes. Another tyme they wyl not, but occupie them selues in pastimes and pleasure: so that they know not what they haue to amende in their personnes, and much lesse that which they ought to remedye in their common weales. I wyl not be so eger in reproofinge, neither so fastidiously in wytyng, that it should seme I would perswade p^rinces, that they liue not according to the highnes of their estates: but according to the life of the religious. For if they wil kepe them selues fro being tyrantes, or beinge outerauouslye vicious: we cannot deny them, somtymes to take their pleasures. But my intencion is not, so straightlye to commaunde p^rinces to be iust: but onelye to shewe them how they are bounde to doe iustice. Common wealthes are not losse, for that their p^rinces lyue in pleasure: but because they haue lytel care of iustice. In the ende, people doe not murmur, when the Prince doeth recreate his person: but when he is to slacke, to cause iustice to be executed. I would to G O D, that p^rinces toke an accompte with god, in

THE DIAL

the thinges of their conscience, touching the common wealth: as they doe with men, touching their rentes and reuenges.

Plutarche in an Epistle he wrote to Traiane the Emperour, sayeth: it pleaseth me verie well, moste puissant Prince, that the Prince be suche one, as all maye saye that in hym there is nothinge woorthy of reprehensyon: but addynge thereunto, it displeaseth me much more that he should haue so euyl iudges, that all shoulde say, in them were nothinge woorthy of commendacion.

- * For the faultes of Princes, verie well maye be excused: but the offences of the officers, can by no meanes be enduced.
- * Many Princes and greate Lordes deceiue them selues in thinkynge that they doe their dute, in that they be vertuous in their personnes, but it is not so: For it suffiseth not a Prince to drawe vnto hym all vertues, but also he is bounde to roote al vices oute of the common wealth.

Admit that Princes wyll not, or of them selues cannot gouerne the common wealth:

- * yet let vs desire, and admonyshe them, to seeke good officers to doe it for them. For the poore Plebeyan, hath no accompte to render, but of his good or euyl lyfe, but the Prince shall render accompte, of his vicious lyfe whiche he hath led, and of the lytle care that he hath had of his common wealth.

Seneca in an epistle he wrote to a frende of his named Lucilla sayeth. My dere frend Lucilla, I woulde gladly thou wouldest come and see me here in Rome: but I praye the recomende to good iudges, the Ile of Scicile. For I woulde not couer to enioye thy sighte, if thoughe my occasyon thou shouldest leaue the common wealth oute of order.

And to the entente thou mayest knowe what condicions they ought to haue, whom thou shouldest chole for gouernours or iudges: I wyll let the vnderstande, that they oughte to be graue in their sentences, iust

in their wordes, honest in their workes, mercifull in their iustyce, and aboue al, not corrupted with bybes.

And if I doe aduertise the of this, it is because if thou shouldest take care to gouerne thy common wealth well, thou shouldest nolue be circumspecte to examyne them, to whome presently thou muste recomende the gouernement thereof, I woulde saye afterwarde, that all that whiche the auncyente Philosophers haue written in manye booke, and haue leste by dyuers sentences, Seneca byd reherse in these fewe wordes: the whiche are so graue, and necessarie, that if Princes receyued them in their memozye to put them in execution, and iudges had them, before their eyes for to accomplishe them, they woulde excuse the common wealth of dyuers slaunders, and they shoulde also deliuer them selues from a greate burdeyne of their conscience.

It is not a thinge voluntarie, but necessarie, that the mynisters of iustyce be vertuous, wel establisshed, and verie honest: For to Iudges, nothinge can be more selanderous, and hurtefull, then when they shoulde reproue yonge men of their yowthe, others may iustlye reprehend them of their lyghtnes.

He whiche hath a publyke office in the common wealth, and setteth openly to iudge therein, oughte to obserue a good order in his person, leaste he be noted dyscolate in his doynge: For the Iudge whiche is withoute honestye, and consyderation, oughte to consyder with hym selfe, that if he alone haue authoryete to iudge of other mens goods, that there are a thousande whiche wyl iudge of his lyfe.

It is not onely a burden of conscience, to Princes to commit the charge of gouernance of the people to dyscolate persons: but also it is a greate contempte, and dyspraise of iustyce. For the sentence genen of hym who deserueth to be iudged, is among the people lytel esteemed,

Plutarche

Plutarke in hys Apothegmes saith, that Philyppe kynge of Macedony, father of the greate Alexander, created for iudge of a prouince a frende of hys, who after he sawe hym selfe in suche office, occupied him selfe moze in kemmyng his heade, then in wozyng or studyng hys bookes. Kynge Philyppe beinge enfourmed of the vanyte and insolencye of this iudge, reuoked the power whiche he had geuen him, and when he complayned to all, of the wronge and grese whiche was done vnto hym, takynge hys office from hym, Kynge Philyp sayd vnto hym. If I had geuen to the this office, for none other cause but beinge my frende, be leue me nothing in the wozyde could haue suffysed to haue taken it from the: because I louynge the so entrellye as I dyd, reason woulde not I shoulde haue depyued the of this office, wherewith I honoured the, I gaue the this office, thynkyng that thou werte vertuous, sage, honest, and also a man wel occupped, and me thinketh thou rather occuppest thy selfe in beholdynge thy person, then in gouernynge wel, my common wealthe: whiche thou oughtest not to consente vnto, and muche lesse doe in dede. For the iudge oughte to be so occupped, in the admystracion of the common wealch: that he shoulde haue no leysoure at anye tyme, to keame hys heade. These wordes the good king Philyp spake vnto the iudge, whome he dysplaced of hys offyce, for beinge to syt, and dyligente, in keamyng hys heade, and trimmyng hys person. It is not onely decenre for ministers of iustice, to be graue, and honest: but also it behoueth them, to be true, and faithfull. For to a iudge whose offyce is to iudge the trueth, there can be no greater insampe: then to be counted a lyer. When two Plebetians be at vapyance togethers for one thinge, they come befoze the iudge for nought els, but that he shoulde iudge who hath the righte and iustice thereunto.

Therefore if suche a iudge be not coun-

ted true, but for a lyer, all take hys iudgemente for false: so that if the plaintrye hath no moze power, he wyl obey iustyce, yet at the lease, he wyl blasphemie him that gaue sentence. There are some iudges, that presentlye to get moze money, to dralwe vnto them moze frendes, and to contynue also in their offces, vse suche shamefull shiftes with the pooze plainetifes, and take so large byrbes of the defendaunte: that bothe parties are by hym selfe assured of the sentence in their fauoure, befoze he come vnto the barre. Manye goe to the houses of iudges, some to demaunde, others to geue instructions, other to wozye deceite, others to impozture them, others to wyng them, but fewe goe to vpsyte them: so that for those and suche semblables, I doe aduise, and admonyche offcers, that they be iuste in their sentences, and vpryghte in their wordes.

The mynysters of iustyce oughte to be suche, and so good, that in their life nothing be wozyth of rebuke: neyther in their wordes, anye thinge wozyth of reprehension. For if herein they be not very circumspecte, oftentymes that shall happen, whiche the Gods woulde not, whiche is: that to the preiudice of the iustyce of another, he shal denye the wozyde of hym selfe. It suffyseth not the iudges to be true in their wordes: but it is verye necessarye, that they be vpryghte in their sentences.

That is to wete, that for lone they be not to large, neither for couetousnes they shuld be corrupted, nor for feare dralwen backe, nor with prayours to be flattered, nor with promysse blynded: for othertowse, it were a greate shame, and inconuenience, that the parde whiche they carpe in their handes shoulde be streyghte, and the lyse whiche they leade, shoulde be verye croked. To the ende iustices be vpryghte, they ought much to trauayle to be lyberall: I meane, in thinges wherein they oughte to geue sentence.

It is vnpossyble that those whiche haue respect in their sentence to fauoure their

¶ II. frendes,

THE DIAL

friends, shoulde not accustomablye use to be reuenged of their enemyes. Truly suche a iudge oughte not to be counted iust: but a ppyuate Tyrante. He that with affection iudgeth, and passyon punyssheth, is greatlye deceyued.

Those in lyke maner whiche haue authoritye to gouerne, and doe thinke that for borrowynge a lytle of iustyce, they shoulde thereby encrease, and multiplye frendes in the common wealthe, are muche abused: for this acte befoze men is so heinous, and befoze God so detestable, that though for a space he restryne hys handes, yet in the ende he wyll extende hys power. For the redemer of the worlde, onelye father of trueth, wyll not permitte that suche doe take vpon them the tytle of iustice, whiche in their offces doe shew so extreme wrong.

Helius Spartianus in the lyfe of Antonius sayeth, that the good Emperour goinge to byset his Empire (as he was in Capua and there demaundynge of the state of the Censours, whether they were iust or ryghtfull) a man of Capua sayed in this wyse: by the immortall gods, most noble Prince, I sweare, that this iudge who presentlye gouerneth here, is neyther iust, nor honest: and therefore me thinke it necessarye that we depriue him of his dignitey, and I wil accompte vnto y, what beset betwene him and me. I besought hym, y for my sake he would graunt me .4. thinges which were al vniust, & he willinglye cōdescended therevnto: whercof I had no lesse meruel in my harte, then veratio in my body. For when I dyd desire him, I thought nothing lesse, then to obteine them, but only for the contentation of those, whiche instantlye despised me to do it. And further, this Capuan sayed. By the G D D Genius, I sweare lyke wise, that I was not the more frendly vnto hym, for that he sayed he dyd it for my sake, moze then for another: for he that to me woulde graunt these foure, it is to be beleued, that to others he would graunt

4 hundred. For the whiche thou oughtest to proude, moste noble Prince, because good iudges ought to be pacient to heare, and iust to determyne. By this notable example, iudges oughte to haue a greatespecte, not to those whiche do desire them: but to that whiche they demaund. For in doing their duty, their enemyes wil proclaimeth iust: and contrariwise, if they doe that they shuld not do, their next frendes wil count them tyrantes. Iudges whiche pretend fauour to the common wealthe, & to be careful of their consciences, oughte not to contente them selues simply to doe iustice: but that of them selues they shuld haue suche an opinion, that none durst presume to come and requyre at their handes, anye vyle or dishonest thinge. For otherwyse, if we note the demaunder to be vniust: we must nedes somewhat suspecte the iudge in his iustice. Princes ought also to be very circumspect, that the iudges be not only contented, so be iust, honest, and true: but also in them they ought to remaine no auarice, nor couetousnes. For iustice & auarice, can seldom dwel in one house. Those y haue the charge of the gouernement of y people, & to iudge causes, ought to take great hede, that by bydes and presentes, they be not corrupted: for it is vnpowable, but y the same day, y riches & treasures in the houses of iudges begin to encrease, y the selfe same day y administration of iustice shoulde not decay. Licurgus, prometheus, & Numa Pompilius, did prohibite nothinge in their law so muche, neither for any other cause they ordeined so greuous punishmentes: but to thintent iudges shuld not be couetous, nor yet cheues. And of trueth they had greates consideration, to for se and forbyd it: for the iudge that hath receyued parte of the theft, wil not geue sentence against the stealers thereof. Let not iudges be credyted, for sayeng they receiue no siluer, nor golde, neyther sylkes, nor fawces, but that they take onelye smal presentes, as frutes, foule, and other trifles,

For oftentimes it chaunceth, that the Iudges doe eate the fruste, and the pooze suffer doeth sele the moysell. Cicero in the booke of lawes sayeth, that Cato the Censour beinge very aged, the Senatours sated vnto hym one daye in the Senate. Thou knowest nolue Cato, that presently we are in the Calendes of Januarie, wherein we vse to deuyde the offices among the people. We determined to create Maulio, and Calidauo Censours for this yeaere: wherefore tell vs, if they be as (thou thinkest) able, and suffyciente, to supplie that Rome. Cato the Censour answered them in this wyse. Fathers conscripte, I let you wete, that I doe not receyue the one, nor admyt the other. For Maulio is verie riche, and Calidauo the Citezine extream poore, and trulpe in bothe there is greate peryl. For we see by experyence that the riche officers are to muche subiecte to pleasours: and the poore offycers are to muche geuen to auarice. And further he sayed in this case, me thinketh that your Iudges whom ye ought to chuse, shoulde not be so extream poore, that they shuld want wherewith to eate: neither so riche, that they shuld surmount in superfluite, to geue the selues to much to pleasours. For men by great abundaunce, become virtuous: & by great scarcite, become enuious. The Censour Cato being of such auhoritye, it is but reason that we geue credyte to his wordes, since he gouerned the Romaine Empire so longe space, though in deade all the poore be not conuious, nor all the riche virtuous: yet he spake it for this intent, because bothe those Romaines were noted of these. ii. vices. For the poore desire to scrape & scratche: and the rich to enioye and kepe. Which of these two sortes of men princes shuld chuse, I cannot, nor dare not rashly determine. And therfore I doe not counsaile them, eyther to dyspise the poore, or to chuse the rich: but that they geue the authoryte of iustice to those, whom they know to be of good conscience, & not subiects to con-

tousnes. For the Iudge whose conscience is corrupted, it is impossible he shuld minister equall iustice. A man maye geue a shewed gesse of suspition in that Iudge, whether he be of a hytel conscience, or no. If he se hym procure the office of iustice for hym selfe.

For that man, which willingly procureth the charge of conscience of another: commonly hytel regardeth the burthen of his owne.

The.vii. Chapter.

Of a letter of the emperour Marcus Aurelius wherein he speaketh agaynst the cruelty of iudges and officers, vvhich letter is diuided into. 5. Chapters.



Marcus Aurelius, companion in the empire, tribune of the people presently beinge sicke, wyseth vnto the Andgonus, health & comfote in thy banishment. To flye the extreme heats of Rome, and to reade some bookes whiche are brought me, from the realme of Palestina, I am come hether to Capua: and for the haste I made to ride great iourneys, the ague hath ouertaken me, whiche is more troublesome, then perillous. For it taketh me with cold, & plucketh my appetite from me. The .20. day of January, I receiued thy second letter, and it hapned, that thy letter, and my feuer, toke me both at one instant: but the feuer greued me in such wyse, that I could not long endure to reade thy letter. We thinketh we haue no stape nor meane, thou being so bryfe, and I so longe: for my longe letter hath taken thy greauous sorowes from the, but thy shorte letter could

THE DIAL

not take my feuer from me. Nowe that my mynde is beating of thy trauaile, the desire whiche I haue to remedy it, is enflamed. I woulde tell the one thinge, and succour the with some counsaile: but I fynde, that the consolation whiche thou wantedst, I cannot geue the, & that which I can geue the, thou needest not. In this letter shal not be wrytten that, whiche was in the first: but herein I wil trauaile the best I can, to aunswere the. I wil not occupye my selfe to comforte the, because I am so out of course with this dyscase, that I haue neyther wyl to wryte, ne yet any fauoure in any pleasaunte thinges. If perhappes this letter be not sauoury, so compendious, neither so comfortable as those whiche I was wonte to wryte vnto the: attribute not & blame to my good wyl, which desireth to serue the, but to the sickenes, whiche geueth no place there vnto. For it suffsreth the sicke, to be contented with me- decynes, without satisfieng their frendes. If thy comforte consisted in wryting many letters, and offering the many wordes: truly I would not sticke to doe that, for all my feuer. But it neither profiteth the, nor satisfieth me, since I haue lytell, to profer the much. Talking nowe of this matter, I doe remember, that the auncient lawes of the Rhodians saied these wordes. We desire, and admonish al men, to disire the captiues, the pilgrymes, and the comfortlesse: and further, we ordeine and commaund, & none in the common wealch be so hardye to geue counsaile, vnlesse therewith he geue remedy. For to the troubled harte, wordes comforte lytel, when in them there is no remedy. Of a trueth the lawe of & Rhodians is good, and the Romaine which shal obserue them muche better. Assure thy selfe, & I am very desirous to se the: and also I knowe, that thou wouldest as gladly speake vnto me, to recounte me all thy griefes. Truly I doe not meruaile, because the wounded harte quitereth hym selfe more, declarynge his owne greues: then hearing another mans

consolations. Thou wrytest vnto me of sondry thinges in thy letter, the effecte whereof is, that thou certifiest me, that the iudges and officers in that realme, be verie rygorous, and extreme: & that therfore, the Cicilians are greatly displeased with the senate. Vntill this tyme, thou hast neuer tolde me lye, the which moued me to beleue all that thou wrytest in thy letter. Wherfore I take it for a thing most true: that soasmuche as all those of Scicil are malicious and enuyous, they geueth the iudges full occasion to be cruel. For it is a general rule, where men are oute of order, the mynisters of iustyce oughte to be rygorous. And though in other realmes it chaunced not, it is to be beleued that it is true in this realme: whereof the auncient prouerbe saith. All those whiche inhabite the Isles are euyl: but the Scicillians are worse of all. At this day the wicked are so myghty in their malyses, and the good are so muche diminished in their vertues: that if by iustice there were not a brydel, the wycked woulde surmounte all the world, and the good should banishe immediately.

But retournynge to oure matter, I say, that consyderynge with what, and howe many euils we are enuironed, and to how many miseries we are subiecte: I doe not meruel at the vanyties that men commit, but I am ashamed of the cruelty which our iudges execute. So that we may rather call them tirauntes, which kyl by violence: then iudges whiche mynister by iustyce. Of one thinge I was greatly assayed, and almoste past my sence, which is, that iustice of right pertyneth to the Gods, and they being offended, wyl be called piteful: and we others borrowe iustyce, and not beinge offended doe gloryfye oure selues to be called cruel. I know not what man wyl hurte another, since we see that the Gods forgyvinge their proper iniuries, haue attayned & renowne of merciful: & we others punishinge the iniuries done vnto another, do remayne with
the

name of tyrantes. If the punishmente of the gods were so severe, as our sinnes are filthy, and that they shoulde measure vs with this measure: the only deserte of one offence is sufficient to take life from vs.

With reason he can not be called a man amongst men, but a savage amongst the savages: that forgetting to be of feeble flesh to tormenteth the flesh of his brother. If a man beholde him selfe from toppe to toe, he shal finde not one thing in him to moue him to cruelty: but he shal see in him, many instrumentes, to exercise mercy. For he hath his eyes, wherewith he ought to behold the needy and indigent: he hath feete to go to the church and sermons: he hath handes to helpe all: he hath his tongue to fauour the Orphanes: he hath a hart, to loue god: and to conclude, he hath vnderstanding, to knowe the euell: and discrecion to folowe the good. If men owe much to the goddes, for giuing them these instrumentes, to be pitifull: truly they are bounde no lesse vnto them, for takinge from them all occasions to be cruel, for he hath not geuen them hoynes, as to bulles, neyther naples, as to the catte, nor yet he hath geuen them poison, as to the serpent: finally, he hath not geuen them so perillous feete, as to a horse to strike, nor he hath geue them such bloudie teethe, as to the Lion to bite. Then say the gods be pitifull, & haue created vs pitifull, & commaunded vs to be pitifull: why do our iudges desire then to be cruel, & how many cruel & severe iudges are there at this day in the Romaine empire which vnder the colour of good zeale to iustice, aduenture to vndo the common welth, for not for the zeale of iustice, but for the desire to attaine to renowne: they haue bene overcome to malice, & denied their owne proper naturalitie. I do not meruaile that a Romaine censour should enuye my house, wll euill to my friends, fauour mine enemies, dispise my children, with euill eyes beholde my daughters, couet my goodes,

speake euill of my parson. But that which I am ashamed of is, that diuers iudges are so greedy to reare mennes fleshe, as if they were beares and mans fleshe were noughted with hony.

The, viii. Chapter.

The Emp. speaketh against cruell iudges, and reciteth. ii. exâples the one of a pitiful king of Cyprus, and the other of a cruell iudge of Rome.



Y the saythe of a good man I sweare vnto the frid Antigonus, that I beinge yong, knewe a iudge in Rome whose name was Lycarnio a baron of high stature, his fleshe neither to fatte, nor to leane, his eyes were some what bloudye and redde, he was of the lynage of the senators, and on his face he had but a litle bearde, and on his heade he had many white heares. This Licarnio of longe time was iudge in Rome, in the Romaine lawes he was well learned, and in customes and policies very experte, of his owne nature he spake litle, and in the answers he gaue, he was very resolute. Amongest all those whiche were in Rome in his time, he had this excellencie, whiche was, that to all he ministred equall iustice: and to suters with greatespede he gaue briefe expedition, and dispatched them immediately. They coulde neuer withstande him by requestes, neuer corrupte him with giftes, nor begile him with wordes, nor feare him with threatninges, neither woulde he receiue a bribe of anye that did offer it him: And besides this, he was very severe in condision, churlishe in wordes, vnflexible in requestes, cruell in punishmentes,

THE DIAL

suspicious in affayres, and aboue all, he was hated of many, and feared of all. Now muche this Lycarnio was hated, it cannot be reported, and of howe many he was feared, no man can thinke. For in Rome, whā any was inturped, he sayd: I pray god that Lycarnio may lyue longe. When the children dyd cry, the mothers immediately said vnto them. Take heede of Lycarnio, and straight way, they held their peace: so that wth the onely name of Lycarnio, men were affrighted, and chyldren kepte silence. Thou oughtest also to knowe Antigonus, that whā any commotyōn did aryse in a cite, or in any other prouince, or that any sleaunders rose and encreased therein, they were well assured, and they sayde, that no other shoulde goo thither, but onely Lycarnio. And to saue the trouthe, whā he was argued at that cite or prouince, the rebelles were not onely fled: but also diuerse innocentes were for feare of his crueltye dyd. For Lycarnio was so resolute a parson, that some for ill facts, others for cōsenting, some for that they fauoured not the good right, others for that they kept theim secret none escaped to be tormētēd of his parson, or punished in goods. Thinkest thou Antigonus that they haue bene few, whō this Judge harke caused to be whipt & carted, cast into welles, beheaded, takē, banished, & put in the stocks, during the tyme that the Romaines had him with them: By the immortall gods I swere vnto the, and as Genio the god of nature maye helpe me, that the gallouses and gibbettes were so furnished with secte, handes, and heades of men: as the shambles were with oren, sheepe, and hyddes. This Lycarnio was so fleshly, to shed humane blood, that he was neuer so conuersaunte, nor hadde so merye a countenance as the same daye he shoulde cause any man to be drowned in Tiber, hanged in mounte Celio, beheaded in the strete Salaria, tormētēd, or cast into prison marmozine: O cruell, o fyerse, & unspeable conditi-

on, & this Judge Lycarnio had: For it was not possible that he shoulde be brought by heuene the delicate armes of the Romaines: but in the bile intralles of you venemous serpentes. I retourne ones moze to say, that it is impossible he shoulde be noyshed with the delicate milke of women: but with the cruell bloud of Tigers. If this Lycarnio were cruel, why did they giue him such authoritie? I curse suche authoritie. If he dyd it for that he had great zeale to iustyce. I curse suche zeale of Justice. If he dyd it to wyne moze honour, I curse & honour, for that man shalbe cursed of the gods, and hated of men, whiche takethe lyfe from other: though it be by iustyce, onely to encrease his renoune.

The gods are muche offended, and the people greatlye domaged, where the Senate of Rome calleth that Judge gentle, whiche is corrupted: and him that is cruell, iuste. So & nowe amongst the Romaine people, those whiche heale wth oyle are not credited but those onely, whiche cure wth fyer. If any man thynke it, at the leasse I doo not thynke it, that when Lycarnio dyed, all the cruell Judges dyd ende wth him: For thughe all the Romaine empires there was no moze but one Lycarnio, and at this presente there is aboue. lii. or. liii. in euerys common wealthe.

For without reates I speake that which I will speake, which is, & i those daies as all the Judges that ministred were pitfull: so was this Lycarnio renoumed for cruell. But nowe, syne all are cruell, we hope in a Judge which is pitfull. In the xii. yere of the foundation of our mother Rome, the first kinge therof was Romulus, who sent a commaundement to all the neighbours, and inhabytauntes there aboutes, to the ende that all banished men, all those whiche were afflicted, all those, which were persecuted, and all those whiche were in necessitye, shoulde come to Rome, for they shoulde be defended from their enemyes, & succour.

succoured in their necessities. The same be-
inge spread thoroughour Italie, of the pitie
and clemencie, whiche Romulus shewed
in Rome (if the Anuallies of the auncients
do deceiue vs not) Rome was moze pro-
pled with inhabitants in 10 yeares, then
Babilon or Carthage in a hundreth.

A noble hart of Romulus, whiche suche
things inuented: blessed be that tongue,
whiche commaunded, that the famousse
Rome with clemencie and pitie shoulde be
founded. In the original booke which were
in the high capitoll, once I founde diuers
letters, wyrtten to the sacred senate,
and romaine people, and in the beginning
of the letters, the wordes saide thus. We
the kinge of Parthes in Aspa, to ye fathers
conscripte of Rome, and to the happie Ro-
maines, people of Italie, and to all those,
whiche with the Romayne senate are con-
federate, which haue the name of Romaines,
and the renouue of clemencie, health and
tranquillitie to your personnes, we do
you, and desyre the same of the gods for
our selves, beholde therefore Antygonus,
what titles of clemencie, had our syde Ro-
maynes, & what example of clemencie dyd
the Emperour leane for the to come so the
the barbarous straungers, called them pi-
teful: it is not to be beloued, that to their sub-
iects or natural countrey men, they were cru-
el. As the auncyentes haue traunpled, of al to
be beloued: so they at this present through
their cruelties, seeke nothyng but to be
feared. If the goddes perhappes shoulde
reuiue the deade, and shoulde com-
pare the liuyng before them in iudgment:
I suppose they woulde saye, these are not
their chyldren, but their enemyes, not en-
creaser of the common wealth, but destroy-
ers of the people.

I beinge xxx. yerres of age, laye in wynter
season in an yle called Chetyne, whiche
nowe is called Cypris, wherein is a lytle
mountayne, as yet full of wood, whiche is

called mounte of Arcady, where groweth
an herbe called Iliabia, whiche the aunci-
entes saye, that if it be cutte it droppethe
blode: & the nature of it is, that if one robbe
any man with the bloude thereof hote (al-
though he woulde not) yet he shall loue
hym, and if they annoynte him with the
bloude that is colde, he shall hate him.

Of this herbe we neede not doute anye
thinge at al, for I dyd proue it, and noyn-
ted one with that bloude, who soner looste
his lyfe, then the loue whiche he beare me.
There was a kinge in that yle, of greate
example of lyfe, and greatly renowned
of clemencie, though in dede, neyther by
writinge, nor by wordes, I coulde euer
knowe his name: but that he was buryed
vnder. iiii. pillers in a come of marble, and
about the tombe were engrauen these
greake and auncient letters, where among
gest other things these wordes were en-
grauen.

THe mighty gods whiles they drew out the length
Of my weak yeres to passe the stud of lyfe
This rule I had my common wealthe to strength
To norishe peace and styme vaine blastis off my lyfe

By vertues waye if ought I coulde obtayne
By vices pathes I neuer sought to geue
By dreddes peace if I coulde righte attayne
By clatering armes blinde basarde coulde not leaue

By curteis meanes if I coulde ouercome
By raging threttes I beapped vp no dredd
By secreete shiftes if I might gnyde my dome
By open force I woulde the payne wery spread

By gentle read if I coulde chastice eke
By sharpe wayes no further prose I sought
In outwarde sight I neuer thought to streake
Before I had to conuerte cheques them brought

THE DIAL

*My free consent could neuer raynely beare
my tonge to tell one swete entysinge hye
Nor yet my hollowe eares would euer beare
There crooked tales that flatter oft awye.*

*My schooled harte was alwayes taught to slaye
From egre luste of others heaped good
I forste my selfe in proper wealthe to waye
And stande content as fortunes iudgement stood.*

*My frendes decaye, I alwaies watche to ayde
And reeke not for bente of enuye borne
In huge expence I neuer lausd pryde
my glittering golde, nor spared yet to lowe.*

*For greenous fautes I neuer punisht myghte
With mynde appeasde but erst I woulde fagie
my griefe did growe when iust reuenge did bight
And eke I voyed to put don men to hie.*

*A mortall uian amongest blind heapes of men,
Nature my mother progreued me here
And therfore too enclosed in this den
The egre wormes my fencelous carcas tere.*

*Amongest the wightes that vertue did enhaunce
A vertuous lyfe, I freely passed on
And since that death his kingdome did aduance
my beauenly spirite, to haunt the gods is gone*



*Howe thinkest thou An
tigonus, what epitaphe
was this & what Prince
ought he to be, of whom
I shoulde saye, his lyfe
ought to be glorious, &
his memozy eternall. I
swore vnto the, by the laue of a good man,
and as the gods maye prosper me, I toke
not so muche pleasure in Pompeyne with
his Hierusalem, in Semiramis with her In
dia, in kinge Cirus with his Babilon,
in Caius Cesar with his Calules, in Sci
prio within affrike as I haue in the kyng
of Cipres in his graue. For more glorie
hath that kinge there, in that sharpe moun
taine being dead, then others haue had in
in pronde Rome beinge alpye.*

The.ix.Chapter.

Of the vvords, vvhich Nero spake
concerninge iustice, and of the
instructy on, vvhiche the empe
rour Augustus gaue to a iudge
vvhych he sent into Achia,



Fythere for that
vvhich I wrote I this let
ter, nor yet for y vvhich
kinge Cirus had in his
graue: my entencion is
not, to defende the cruel
to y end y for their cruel
bedes, and outragvoulness, they shulde not
be punished. For by this meanes, it shulde
be worse for me to saunour theim: then for
theim to be cruel. For they throug debility
doo offere: & I by malice do erre: but in this
case, it semeth vnto me & to al others vvhich
are of good iudgment, y sins frassely in me
is natural, and the punishment vvhich they
giue vs, is voluntary: Let Iudges therfore
in ministeringe iustyce thewe, that they doo
it for the zeale of the common wealthe, and
not with a minde to reuenge. To the ende
the faultye, may haue occasion to amende
the fautes passe, & not to reuenge insurges
present, the dylusne Plato in the booke of
hys common wealthe saide, that Iudges
ought to haue. ii. thinges alwayes present
before their eyes: that is to wete, that in
iudginge thinges touchinge the goodes of
others, they thewe no conuersationes, and in
punishinge any man, they thewe no re
uenge. For Iudges haue lycense to cha
stise the bodie: but therfore they haue
not licence, to hurte their hartes. Nero
the emperour was greatly defamyd in his
lyfe, and very cruell in his iustice, and vvith
al hys cruelties it chanced, y as one ou a
day brought hym a iudgement for to sub
scribe

Indgemente for to subscribe, to behead, certayne murtherers. He fetchinge a great sighe saide these wordes, Whowe happye were I, that I had neuer lerned to wyte, onely to be excused to subscribe this sentence. Certaynely the Emperour Nero, for speakinge such a pytfull worde at that tyme, deserued immortall memoire: but afterwardes his so cruell lyfe, perueried to notable a sentence.

✧ For speakinge the trouth, one euill worke, suffyseth to deface many good wordes.

Whowe manye realmes, and countreys haue bene losse, not so muche for the euilles whiche in those the wicked haue committed: as for the dysordynate Iustices whiche the mynisters of iustyce therein haue executed.

✧ For they thinkinge by rigour to correcte the damages passe, haue rayled by present sleaunders for euer. It is knowen to al men, who and what the Emperour Augustus hath bene, who in all his doynges was exceedingly good: for he was noble, valiaunt, stout, fyerse, & a tower of iustyce, & aboute all, very pittefull. And for so muche as in other thinges he shewed his pity, & clemency, he ordeyned, that no Prynce shoulde subscribe, Iudgementes of deathe wyth his owne hande, neyther that he shoulde see iustyce done of any, wyth his owne eyes. Truly the lawe was pittefully ordeyned, and for the cleanness and purenes of Emperours very necessarye.

✧ For it seemeth better for Prynces, to defend their land wth sharpe sword: then to subscribe a sentence of deathe, wyth the cruell penne. This good Emperour Augustus was very dyligente to chosse mynisters of iustice, and very careful to teache them howe they shoulde behaue them selves in the common wealthe: admonythyng them not onely of that they hadde to do, but also of that they soughte to flye. For the mynisters of iustyce, oftentimes sayle of their dutye. In Capua, there was a gouernour named

Estauro, who was a iustie iudge, though he was somewhat seuer: whom the Emperour Augustus sent to the realme of Dace to take charge of that prouince. And amongst dyuerse other thynges he spake these wordes vnto him to reseyne them in his memoire. Frend Estauro, I haue determined to plucke the from Capua, and to put into thy custodie, the gouernement of the prouynce of Dace, where thou shalt represent the royal maiestie of my person, and thou oughtest also to consyder well, that as I make the better in honoure and goodes: so thou in lyke case shouldest make thy selfe better in lyfe, & more temperate in iustice. For hither to, in iustice I haue ben a lytle to rigourous: & in thy lyfe, somewhat to rathe. I counsaile the therfore, I do desire thee, and further I commaunde the, that thou chaunge thy trade of lyfe, and haue great respect to my honour, & good name.

✧ For thou knowest righte well, that the onely profite and honour of the common wealthe of Romaine Prynces, consisteth in hauing good, or euill mynisters of theyr iustyce. If thou wylle doo that I woulde thou shouldest, I let the vnderstand, that I do not commit my honour in thy trust neyther my iustyce, to thintent thou shouldest be an crueller of the innocent, and a scourge of transgressours: but that onely wyth the one hande thou heale to susteine the good, and wyth the other thou heale to amende the euill. And if thou wilt more particularly knowe my entencion, I do sende the, to the ende thou shouldest be grandfather to the Orphanes, an aduocate for the wyddowes, a playster for the greued, a staffe for the blinde, and a father to all. Let therfore the resolution of all be, to reioyce myne enemyes, to comferte my frendes, to lyfe by the weeke and to fauour the stronge: so that thou be indifferent to all, & parcyall to none, so the end I through thy vpright dealing, myne may reioyce to dwel there, and straungers desire to come & serue me here.

His

THE DIAL

This was the instruction which the emperor Augustus gaue to the gouernour Etrauro. And if a mā will consider, and way his wordes wel, he shal fynd them compendious enough, that I wolde they were wrytten in our Iudges hartes. By thy letter thou declarest, that the iudges, whom the Senate sente to that Ile, are not very honest, nor yet without some suspicyon of conerousnes. O wofull common wealthe, wher the Iudges therof are cruell, dishonest, and conuetous: for the cruell Iudges seke nought els, but the bloud of innocentes, they couet the goopes of the pooze, and they slea under the good, to such and so wycked a common wealthe, I wolde saye, that it were better to remaine in þe mountaynes among the brute beasts, than by such vniust Iudges to be gouerned in a comō wealthe. For the spere lions which of al beasts are most cruel, if in his presence the hounesman lye downe on earthe, the Lion wyl neither touche him nor his garment: O my frind Antigonus, dost thou thinke that if the common wealthe be unhappy which hath suche Iudges that therfore Rome maye retoyse which prouided them? By the faith of a good man, I sweare vnto thee, that I count the Senators worse which sent them: than the Iudges which went thither. It is a great grieve to a noble and stoute harte to demand iustyce of other men, whyche neyther is true, nor yet obserueth Iustyce: but it is a greater grieve to see a Iudge, that to many hath executed tyrannye, and to many pooze men hath done sondry wronges, afterwarde not with the life he leade the, but with the authoritie he harbe, presumeth to correcte diuerse Iudges. He that hath the offyce to punish the vicious, oughte him selfe to be boyd of al byces: otherwyle, he that hath that offyce, by tyrannye executeth iustyce. furthermore he is a traptoure to the common wealthe. It is vnpossible that any Iudge should be good, vnles he hath þe ancientie of his office, for accessory: & his puer

life, for principall. The end why a Iudge is sente in pynces, is to despyne douteful causes, to resourme their maners, to fauoure those which can lytle, and by violence, to enforce those which can doo muche. And for the moost parts, there is no common wealthe so weake, but maye well hang a these on the gallows, though they come no Iudge from Rome to giue sentence. O howe many Iudges are there now adayes in Rome, which haue caused dyuerse to be hanged, regardinge nothinge but the first these and they remaine free, having robbed al the people, which ought to thinke themselves assured, that though punishment be deferred, yet in the end the fault shal not be pardoned. For the offences which men in their lyfe tyme doo dissemblye: the gods after their deathe doo punish. It is moche good for the common wealthe, and no lesse honour for the prince, which hath the charge therof, that the Iudge be honest of parson, and diligent in iustyce, and that in no vice (for the which he punisheth other) he be eyther rated, or defamed himselfe. For much is the office of iustice perverted, when one thiefe hangeth an other on the gallows.

The.x. Chapter

The Emperour solovveth hys purpose agaynst cruell iudges, and declareth a notable imbasage vvhych came from Iudea to the Senate of Rome, to complaine of the iudges, that gouerned that Realme.



In the thirde yeare after Pompeius tooke the cite of Helia, which nowe is called Hierusalem: Valerius gracchus Romanus

a Romaine borne, was sent at that time into that regio, for the Romaines. This Grachus was very stout of courage, subtile in affaires, and honest in life: but notwithstanding al this, in conuersation he was vnbraydeled, and in the administration of iustyce exceeding rigor. When the Iewes saw them selues not onely subiecte to the Romaines, but besides that euyl handled: they determined to sende their embassage to rome, to shew to the senate, of the tyrannies, and oppressions which were committed in the lande. And for to accomplish the same, they sent a very aged man, (as by the heares of his heade dyd well appeare) who was learned, in the Hebrue, greke, and latine letters. For the Hebrues are verie apte to all sciences, but in weapons greate cowardes. This Hebrue came to Rome, and spake to the Senate in this wise. O fathers conscripte, O happy people, your good fortune and fatal destinyes permitting it, or to saye better. We forsaking oure god, Ierusalem, whiche of al the cities of Asia was lady, and maystris, and of all the Hebrues in Palestine mother. We see it now presently seruaunt, and tributary to rome: wherof we Iewes ought not to merueile, neither ye Romaines to be proude. For the highest trees by belement wyndes, are soonest blowen downe.

Great were the armyes whiche Pompeius had, wherby we were vanquished: but greater hath oure offences bene, since by them we doe deserue to be forsaken of oure god. For we Hebrues haue a God, whiche doeth not put vs vnder the good or euil fortune: but doeth gouerne vs with his mercye and iustice. I wyl that ye heare one thing by mouthe, but I had rather ye shuld see it by experyence, whiche is: that we haue so mercyfull a God, that though amongst 30. thousande euill, there was of vs but 10. thousande good, yet he shewed suche tokens of mercye, that bothe the Egyptians and

the Romaines myghte haue seene, how oure God can doe moze alone, then all your gods together. As Hebrues agreinge in one saythe, and vnyte, haue one onely God, and in one God onely we put oure trust and belefe, and hym we desire to serue, though we doe not serue hym, neither shuld serue hym, on such condicion to offend hym. He is so mercyfull, that he woulde not let vs proue what his mercyfull hande can do, neyther woulde he put oure wofull people in captiuitie as he hath, nor also oure God can deceiue vs, neyther our wyltinges can not lye. But the greater offenders we be, the greater Lordes shall ye be ouer vs. And as long as the wrath of god shall hang ouer vs, so long shall the power of ye Romaines endure. For oure unhappy realme hath not geuen ye our realme, for your desert: nor yet for that you were rightfull helres therunto, but to the ende ye should be the scourge of our offences. After the wyl of oure God shall be fulfilled, after that he hath appeased his wrath and indignacion agaynst vs, and that we shall be purged of our offences, and that he shall beholde vs with the eyes of his clemency: then we others shall recouer that which we haue loste, and you others shall lose that, whiche you haue euyl wonne. And it maye so chaunce, that as presently of ye Romaines, we are commaunded: so the time shall come, that of ye others, we shall be obetied. And forasmuche as in this case, the Hebrues fele one, and ye Romaines fele another: neyther ye can cause me to worshippe manye Gods, and muche lesse shoulde I be sufficiente to drawe ye, to the saythe of one onely God.

I referre all to God, the creatoure of all thinges, by whose myghte we are created, and gouerned.

Therefore touching the matter of my embassage, knowe ye now, that in all tymes passe vntill this presente, Rome

THE DIAL

hath had peace with Iudea, & Iudea hath
 had frendshipp with Rome: so that we dyd
 fauour ye in the warres, and ye others pre-
 served vs in peace. In generally nothinge
 is moze desired then peace, & nothing moze
 hated then warre. And besydes al this pre-
 supposed, we se it with oure eyes, & also do
 reade of our predecessours: that the two lde
 hath alwaies ben in contention, and rest
 hath alwayes ben banished. For in dede,
 if we see many sighe for peace: we se many
 moe employ them selues to warre. If ye o-
 ther would banyshe those from you, which
 doe moue you to beare vs euill wyl, and we
 others knewe those, which prouoke vs to
 rebel, neyther Rome should be so cruel to
 Iudea, nor yet Iudea should so much hate
 Rome. The greatest token & signe of peace
 is, to dysparche out of the waye, the distur-
 bers thereof. For frendshipp oftentimes is
 losse, not so muche for the interest of the
 one, or of h other, as for h vndiscretenes of
 the mediatours. When one commo wealth
 stryeth againste another, it is vnpolysse
 that their controuersyes endure longe, if
 those which come betwene them, as indiffe-
 rent mediatours, be wylse. But if suche one
 which taketh vpon hym those affaires, be
 moze earnestly bet, then the enemy where-
 with the other fighteth: we will saye, that he
 moze subryple casteth woode on the fire,
 then he dyaweth water to quēche the heate.
 Al that which I say (Romaynes) is, because
 that since the banysmente of Archelaus
 from Iudea (sonne of the greate kinge He-
 rodes) in his place ye sente vs Pomponio,
 Marcus Rufus, and Valerio, to be oure
 Iudges: who haue bene .4. plagues, the
 leaste whereof, suffyseth to popson al rome.
 What greater calamitye coulde happen
 to oure poore Realme of Palestine, then
 Iudges to be sente from Rome, to take eu-
 yl customes from the euyl: and they
 them selues to be inuentours of newe vy-
 ces: What greater inconuenience can
 chaunce to iustyce, then when the iudges

which oughte to punyshe the lyghtenes
 of youthe, doe glozyshe them selues to be
 capteyns of the lyghte, in their age: What
 greater infamye can be to Rome, then
 when those which oughte to be iuste in all
 iustyce, and to geue example of all ver-
 tues: be euyl in all euyls, and inuentours
 of all vyces: Wherein appeareth your ly-
 tle care, and muche strannyng.

For all sayed openly in Asia, that the
 theues of Rome, doe hange the theues of
 Jewrye. What wyl ye I shall saye moze
 (Romaynes) but that we lytel esteame the
 theues which keape the woddess, in com-
 paryson of the Iudges which robbe vs in
 oure owne houses.

Howe wofull were oure fatall besse-
 nyes, the daye that we became subiecte to
 the Romaynes. We feare no theues which
 shoulde robbe vs in the highe waye, we
 feare no sycr which shoulde burne oure
 goods, nor we feare no ttrauntes, which
 shoulde make warre agaynst vs, neyther
 anye Assirians which shoulde spoyle oure
 countrey: we feare not the corrupte aycr
 that shoulde infecte vs, neyther the plague
 that shuld take oure lyues from vs: but we
 feare youre cruel iudges, which oppresse
 vs in the common wealth, and robbeth vs
 of oure good name. I saye not withoute a
 cause, they trouble the common wealth.

For that layed a parte which they saye,
 that layed a parte which they meane, and
 that layed a parte which they robbe, im-
 medyatlye they wypte to the Senate, to
 consente vnto them, not of the good which
 they fynde in the annexentes: but of the
 lyghtenes, which they se in the ponge.
 And as the Senatours do heare them here,
 and doe not see them there: so ye geue moze
 credyte to one that hath bene but thre
 monethes in the prouynce, then to those
 which haue gouerned the common wealth
 30. yeares.

Consider Senatours, that ye haue
 ben made and appointed Senatours in this
 place

place, for that ye were the wyldest, the honestest, the beste experimented, and the moste moderate and vertuous.

Therefore in this aboue all, shall be sene if ye be vertuous, in that you doe not beleue all. For if those be manye, and of diuers nations, whiche haue to doe with you: muche more dyuers and varyable are their intencions, and endes, for the whiche they entreate. I lye, if youte Judges haue not done so many wronges, and forsaken their dyscipline, whiche they haue taughte the pouth of Iudea, inuentours of vices, which neyther hathe bene hearde of oure fathers, neyther red in oure bookes, ne yet sene in oure tyme. Ye other Romaynes, since ye are noble and myghtye, ye dysdayne to take counsaile of men that be pooze: the whiche ye oughte not to doe, neither counsaile your frendes. For to knowe, and to haue, seldome times goeth together. As many counsailes as Iudea hathe taken of Rome: so many let now Rome take of Iudea. You ought to knowe, though your Captaynes haue wonne many realmes by sheddyng blood, yet notwithstandinge, your Iudges oughte to heape them, not with rygoous shedding of bloude, but with clemency, and winning their hartes.

¶ Romaynes, admonysh, commaunde, praye, and aduertise your Iudges, whom ye sende to gouerne straunge prouinces: that they imploye them selues moze to the wealthe of the realme, then their handes to nomber their synes and forfettes.

For otherwyle, they shall slaunder those whiche sende them: and shall hurte those whome they gouerne. Your Iudges in iust thinges are not obeyed for any other cause, but forasmuche as firste they haue commaunded many vnjust thinges.

✱ The iuste commaundementes, make the humble hartes: and the vniuste commaundementes, doe turne and conuerte the meke and humble men, to seuer and cruel parsones. Humayne malycie is so geuer

to commaunde, and is so troublesome to be commaunded, that though they commaunde vs to doe good, we doe obey euill: the moze they commaunde vs euill, the woze they be obeyed in the good.

Beleue me (romaynes) one thinge, and doubt nothinge therein, that of the greates lyghtnes of the Iudges, is spronge the litle feare, and greates shame of the people. Eche Prince whiche shal geue to anye Iudge the charge of iustyce, whom he knoweth not to be able, doeth it not somuche for that he knoweth well holwe to mynister iustice: but because he is verie craftye, to augment his goods. Let hym be well assured, that when he leasse thinketh on it, his honoure shalbe in moste infamy, his credyte lost, his goods dymynysht, and some notable punishment lighte vpon his house.

And because I haue other thinges to speake in secrete, I wyll here conclude that is open, and synallye I saye, that if ye wyll preserue vs, and oure realme, for the which you haue halderbed your selues in manypyles: heape vs in iustyce, and we wyll haue you in reuerence. Commaunde as romaynes, and we wyll obey as Hebrues: geue a pytefull presydente, and ye shal haue all the realme in safegarde.

What wyll ye I saye moze, but that if you be not cruel to punyssh our weakenes, we wyll be verie obedyente to your ordynaunces. Before ye proude for to commaunde vs, thinke it well to entreate vs: for by prayeng with all mekenes, and not commaundyng with presumption, ye shall synde in vs the loue whiche the fathers are wonte to synde in their chyldren: and not the treason whiche the lordes haue accustomed, to synde in their seruauntes.

THE DIAL

The.xi, Chapter.

The Emperour concludeth his letter against the cruel iudges, and declareth vvhhat the grandfather of kynge Boco spake in the Senate.



AL that vvhiche a-
bone I haue spoken, the
Hebrue sayed, and not
without great admira-
tion he was heard of all
the senate. ¶ Rome w
out Rome, which now hath nought but the
walles, and arte made a common steeles of
byces, vvhich dyddest thou tel me, when a
straunger did rebuke and taunte the, in the
middest of thy senate: it is a generall rule,
where there is corruption of custome, ly-
berties are alwayes losse, whiche semeth
most true here in rome. For the romanes,
which in times past went to reuenge their
injuries into straunge countreys: now o-
thers come oute of straunge countries, to
assaulte them in their owne houses. There-
fore, since the iustice of rome is cōdemned,
that thou thinkest suche that I beleue be
there in that Ile of Cicil, tel me I pray the
Antigonus, from whence commeth thins-
kest thou so great offence to the people, and
such corruption to iustice in the common
wealthe: ¶ If peraduenture thou knowest it
not, harke and I wyl tell the. It is an order
whereby all goeth withoute order. Thou
oughtest to know, that the counsaillours of
Princes being importunate, and the prince
not resisting them, but suffering them, they
deceiue hym, some with couctousnes, other
with ignorance, geue from whome they

oughte to take, and take of whome they
oughte to geue, they honoure them who do
dishonoure them, they with holde the iuste,
and deliuer the couctous, they dyspyse the
wyse, and truste the lyghte, synallye they
proude not for the offyces of persons, but
for the persons of offyces. Harke Antigo-
nus, and I wyl tell the more. These mys-
erable Iudges, after they are proude,
and that they see them selues of power in
their offyces, wherof they were vnto thy,
and that the authoryte of their offyces is
muche more, then the deserte of their per-
sonnes: immediatlye they make them sel-
ues to be feared, mynstrynge extream
iustyce. They take vpon them the estates
of greate Lordes, they lyue of the swette
of the poore, they supplie with malice, that
whiche they wante in dyscretion: and that
whiche is worst of all, they myngle ano-
ther mans iustyce, with their owne pro-
per profyte. Therefore heare more what I
wyl saye vnto the, that these cursed iudges,
seinge them selues pestred with sondrye
affaires, and that they wante the eares of
knowledge, the sayles of vertue, and the
ankers of experyence, not knowynge how
to remedye suche small euyls: they inuente
others more greater, they disturbe the cō-
mon peace, only for to augment their owne
pertyculer profyte. And finallye, they be-
swaile their owne damage, and are displea-
sed with the prosperytye of another. No-
thinge can be more iuste, than since they
haue fallen into offyces not profytable for
them, they doe suffer (though they would
not) greate damages: so that the one for ta-
kyng gystes remayne slaundered, and the
other for geuyng them remayneth vn-
done. Harken yet, and I wyl tell the more.

Thou oughtest to knowe, that the be-
gynnynge of these Iudges are pryde & am-
bition, their meanes, enuye and malice,
and their endynge is death and destruc-
tion. For the leaues shall neuer be grene,
where the rootes are drye. ¶ If my counsel
shoulde

Shoulde take place in this case, suche Judges shoulde not be of counsaile with Princes, neyther yet oughte they to be defended of the ppyuate, but as suspecte men they shoulde not onely be caste from the common wealthe: but also they shoulde suffer death.

It is a greate shame to those whiche demaunde offces of the Senate, but greater is the rashnes and boldnes of the counsailers, whiche doe procure them: and we maye saye, bothe to the one, and to the other, that neyther the feare of God doeth withdraue them, nor the power of Princes doeth byddell them, nor shame doeth trouble them, neyther the common wealth doeth accuse them, and synallye, neyther reason commaundeth them, nor the lawe subdueth them. But harken, and I wyl tel the moze.

Thou oughtest alwayes to knowe, what the fourme and maner is, that the Senators haue to deuyde the offces: for sometymes they geue them to their frendes, in recompence of their frendshyp, and other tymes they geue them to their seruantes, to acquyte their scrupces, and sometymes also they geue them to Solicitors, to the ende they shall not importune them, so that fewe offces remaine for the vertuous, the whiche onely for beinge vertuous are prouided. O my frende Antigonus, I let the wete, that since Rome dyd keape her renowne, and the common wealthe was well gouerned, the dyligence whiche the Judges vsed towarde the Senate, to the ende they myghte geue them offces: the selfe same ought the Senate to haue, to seke vertuous men, to commit suche charge in to their handes.

For the offce of iustyce oughte to be geuen, not to hym whiche procureth it, but to hym that beste deserveth it. In the yeare of the foundation of Rome 6. hundred 42. yeares, the Romayne people had manye warres, thozoughe oute all the worlde.

So wete Chaius Celius, againste those of Thrace, Agneo Carden hys brother, agaynst the Sardes, Iulio Scilla, againste the Cymbres, Minicio Rufo, agaynst the Daces, Seruilio Scipio, agaynst the Macedonians, and Marcio Consull agaynst Iugurtha kynge of Numidians: and amongest all these, the warre of the Numidians was themoste renowned, and also moste peryllous.

For yf Rome had manye armes against Iugurtha to conquere hym: Iugurtha had in Rome good frendes whiche dyd sauoure hym.

Kynge Boco at that tyme, was kynge of the Mauritanes, who was Iugurthas frende, and in the ende, he was afterwarde the occasyon, that Iugurtha was overthrowen, and that Mario toke hym.

These two kynges, Mario the consull broughte to Rome, and triumphed of them, leadyng them befoze hys triumphante charpote, their neckes loden with irons, and their eyes full of teares. The whiche vnluckye fortune, all the Romaynes whiche behelde lamented, and toke greate ppyte of the straungers whome they heard. The nyghte after the triumphe was ended, it was decreed in the Senate, that Iugurtha should be beheaded, leauinge kynge Boco alpyue, deppeued of hys countrey. And the occasyon thereof was this.

The Romaynes had a custome of longe tyme, to put no man to execution, befoze that firste with greate dyligence they had looked the aunciente booke, to see if anye of their predecessours had done aupe notable seruyce to Rome, whereby the poore ppysoner myghte deserue hys pardon.

It was sounde wyrtten in a booke, whiche was in the hyghe Capytoll, that the graundefather of Kynge Boco was berpsage, and a specyall frende to the Romayne people, and that once he came to Rome and made dyuers Orations to the Senate and amongest other notable sentences,

I.iii.

there

THE DIAL

there was found in that booke, that he had spoke these wordes. *Woe* be to that realme where al are suche, that neither the good amongst the euil, nor the euil amongst the good are knownen. *Woe* vpon that realme, whiche is the enterteiner of all fooles, and a destroyer of al sages. *Woe* is that realme where the good are fearefull, and the euil to bolde. *Woe* on that realme, where the patient are despised, and the seditious commended. *Woe* on that realme, whiche destroyeth those that watche for the good: and crowneeth those, that watche to doe euil.

Woe to that realme, where the poore are suffered to be proude: and the riche tyrantes. *Woe* to that realme, where all knowe the euil: and no man doeth follow the good.

Woe to that realme, where so many euil vices are openly committed: which in another countrey, dare not secretly be mentioned. *Woe* to that realme, where all procure that they desire, where all attayne to that they procure, where al thinke, that that is euil, where all speake that they thinke, and finally, where all may doe that whiche they wyl. In suche, and so vnfortunate a realme, where the people are so wicked, let every man beware, he be not inhabytau.

For in thowre tyme, they shal se vpon hym, either the ire of the gods, the fury of men, the depopulation of the good, or the desolation of the tyrantes. Divers other notable thinges were conteyned in those orations, the which are not (at this present) touching my letter. But forasmuch as we thought it was a very iust thing, that they shuld pardon the folie of the nephew, for the desertes of the wyse grandfather. Thou shalt reade this my letter openly, to the Iudges, and Iudges whiche are resydente there, and the case shalbe, that when thou shalt reade it, thou shalt admony the them, that if they wyl not amende secretlye, we wyl puny the them openly. I wrote vnto the the laste daye, that as touchyng thy banishment, I woulde be thy frende: and be thou

assured, that for to enioyne thy olde frende, they, and to persourme my worde, I wyl not let to daunger my parson. I wrote vnto Panatio my secretary, to succour the with 2. thousande Sesterces, wherewith thou mayest relieue the pouerty: and from hence I send the my letter, wherewith thou maist comforte thy sorrowful harte, I say no more to the in this case, but that thowghe the Gods, thou mayest haue contraccion of all that thou enioyest, heale the of thy person, and comforte of thy frendes, the boodelye euils, the cruel enemyes, the peryllous destenies, be farre from me, Marke. In the behalfe of thy wyfe Rufa, I haue saluted my wyfe Faustyne, she and I both haue receiued with ioye thy salutations, and with thanks, we sente them you as gayne. I desire to see thy person here in Italye, and wyshe my feuer quartene there with the in Scicile.

The.xii. Chapter.

¶ An exortacion of the auctoure to Princes and noble men, to embrace peace, and to escheue the occasions of vvarre.



OCTAVIAN Augustus, second emperor of Rome, is commended of all, for that he was so good of his person, and so welbeloued in al the romaine Empire. Suetonius Tranquillus saith, that when any man dyed in Rome in his tyme, they gaue great thanks to the gods, for that they toke their life fro them, before their Prince knewe what death ment. And not contented onely with this, but

but in their testaments, they commaunded their heires, and children, that yearely they shoulde offer great sacrifices of their p^{ro}p^{er}ie goodes, in all the temple of Rome, to the ende the Goddes shoulde p^{ro}longe the dayes of their p^{ri}nces. That time in deede myghte be called the golden age, and the blessed land, where the p^{ri}nce loued so well his subiectes, and the subiectes so muche obeyed their p^{ri}nce. For seldome times it happeneth, that one will be contente with the seruices of all: neyther that all will be satisfied with the gouernement of one. The romaynes for none other cause wished for that good p^{ri}nce (more than for their selues life) but because he kepte the common wealth in peace. The vertue of this p^{ri}nce deserued muche praise, and the good will of the people merited no lesse commendation: he for deseruinge it to them, and they for giuinge it to him. For to saye the truthe, there are fewe in nomb^{er}, that so hartely loue others, that for their sakes will hate them selues. There is no man so humble, but in thinges of honour will be content to go before, saue onely in death, where he can be content to come behinde. And this seemeth to be very cleare, in that that nowe dieth the father, nowe the mother, nowe the husbnde, nowe the wyfe, nowe the sonne, and nowe his neighbour, in the ende, euery man is content with the death of an other, so that he with his owne lyfe maye escape him selfe. A p^{ri}nce whiche is gentle, patiente, stoute, sober, pure, honest, and true, truly he of right to be commended: but aboue all, and more then all, the p^{ri}nce whiche kepeth his common welth in peace, hath great wronge, if he be not of all beloued. What good can the common wealth haue, wherein there is warre and discension? Let every man say what he will, withoute peace, no man can enioye his owne, no man can eate without feare, no man sleape in good rest, no man goeth safe by the waye, no man trusteth his

neighbour, finally I saye, that where there is no peace, there we are threatened daylye with death, and euery hour in feare of our lyfe. It is good the p^{ri}nce do scoure the realme of theues, for there is nothing more vniuse, then that whiche the pooze with toyle and labour do gette, shoulde with vacabondes in idleness be wasted. It is good the p^{ri}nce do weede the realme of blasphemers, for it is an euident token, that those whiche dare blaspheme the kinge of heauen, will not let to speake euill of the p^{ri}nces of the earth. It is good the p^{ri}nce doth cleare the common wealth of vacabondes, and playes: for playe is so cull a moote, that it eateth the newe growne, and consumeth the dye woode. It is good that the p^{ri}nce do forbid his subiectes of prodigall bankettes, and superfluous apparell: for where men spende muche in thinges superfluous, it channeth afterwarde that they want for their necessities. But I aske now what anapleth it a p^{ri}nce to banishe al byces from his common wealth, if otherwile he kepeth it in warre? The ende why p^{ri}nces are p^{ri}nces, is to folowe the good, and to eschewe the euill. What shall we saye therefore, sins that in the tyme of warre, p^{ri}nces cannot resourme byces, nor correcte the vitious. And if p^{ri}nces, and noble men knewe, what damage they do to their countreie, the daye that they take vpon them warre, I thinke, and also aspyne, that they would not only not begin it, nor yet any p^{ri}uate person durst scarcely remember it. And he that doth counsaile the p^{ri}nce the contrary, ought by reason to be iudged to the commod wealth an enemye. Those whiche counsaile p^{ri}nces to seke peace, to loue peace, to kepe peace, withoute doubt they haue wronge, if they be not hearde, if they be not beloued, and if they be not credited. For the counsailler whiche for a light occasion counsaileth his p^{ri}nce to beginne warre, I saye, that vnto him either colour surmounteth, or els good conscience wanteth

THE DIAL

reth. It chaunceth oftentimes, that the p^rince is bered and troubled, because one certifieth him that a p^rovince is rebelled, or some other p^rince hath invaded his countrey: and as the matter requireth, the counsaile is assembled. There are some to raise counsaillours, whiche immediatlye iudge peace to be broken as lightely, as others do desire that warres shoulde not beginne. When a p^rince in suche a case asketh counsaile, they ought forthwith not to answer him sodapnely: for thinges touching the warres, ought with great wisdom first to be considered, and then with as much aduise to be determined.

King David neuer toke warre in hande, though he were very wise, but first he counsailed with God. The good Judas Machabee neuer entred into battayle, but first he made his prayer vnto almighty God. The Greekes and Romaines durst neuer make warre against their enemies, but first they would do sacrifice to the Goddes, and consulte also with their Oracles. The matters of iustice, the recreations of his person, the rewardes of the good, the punishment of the euill, and the deuindinge of rewardes, a P^rince maye communicate with anye p^rivate man: but all matters of warre, he oughte speake to counsaile with God. For the P^rince shall neuer haue perfite victorie ouer his enemies, vnlesse he first committe the quarrell thereof vnto God.

Those whiche counsaile p^rinces (whither it be in matters of warre, or in the affaires of peace) oughte alwayes to remember this sentence: that they geue him suche counsailes alwayes when he is whole in his chamber, as they would if they sawe hym at the poynte of death verie sicke. For at that instant, no man dare speake with flatterie, nor burden his conscience thorough libertie:

When they entreate of warre, they whiche moue it, ought to consider, that if it came not well to passe, all the blame shall

be imputed to their counsaile. And if that his substance be not presently able to recompence the losse, let him assure him selfe, that hereafter his soule shall suffer the payne.

Men oughte so muche to loue peace, and so muche to abhorre warre, that I beleue, that the same preparation a prest hath in his conscience with God before he beginne Masse, the same ought a counsaillour haue, before to his P^rince he geueth counsaile in warre. Synce P^rinces are men, it is no meruelle though they sele insulces as men, and that they desire to reuenge as men. Therefore, for this cause they oughte to haue wise men of theyr counsailes, whereby they shoulde mitigate and asswage their greifes and troubles. For the counsaillours of p^rinces, oughte neuer to counsaile thinges they beinge angrie, wherewith after they maye iustlye be displeased, when they be pacified.

Folowinge oure mater, in counting the goodes whiche are losse in loosinge peace, and the euilles whiche entcrease in wynnynge warres, I saie, that amongst other thinges the greatest euill is, that in tyme of warre they looke by closely all vertues, and sette at libertie all vices. During the tyme that p^rinces and great Lordes maintain warre, though they be lordes of their realmes and dominions by right, yet so a crueth they are not so in dede. For at that tyme, the lordes desire moze to content their souldiers, and subiectes: then the souldiers and subiectes seke to contente their lordes. And this they do, because they through power might vanquish their enemies, and further, through the loue of their money, relene theyr necessities. Either p^rinces are gonered by that wherewith by sensualitye they are moued, or els by that wherewith reason is contented. If they wil folow reason, they haue to muche of that they possesse: but if they desire to folowe the sensuall appetite, there is nothings that will contente them,

For

For as it is impossible to dye vp all the water in the sea: so is it harde to satisfy the harte of man that is couetouse. If princes take vpon thein warres, saying that their ground is taken from them, and that therof they haue a conscience: let them beware that such conscience be not corrupted. For in the worlde there is no warre iustified, but for the beginninge thereof, the princes at one tyme or another, haue their conscience burdened. If princes take vpon them warre for no other cause, but to augment their state and dignitie, I saye that this is a vayne hope: for they consume and lose (for the most part) more in one or two yeares warres, then euer they gette agayne duringe their lyfe. If princes take vpon thein warre, to reuenge an injury: as wel for this also it is a thing superfluous. For many go to the wartes beinge wronged only with one thing, & afterwards they returne injured with many. If princes take vpon them warre for none other cause but to winne honour, me thinketh also that that is an vnprofitable conqueste. For me thinketh that fortune is not a person so famous, that into her handes a man maye committe his honour, his goodes, and life. If princes take vpon them warre to leaue of them in the worlde to come some memorie, this no lesse then the other semeth to me vayne. For withoute doubtte, if we examine the histories that be passe, we shall finde those to be more in nombre, whiche for beginninge of warres haue bene defamed, then those whiche for vanquishing of their enemies haue ben renowned. If princes take vpon thein warre, supposing that there are in another countrey more pleasures, and delighes, then in their owne: I saye, that to thinke this, procedeth of litle experience, and of lesse conscience. For to a prince there can be no greater shame, nor conscience, then to beginne warres in straunge realmes, to mainteine his owne pleasure and byces at home. Let no princes

deceitue them selues, in thinkinge that they are in straunge countreies more thinges, then in their owne. For in the ende, there is no lande nor nation in the worlde, where there is not winter and sommer, night and day, sicknesse and health, riches and pouertie, mirth and sadnesse, frendes and enemies, victors and vertuous, alpye and deade. Finally I say, that in all partes al thinges agree in one, saue onely the dispositions of men, which are diuers. I would aske princes and greate lordes, the whiche do, and wil liue at their pleasures, what they want in their realmes, yea though they be litle? If they will hunt, they haue mountaines and parkes: if they will fishe, they haue ponde: if they will walke, they haue riuers: if they will refrethe thein selues, they haue baynes: if they wil be mery, they haue musicians: if they delight in apparailing thein selues, they haue riche clothes: if they will geue, they haue moneye: if they desire women, they haue wiues: if they wil take their rest, they haue their gardenes: if winter annoyeth them, they haue whote countreies: and if they will eate, they want no meates. He that with peace hath al these thinges in his owne dominion, why then with warre doth he seke them in a straunge countrey? Men oftentimes flye from one countrey to another, not to be more deuoute, nor more vertuous: but to haue great libertie and oportunitie to haunt vices. And afterwarde when they see the endes of their dedes, they cannot refrayne their hartes from sighes, since they might haue enioyed that at home with peace, whiche in straunge countreies they sought with trouble. There are so few thinges wherewith we are contented in the worlde, that if perchance a man finde in any one place, any one thinge wherewith to content him, let him beware that the deuill do not deceitue him, sayinge: that in such another place he may rectrate him self better. For whither so euer we go, we shall finde such penury, and wante of true pleasures,

and

THE DIAL

and comfortes, and suche copie, and aboundance of troubles and tormentes, that for to comforte vs, in a hundred yeares we scarcely finde one, and to torment vs, we finde at every sote a thousande.

The.xiii.Chapiter:

☞ The commodities vvhich come of peace.



DI M O, an aunciente kinge of Ponto, sayde vnto a philosopher whiche was with him: Tell me philosopher, I haue health, I haue honoure, and I haue riches, is there any thinge moze to be desired amongst men, or to be geuen of the Goddes in this life? The philosopher answered him. I se that I neuer sawe, and I heare that I neuer hearde. For healthe, riches, and honoure, the goddes selde some times do trust in one person, his time is so shorte that possesse theim, that they haue moze reason to praye that they mighte be quited of theim, then for to be proude for that they possesse them. And I tell the further king Dymo, it litle profiteth y the goddes haue geuen the al these things, if thou dost not content thy selfe therewith, the whiche I thinke they haue not geuen the, nor neuer will geue the. For the goddes are so iuste in deuiding their gifts, that to them to whom they geue contentation, they take from them riches: and to those whome they geue riches, they take their contentation. Plutarke in the firste of his polittike, putterh this example, and he declareth not the name of this philosopher.

☞ howe greate a benefite is that,

whiche the goddes geue to princes and great lordes, in geuing theim their health, in geuinge theim riches, and in geuinge theim honoure, if besides those he geueth them not contentation, I saye, that in geuinge theim the goodes, he geueth theim trouble and danger. For if the trouble of the poore be greater then the trouble of the riche: without comparison, the discontentation of the riche, is greater then the discontentation of the poore. Men litle regardinge their health, become sicke, litle esteeminge their riches, become poore, and because they knowe not what honoure is, they become dishonoured: I meane, that the rash princes, vntill such time as they haue ben well beaten in the warres, will alwayes litle regarde peace. The day that you princes proclayne warres againste your enemies, you set at libertie all vices to your subiectes: Yet you saye your meaninge is not they shoulde be euill. I saye it is true. Yet all this toynded togethers, ye geue them occasion that they be not good. Let vs knowe what thinge warre is, and then we shall se, whether it be good or euill to folowe it. In warres they do nought els but kil men, robbe the temples, spoile the people, destroy the innocentes, geue libertie to theues, separte freindes, and rayse strife: all the whiche thinges cannot be done withoute greate hurte of iustice, and scrupulositie of conscience.

The seditious man him selfe can not denye vs, that if two Princes take vppon theim warres betwene theim, and that bothe of theim seme to haue righte, yet the one of theim onely hath reason. So that the Prince whiche shall fighte agaynst iustyce, or defende the vniuste cause, shall not escape oute of that warre iustified: For if iustice be out iustified, he shall remaine condemned, and the condemnation shall be, that all the losses, murders, burninges, hangings, & robberies which were done, in the one or other comon wealth, shall remaine

remainne vpon the accounte of him, whiche toke vpon him the vnjuste warre. Although he doth not finde an other prince, that will demaunde an accompt of him here in this lyfe, yet he shall haue a iust iudge, that wyl in another place laye it to his charge. The prince whiche is verruous, and presumeth to be a chrystian, before he begin the warre, ought to consider what losse, or what profit will ensue thereof. Wherein, if the ende be not prosperous, he loseth his goodes and honour: and if he perchauce attayne to that he desired, peradventure his desire was to the damage of the common wealth, and then he ought not to desire it. For the desire of one, shoulde not hurt the profit of all.

When GOD our lord did create princes for princes, and people accepted them for their lordes, it is to beleue, that the goddes neuer commaunded suche thinges, nor the men woulde euer haue accepted suche, if they had thought, that princes woulde not haue done that they were bounde, but rather that wherunto they were enclined. For if men do folowe that, wherunto by their sensualitye they are enclined: they do alwayes erre. Therefore if they suffer them selues to be gouerned by reason, they are alwayes sure. And besides that, princes shoulde not take vpon them warres, for the burdeninge of their conscience, the mispendinge of their goodes, and the losse of their honour: they oughte also to remember the dutie that they owe to the common wealth the whiche they are bound to kepe in peace and iustice. For we others nede not gournours to searche vs enemies: but princes whiche maye defende vs from the wicked. The dentine Plato in his 4 booke de legibus sayth, that one demaunded him, whye he did exalt the Lidians so muche, and so muche dyspaise the Lacedemonians? Plato answered: If I commend the Lidians, it is for that they neuer were occupied but in tillinge the fielde: and if I do reprocue here the Lacedemonians, it is because

cause they neuer knewe nothinge els but to conquere realmes. And therefore I saye, that moze happier is that realme, where men haue their handes with labouring full of blyssers: then where their armes in fightinge, are wounded with swordes. These wordes whiche Plato spake are very true, and woulde to god that in the gates and hartes of princes they were written. Plinius in an epistle sayth, that it was a proverbe muche vled amonges the Greeces, that he was kinge whiche neuer sawe kinge. The lyke maye we saye, that he onely maye enjoye peace, which neuer knewe what warrentment. For simple and innocent though a man be, there is none but will iudge hym moze happye, whiche occupieth his handes hercheise to dye the swate of his browes: then he that breaketh it to wipe the bloude of his heade. The princes and great lordes whiche are louers of warre, ought to consider, that they do not onely hurte in general all men, but also specially the good: and the reason is, that although they of their owne willes do abstaine from battaile, doe not spoyle, do not rebell nor slepe: yet it is necessarie for them to endure the iniuries, and to suffer their owne losse and damages. For none are mete for the warre, but those whiche litle esteeme their life, and muche lesse their consciences. If the warre were onely with the euill against the euill, and to the hurt and hinderaunce of the euill, litle shoulde they fele which presume to be good. But I am sorry, the good are persecuted, the good are robbed, and the good are slayne: for if it were otherwise (as I haue sayde) the euill against the euill, we woulde take litle thought, both for the vanquishinge of the one, and much lesse for the destruction of the other. I aske now, what fame, what honour, what glozy, what victorie, or what riches in that warre can be wonne, wherein so manye good, verruous, and wise men are losse. There is such penury of the good in the worlde, and suche neede of them in the

THE DIAL

the common wealth, that if it were in our power, we with our teares ought to plucke them out of their graues, and geue them lyfe, and not to lead them into the warres, as to a shambles to be put to death. Plinie in one epistle, and Seneca in an other say: that when they desired a Romaine captaine that with his armye, he shoulde enter into a great daunger, whereof greate honour should ensue vnto him, and litle profite to the common wealth: He answered. For nothing would I enter into that daunger, if it were not to geue life to a romayne citizen. For I desire rather to go environned with good in Rome, then to goe loden with treasures home into my countrey. Comparinge prince to prince, and lawe to lawe, and the chrysitian with the pagan: without comparison, the soule of a chrysitian ought moze to be esteemed, then the lyfe of a Romaine. For the good Romaine obserueth it as a lawe to die in the warre: but the good chrys-
tian hath this pcepte, to lyue in peace. Suetonius Tranquillus in the seconde booke of Caesars saith, That amonge al the Romaine princes, there was no prince so well beloued, nor yet in the warres so fortu-
nate, as Augustus was. And the reason hereof is, because that prince neuer began any warre, vnlesse by great occasion he was therunto prouoked. Of howe many princes, not ethnikes, but chrys-
tians, of whom we haue hearde and reade all contrarie to this, which is: that were of such large conscience, that they neuer toke vpon them any warre that was vnjuste. To whome I sweare
and promise, that since the warre whiche they in this worlde beganne was vnto us: the punishment which in an other they shal haue, is moost righteous. Xerxes kinge of the perses, beinge one daye at dinner, one brought vnto him very fayre and sauoury figges of the prouince of Athens: the which beinge set at the table, he sweare by the immortal goddes, and by the bones of his predecessors, that he would neuer eate figges

of his countrey, but of Athens, whiche were the best of all Grece. And that which by word of mouth king Xerxes sweare, by balsam dedes with force and shelde, he accomplished, and went forthwith to con-
quere Grecia, for no other cause, but for to fill him selfe with the figges of that countrey, so that he began that warre, not onely as a light prince: but also as a bitious man. Titus Linius saith, that when the frenche men did tast the wine of Italy, immediately they toke their weapons, and wente to con-
quere the countrey, without hauinge any other occasiō to make warre against them: So that the frenchemen for the lycorousnes of the pleasaunt wines, losse the deare bloude of their owne hartes. Kinge Antigonus dreamed one night, y he saw king Metridates with a sick in his hande, who lyke a mower dyd cut all Italy. And there fell suche feare to kinge Antigonus, that he determined to kill kinge Metridates: so that this wicked prince for crediting a light dreame, set all the worlde in an vprooze.
The Lumberdes beinge in Pannonia, hearde saye, that there was in Italy sweete frutes, sauourie fleshe, odoriferous wines, fayre women, good fishe, litle colde, and temperate heate: the whiche newes moued them not only to desire them, but also they toke weapons to go conqueere Italye: So that the Lumberdes came not into Italy to reuenge them of their enemies, but to be there moze bitious and riotous. The Romaines and the Carthagians were frendes of longe time, but after they knewe there was in Spaine great mines of gold and siluer, immediately arose betwene them exceeding cruell warres, so that those two puissaunt realmes, for to take eche from other their goodes, destroyed their owne pre dominions. The authoys of the aboue said, were Plutarchus, Paulus Diaconus Berosus, and Titus Linius. O secrete iudgements of God whiche suffereth suche thinges. O mercifull goodnes of the my
Lorde,

* Lorde, that permittech suche thinges, that
 thorough the dreame of one Prince in hys
 chamber, another for to robbe the treasours
 of Spayne, another to fly the cold of Hun-
 gary, another to drinke the wines of Italy,
 another to eate figges of Grece, should put
 all the countrey to fire and bloude. Let not
 my penne be cruel against al princes which
 haue vnjust warres. For as Traianus said.
 * Juste warre is moze worthe, then sayned
 peace; I commend, approue, and exalte prin-
 ces, which are carefull and stout, to keape
 and defende that, which thei p[ro]dece-
 sours lesse them. For admit that for dispo-
 sselling them, hereof commeth al the breache
 with other Princes. Loke howe muche hys
 enemy offendeth hys conscience for taking
 it: so much offendeth he his common wealth
 for not defendyng it. The wordes which
 the deuine Plato saied, in the firste booke of
 hys lawes, dyd satisfie me greatlye, which
 were these. It is not mete we should be to
 extreme, in commendyng those which haue
 peace: nor let vs be to behemence, in re-
 p[ro]uyng those which haue warre. For it may
 be nowe, that if one haue warre, it is to the
 ende to attaine peace. And for the contrary,
 if one haue peace, it shalbe to h[is] end to make
 warre. In dede Plato sayed very true. For
 it is moze worth, to desire shorte warre, for
 longe peace: then shorte peace, for longe
 warre. The Philosopher Chilo beinge des-
 * maunded whereby a good or euill gouer-
 nour might be knowen, he answered,
 There is nothing whereby a good and euill
 man maye be better knowen, then in that,
 for the which they strue. For the tyrannous
 * Prince offreth him selfe to dye, to take from
 another: but the vertuous prince trauaileth,
 to defende his owne. When the redeemer of
 this worlde, departed from this worlde he
 sayed not, I geue ye my warre, or leaue ye
 my warre: but I leaue ye my peace, & geue
 you my peace. Therof ensueth, that the good
 christian is moze bound to keape the peace,
 which Chyist so muche commaunded: then

to inuente warre to reuenge hys proper in-
 iurpe, which God so muche hated. If prin-
 ces dyd that they oughte to doe, and in this
 case would beleue me: for no tēporal thinge
 they shuld condescend to shed mans blood,
 if nothinge els, yet at the leaste the loue of
 hym which on the crosse shed hys precious
 bloude, shoulde from that dyssuade vs. For *
 the good Chyistians are commaunded, to
 bewaile their owne sinnes: but they haue no
 licence, to shed the blood of their enemies.
 Finallye I desire, exhort, and further ad-
 monyche all princes, and greate lordes, that
 for hys sake that is prince of peace they loue
 peace, procure peace, keape peace, and lye
 in peace. For in peace, they shalbe ryche, and
 their people happye.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

A letter of Marcus Aurelius Empe-
 rour vvhetherin he describeth the
 dyscommodities of vwarre, and
 the vanitie of the triumphe.



Marcus Emperoure, vvy-
 sheth to the Cornelius hys
 faithful frende, healte to thy
 persō, and good lucke against
 all euill fortune. Within .iij.
 daies after I came from the warre of Asia,
 whereof I haue triumphed here in Rome,
 remembryng that in times past thou were
 a companion of my trauailes, I sent imme-
 dyately to certify the of my triumphes. For *
 the noble hartes doe moze reioyce of their
 frendes ioy, then they do of their owne pro-
 per delighes. If thou wylt take paynes to
 come when I send to call the, be thou assu-
 red, that on the one parte, thou shalte haue
 much pleasour to se the great aboundance
 of riches, that I haue brought out of Asia,
 and to behold my receiuing into Rome: and
 another parte, thou shalt not keape thy selfe
 from

THE DIAL

fro weeping, to se such a sorte of captiues, the
 which entred in befoze the triumphant cha-
 riores, bound, & naked, to augment to þ con-
 querours most glozp, and also to them van-
 quished, to be a greater ignominy. Seldom
 times we se the sonne shine brighte al þ day
 long, but first in the sommer there hath ben
 a miste, or if it be in the winter, there hath
 ben a frost. By this parable I meane, þ one
 of the miseries of this world is, þ we shal se
 few in this world, whiche now be prosper-
 ous; but befoze haue had fortune, in some
 cases, very malicious. For we se by expery-
 ence, some come to be very pooze, and other
 chaunce to attaine to greate ryches: so that
 throught þ impouerishinge of those, þ other
 become riche, & prosperous. The weeping of
 the one, caused þ other to laugh: so that if the
 bucket þ is empty aboue doth not go downe
 the other which is ful beneth canot come vp.
 Speaking therfoze according to sensuality,
 thou wouldest haue ben glao þ day to haue
 sene our triumphe, w the aboundance of ri-
 ches, þ great nōber of captiues, þ diuersity
 of beastes, the valiantnes of þ captaines, the
 sharpnes of wittes which we brought from
 Asia, & entred into Rome, wherby þ might-
 test wel know, the daūgers þ we escaped in
 that warre. Wherfoze speaking the truth,
 the matter betwene vs & our enemyes was
 so debated, þ those of vs þ escaped best, had
 their bodies sore wounded, and their vaines
 also almost w oute blood. I let the wete, my
 Cornelius, þ the Parthes are warlike mē,
 and in daungerous enterprises very hardy
 and bold. And whē they are at home in their
 countrey, euery one w a stout hart defendeth
 his house, & surely they do it lyke good mē, &
 ballaunt captaines. For if we other romay-
 nes, without reason, and throught ambicō,
 do go to take another mans: it is mete and
 iust, that they by force, do defend their owne.
 Let no man throught the aboundance of
 malyce, or wante of wyledom enuy the ro-
 mayne Captaine, for anye triumphe that is
 geuen hym by his mother Rome: for surely

to get this onely one dayes honor, he aduētū-
 red his lyfe a 9. times in þ field. I wyl not
 speke al þ I might say of thē þ we lede forth
 to þ warres, noz of thē whiche we leue here
 at home in Rome, whiche be al cruel iudges
 of our fames: for their iugmēt is not wyght
 according to equity, but rather procedeth of
 malice, and enuy. Though they take me for
 a patient man, and not farre oute of order,
 yet I let the knowe, my Cornelius, þ there
 is no patience can suffer, noz harte bystem-
 ble, to se many romaynes to haue such great
 enuy, which (throught their malicious con-
 ges) passe not to backbite other mens tri-
 umphes. For it is an old disease of euil mē,
 throught malyce to backbite that with their
 tong: which throught their cowardnes, they
 neuer durste enterpryse with their handes.
 Forwithstandyng all this, ye must knowe,
 that in the warre you must first ofē hazard
 your life, & afterwarde to the discrecion of
 such tonges, commit your honor. Our foly
 is so folyshe, & the desiers of men. so wayne,
 that moze for ons wayne word, then for any
 profyte, we desire rather to get vaine glozp
 with trauaile: then to seke a good lyfe with
 rest. And therfoze wyllynge we offer our
 lyues now to greate trauaile, and payne
 onely, that among vaine men hereafter we
 maye haue a name. I sweare by the immor-
 tal gods, vnto the my Cornelius, þ the day
 of my triumphe, where as to the seminge of
 al those of this world I went triumphing in
 the chariote opely: yet I ensue the, my hart
 wepte secretly. Such is the vanity of men,
 that throught of reason we be admonished,
 called, and compelled, yet we flye from her:
 and contrary, though we be rebuked, euill
 handled, & despised of the world, yet we wyl
 serue it. If I be not deceined, it is þ prosper-
 ity of folish mē, & want of good iudgmētes
 þ causeth mē to enter into others houses by
 force: rather then to be desirous, to be quiet
 in their owne, w a good wyl. I meane þ we
 should in folowing vertue, soner be vertu-
 ous: then in hauntyng vices, be vicious.

For speaking the trowth, men which in all, and for all desire to please the world, muste nedes offer them selues to greate trouble and care. O Rome, Rome, cursed be thy folly, and cursed be he that in the broughte vp so muche pryde, and be he cursed of men, and hated of gods, whiche in the hath inuented this pompe. For very fewe are they, that worthe vnto it haue attained: but infinite are they, whiche though it haue perished, what greater vanitie, or what equal lightnes can be, then that a Romayne captayne, because he hath conquered realmes, troubled quyet men, destroyed cyties, beaten downe castels, robbed the poore, enriched the rautes, caried away treasours, shed much bloud, made infinite wyddowes, and taken many noble mens liues, should be wardes with great triumphe of Rome receiued in recompence of all this damage. Wylste thou nowe that I tell the a greater follye, whiche aboue all other is greatest: I let the wete, infinite are they that dye in the warres, and one onely carreyth awaye the glozy thereof: so that these wofull and myserable men, though for their carcase they haue not a graue, yet one captaine goeth triumphing alonge through Rome. By the immortal gods I sweare vnto the, & let this passe secretly, as betwene frendes, that the day of my triumphe, when I was in my triumphante chariote, beholding the miserable captiues laden with irons, and other men carieing infinite treasours, whiche we had euil gotten, and to se the carefull wydowes wepe for the death of their husbands, and remembred so many nobleromaines, which lost their liues in Affrike: though I seemed to reioyce outwardly, yet I ensure & to wepe dropes of bloud inwardly. For he is no man borne in the world, but rather a fury, bred vp in hell among the furies, that can at the sorow of another, take anye pleasour. I know not in what case men ought to take the prince, or captaine, that cometh from the warre, & directly to enter into Rome, so: if he thinke (as

it is reason) on the woundes he hath in his bodye, or the treasours whiche he hath waisted, on the places that he hath burnt, on the perreys that he hath escaped, on the iniuries whiche he hath receiued, the multitude of men whiche vniustlye are slaine, the frendes whiche he hath losse, the enemyes that he hath gotten, the lytell rest that he hath enioyed, and the great traualle that he hath suffered, in such case I say, that such a one with sorrowful sighes ought to lament, and with bitter teares ought to be reueiued. In this case of triumphinge, I neither commend the Assirians, nor enuy the Persians, nor am content w the Macedonians, nor allow & Caldians, or content me w the grekes. I curse the Troians, & cōdēne the Carthagiens, because that they proceeded not according to the zeale of iustice: but rather of & rage of pryde, to set vp triumphes, endamaged their countreys, & left an occasion to vndoe vs. O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, cursed thou arte, and cursed thou shalt be. For yf the fatal destinies do not lye vnto me, and my iudgment decreue me, and fortune fasten not the nayle, they shall se of the Rome in tyme to come, that whiche we others presently se of the realmes past. Thou oughtest to knowe, that as thou by stranny hast made thy selfe lady of lordes: so by iustice thou shalt returne to be & seruante of seruantes. O unhappy Rome, and unhappy againe. I retourne to cal the. Tel me I pray the, why art thou at this day so dery of merchandise, & so chepe of folly: Where are the auncient fathers, which builded the, & with their vertues honoured the, in whose stede, presently thou magnifyest so many Trautes, which with their vices deface the: Where are al those noble and vertuous barons, which thou hast nourished, in whose stede thou haste nowe so many vicious, and vacabondes: Where are those, whiche for thy libertie dyd shed their bloude, in whose stede nowe thou haste those, that to hyunge the into subication, haue losse their

THE DIAL

lyfe: There are thy valyaunt Captaynes, which with suche greate trauaple dyd endeavour them seluesto defend the walles from enemies, in whose stede haue succeeded those that haue plucked them downe, and peopled them with vices, and bitious: where are thy great priestes, the which dyd alwaye praye in the Temples, in whose stede haue succeeded those, whiche know not but to defile the churches, & with their wickednes, to moue the gods to wraathe: There are these so manye philosophers and oratours, which with their counsailes governed the, in whose stede haue nowe succeeded so many symple, and ignoraunt, which with their malice do vndo the: O Rome, all those auncientes haue forsaken the, & we succede those which now are newe, and if thou knewest trulye the vertue of them, and diddest consyder the lightnes of vs: the day that they ended their life, the selfe same daye, not one stone in the shuld haue ben leste vpon another. And so, those selues shuld haue sauoured of the bones of the vertuous: which nowe stinke of the bodies of the vicious. Peraduenture thou arte more aunciente then Babilone, more beautiful then Helia, more riche then Carthage, more stronger then Troye, more peopled then Thebes, more in circuite then Corinthe, more pleasaunt then Tirus, more fertile then Constantinople, more high then Camea, more vniuersible then Aquileia, more priuiledged then Gades, more enuyroned with Towers then Capua, & more florishing then Cantabria. We see, that all those notable cytyes perished, for all their vertuous defendours, and thinkest thou to remayne being replenished with so muche vyce, and peopled with so many vicious: O my mother Rome, take one thing for a warninge, that the gloire which now is of the, was firste of them, and the same destruction that was of them, shal hereafter lyghte vpon the, for suche is the worlde.

For, and euen as we presentlye see the troubles of them that be past: so shall

those that be to come, see ours that be present.

The.xv.Chapter.

The Emperour Marcus Aurelius declareth the order that the Romanes vsed in setting forth me of vvarre, and of the oultragious vylandes, vvhiche captaynes and fouldiours vse in the vvarre.



VVyl novv declare vnto the, my frend Cornelius, the order whiche we haue to set forth men of warre: & thereby thou shalt see, & great disorder that is in rome. For in the olde tyme, there was nothinge more looked vnto, nor more corrected, then was the discipline of warre. And for the contrary, now a dayes, there is nothinge so dysolute, as are oure men of warre. Fewes being afterwarde spred abroad throughe the empire, how & prince dyd take vpon him any new warre, immediately byuers opinions did engender amongest the people, & euerye one iudged otherwise vpon the warre. Forasmuch as the one saied it is iust, & the prince & toke it vpon hym is iust. Others saied, & it is vniust, & that the prince which began it, is a traitor. The poore, & seditious persons do allow it, to the ende they might go, & take other mens goods by force. The rich, and pacier do cōdemne it, because they woulde enioye their owne in quier. So that they do not iustifie or cōdemne warre, accorpyng to the zeale of iustice: but accorpyng to the lital or muche profite, that shall folowe them of that enterpryse. I cōmaund whiche am a Romanne Emperoure, warre to be proclaymed, because a cytye or pryncce, hath rebelled:

They

* They doe the ceremonies accustomed in Rome (that is to wete) first to cal the prestes, then they goe immediatly to praye to the immortall gods: for the romayne people neuer went to shed the blood of their enemies in the warres, but first the prestes dyd shed the teares of their eyes in the temples.

The second, all the sacred Senate doeth goe to the temple of the God Iupiter, and there they sweare all with a solemne othe, that if the enemies (against whom they go) do require a new confederation with Rome, or demand pardon of their faultes committed: that (al reuengement laied on side) they shall not deny them mercede.

The thirde, the consul which is appointed for captaine of that warre, went to the high capitol, and there he maketh a solemne vow to one of the gods, whiche liketh him best, that he wyl offer him a certaine Jewell, if he returned victorious of the same warre: and also though the Jewell whiche he doeth promise be of great value, yet al the people are bound to paye it.

The. 4. is, that they set vp in the temple of Mars, the ensigne of the Eggle, which is the auncient romaine ensigne, and that is, that all the romaines take it for commaundment, that no spectacle nor feast be celebrated in Rome, during the tyme that their brethren be in the warres.

The. 5. a pretor mounteth by to the toppe of the gate of Salaria, and there he bloweth the trumpet to muster men of warre, and they bring forth the standers and ensignes to deuyde them amonge the Captaynes. How fearefull a thinge is it to see, that so sone as the Captayne is enuyroned with the ensigne, so sone hath he licence, to commytte all euyls, and villanyes. So that he taketh it for a brauerie, to robbe the countreyes, whereby he passeth: and to deceiue those, with whome he prayseth. What liberty captaynes, and gouernours of warre haue to doe euill, and to be euill, it is very manifest in those, whome they leade

in their companye. For the sonnes leaue their fathers, the seruantes their lordes, the Schollers their maysters, the officers their offces, the prestes their Temples, the amaroise their loues, and this for none other cause, but that vnder the coulour of the libertyes of warre, their byces should not be punished by iustyce. My frende Cornelius. I knowe not howe I shoulde begin to saye that, whiche I wyl tel the.

* Thou oughtest to know, that after our men of warre are gone out of Rome, they neither feare the gods neither honour the temples, they reuerce not the prestes, they haue no obedience to their fathers, nor shame to the people, breake of iustice, neither compassion of their countrey, nor remember that they are children of Rome: and yet very fewe of them thinke to ende their lyfe, but that all shame layde asyde, they loue the condemned idelnes, and hate the iuste trauayle. Therefore harke, I wyl tell the moze, and though it seemeth muche I speake, I ensure the it is but lytel, in respecte of that they doe, for so muche as some robbe temples, others spyed rumours, these breake the doores, and those robbe the Gods. Sometymes they take the free, sometymes they lose the bonde, The nightes they passe in playes, & dayes in blasphemies, to daye they fighte lyke Lyons, to morowe they flye lyke colwardes. Some rebell agaynst the Captaynes, and others flye to the enemyes. Finally, for al good they are vnhable, and for all euyl they are mete. Therefore to tell the of their filthyenes, I am ashamed to describ them.

* They leaue their owne wyues, and take the wyues of others, they dishonoure the daughters of the good, and they begile the innocent Virginnes, there is no neybour but they doe conet, neyther hostesse but that they doe force, they breake their olde wedlocke, and yearelye seke a newe marriage: so that they doe all thinges what they list, and nothinge what they ought. Doest thou thinke presentlye my frend Cornelius that

THE DIAL

fewe cupls in Rome, sicke so many euill wo-
men do go to the warre: Here for their sake,
men offende the gods, they are traitours to
their countrey, they denye their parentage,
they doe come to extreme pouertie, they
lyue in infame, they robbe the goods of o-
thers, they waste their owne, they neuer
haue quyet lyfe, neyther remayneth anye
trueth in their mouthes: synallye, for the
loue of them, oftentimes warre is moued
agayne, and manye good men lose their ly-
ues. Let vs leaue the reasons, and come to
histories.

Thou knowest ryght wel, that the grea-
test parte of Asia was conquered and go-
uerned, more with the women amazones,
then with any barbarous people.

That ponge, noble, and valyaunte Porro,
king of Iudea, for want of men, and aboun-
daunce of we men, was overcome of the
great Alexander Hannibal. The terrible
captaine of the Carthagiens, was alwaies
lord of Italy, until he did permit women to
goe to the warre. And when he fell in loue
with a maiden of Capua, they saw him im-
mediately tourne his shoulders to Rome. If
Scipio the Affricane had not skoured the
Romaine armies of lechery, the invincible
Numantia had neuer bene wonne. The
Captayne Silla in the warres of Mitrida-
tes, & the couragious Marius, in the warre
of the Zimbres, had ouer their enemies so
manye victories, because in their camps
they suffered no women. In the tyme of
Claudius the Emperoure, the Tharentins
and Capuans were verie mortal enemies,
in so muche as the one agayne the other
pytched their campe, and by chaunce one
daye in the campe of the Capuans, two
Captaynes fell at vanyaunce, because they
bothe loued one woman, and when the
Tarentines perceyued their dysension,
immedyately with their power gaue them
the onset.

Whereof it ensueth, that throughe the
naughtynesse of one euill woman, was

loaste the libertie of that goodlye cytye.

I had in this warre of Parthes, 16. thou-
sande hozemen, and .24. thousande fotes
men, and, 35. thousande women, and the
dysorder in this case was so greate, that
from the hoste I sente my wyfe Faulstine,
and the wyues of dyuers other Senatours
home to their houses, that they shuld keape
the olde, and nouryshe the yong.

Dure forefathers led women in the
olde tyme to the warre, to dyffemeate for
the whole, and to cure the wounded: but
nowe we leade them, to the ende colwars
des shoulde haue occasyon to be effemy-
nate, and the valyaunte to be vicious. And
in the ende, their enemies doe breake their
heades: but the women doe wounde their
hartes. I wyl that thou knowe other thin-
ges, my Cornelius, and they are, that the
Gawles, the Vulcanes, the Flamminges,
the Regios, the whiche are prestes of the
mother Scibilla, of the God Vulcano, of
the God Mars, and of the God Iupiter, the
feare of the Gods set asyde, leauynge their
temples deserte, layeng of their honest gar-
mentes, not remembrynge their holpe ce-
remonyes, breakinge their streight bowes,
an insynpte namber of them go to the campe,
where they lyue more dyshonestlye, then o-
thers: for it is a common thinge, that those
whiche once presume to be solytarye, and
shamefaste, after that they are once fleshed:
excede al other in shame and vice.

It is a dishonest thing, and also perillous
to carpe prestes to the warre: for their of-
fence is to pacysse the gods with teares, and
not to threaten men with weapons. If per-
chaunce Prynces woulde saye, it is good to
carpe prestes to the warre, to offer sacrificy-
ces to the Gods. To this I aunswere, that
the temples are builde to praye, and the fel-
des for to fight: so that in one place, gods
would be feared, & in another, honored and
sacrificed. In the yere of the foundation of
Rome, 315. the consull Vietro passed into
Asia and wente agaynst the Palestines,
the

the whych there rebelled agaynst the romaines, and by the waye, he passed by the temple of Apollo, in the ile of Delphos, and as there he made a prayer vnto the god Apollo verye longe, to the ende he would reuele vnto him whither he should retourne victorious from Asia or not.

The oracle answered. Consul Vietro if thou wilt retourne victorious from thy enemies, restore our priestes which thou takest from our temples. For we other goddesses will not: that the man whome we chuse for oure deuine seruice, ye others shoulde leade to the byres of the woylde. If it be true (as it is true in dede) that the god Apollo sayd vnto the consull Vietro me thynketh it is no iuste thinge to condescende that Priestes shoulde go to loose them selues in the warre.

For as thou knowest my Cornelius without doubt greater is the offence that they committe in goinge to vndo thei selues, then is the seruyce whych they do to princes beinge desirous to fight.

Let vs haue the priestes in the temples to praye, and let vs see howe the capteynes are wounte to gouerne thei selues, and in this case thou shalt finde that the day that the Senate doe appoynte a Senator for capytayne, they proue him if he can playe at the weapons in the Theater.

The Consull leadeth him to the high Capitoll with him, the Eagle is hanged at his brest, they cast y purple his, vpon shoulders, they giue him money of the common treasure, immediatly he groweth into suche pryde, that forgettinge the po uerty past whiche he suffered in his country, he thinketh one daye to make hym Emperour of Rome.

It is a common thing that when fortune exaltech men of lowe estate to hie degree, they presume much and knowe lytle, and much lesse what they are woorth. So that if their feble force were coequall to their high minde, one alone shoulde suf-

fise to overcome their enemies, and also to winne many realmes,

The capytaynes haue taken a custome nowe in Rome, and they tell me that it is an Inuencion of Mauritanie, that is, that they tease their beardes, they curl the heares, they clippe their woordes, they chaunge their garmentes, they accompanye with murderers, they goe the moste part armed: they go verye fast to seame fierce, & to conclude, they little esteeme to be beloued, & take it great glory to be feared

And to thetente thou shouldest know my Cornelius, howe fearful they wil be, I wyll recite the an hystoie whiche is, that I standinge one daye in Pentapolis, a captaine of mine, I hearing hym he not seig me, for so much as they would not let him do al y he would haue done in the house, he sayd vnto an hostice of his. The other villaines did neuer knowe capytaynes of armies, therefore knowe it, if thou dost not knowe it mothe, that the earthe doth neuer tremble, but when it is threathned with a romaine capytayne, & the goddess do neuer suffer the sunne to shine, but where we others are obeyed. Sins thou hast heard that he saide, heare also the balliannes that he hath done within short space after, the capteine wnt vnto a battaile in Arabia, where he was the first that fledde, & left the standerd alone in the fiede, the which had almoste made me loose the battaile. But I in recompence of his balliannite dede, commaunded to cut of his great head. For in giuing the onset vpon y enemies, the fightinge of one man doth moze hurte: then the fightinge of 2000. doth profite. I haue oftentimes hard the emperour Traian my lord saye y the man which in peace seame most fierce, in warres commonly are most cowardes.

It chaunceth that diuerse thinges are compassed for hauinge onelye a good eloquence, others for hauinge wyche crafts

THE DIAL

crafts, others for beinge very diligent, others for openinge their purse, and truly this is the most and best that is occupied in Rome. But the affaires of warres do not consist, in talking many wordes befoze they friends: but in fighting manfully in the fildes, against their enemies.

For in the ende, men most full of wordes are for the moste parte, cowardes in deedes. What wilt thou I tell the moze, my Cornelius, of the iniuries which the captaynes do in the cities, wherby they passe of the sleanders which they rapse in the prouinces, where as they abide: I let the wete, that the lytle woyme dorhe not so much harme that gnaweth the wood, the mote the garmentes: the sparke vnto the toae, the locust vnto the corne, neither the wyuell to the garners, as the captaynes do to the people, for they leaue no beast but they kill, no orchyperde but they robbe, no wine but they drinke, no done house but they clime, no temple but they spoile, no chase but they hunt, no sedicion but they rapse, no billany but that they committe. And they do moze than they ought to do, for they eate without meanynge to paye, and they will not serue oneles they be well payde: and the worst of all is, that if they paye them, immediatly they chaunge or playe it. If they be not payde, they robbe and rebell forthewith: so that wyth pouertye they are not content, and wyth riches they ware vicious and insolent. The matter is now come to suche corruption, and there is at this daye men of warre in Rome so carelesse, that here no capteyne semeth, but an example of murderers, a sturmer by of sedicious persons, an enuyr of the good, a partaker wyth all euill, a thefe of theues, a pirate of rousers, and finally I do not saye, that they seame to be: but I do affirme, that they are the scourge of your vertuous, and refuge of the vicious. I woulde not saye this, but yet notwithstandinge I

ought to saye it, because it is a thyng so farre out of order, and so muche to bee laughed at: that these wicked men: though they are our semplyar friends, there is no prince that ruleth them, no Justyce that correcteth them, no feare that doth oppresse them, no lawe that subdueth them, no shame that refrayneth them, no parentes that correcte them, no punishment that doth abase them, no yet death that doth ende them: but nowe as men whiche are without remedye, we let them eat of all,

The.xvi. Chapter.

Marcus Aurelius Emperour pursueth his letter vwith teares and neuer ceaseth to crye out for that Rome made vvarre vwith Asia, and the great domages vvhiche ensue to the people for that theyr Princes haue begonne vwarre vvyth straunge realmes.



UNFOR-
tunate Rome, who was not wonte to haue suche euill lucke, but the order thou arte, the moze vnluckye I see thee. For by wrytinges we reade, and also wirth our eyes we see, that the moze fortunate a city or person hath bene in the beginning, the moze frowarde fortune is vnto him in the endinge. Trulye in those aunclent times, & in those glorious wordes, I say when they were peopled wyth true Romaines, & not as nowe (the which haue no chyldren but basterdes) the armes were as wel taughte & came fro Rome

as the philosophers, which were in the scholes of Grece. If the greke wryttinges do not lye vnto me, Philippethe great, kinge of Macedony, for this is so renowned in histories, and his sonne the great Alexander for this was so fortunate in the wars, that they had their armies so wel correct: that it rather seemed a senate which gouerned, then a campe which fought. In that we can gather out of Titus Liuius, & other wryters, from the time of Quintus Cuminatus dictator, vntil the noble Marcus Aurelius, were the most prosperous times of the Romanaine empire. For before kings did rattle, and afterwarde it was persecuted with tyrantes. In these so happy times, one of the greatest felicities that Rome hadde, was to haue the warlike discipline wel corrected. And then Rome began to fall, when our armes began to do damage. For if those of the warre haue truce with vices, & others of the common wealth can not haue peace with vertues. Cursed be thou Asia, and cursed be the daye, & with the we had conquest. For we haue not sene the good & haue folowed vs of thy conquest, vntill this present, & the losse & damage whiche from h came vnto vs, shalbe lamented in Rome for euer. Cursed Asia, we spent our treasours in the, & thou hast geuen to vs thy vices. In chaunge of our valiaunt men, thou hast set vs thy fine mincons, we haue wonne thy cities, & thou triumphest of our vertues. We battered thy fortres, and thou hast destroyed our manners. We triumphed of thy realmes, and thou diddest cut the throtes of our friends. We made to the cruel warre and thou conquereest from vs the good peace. With force thou were ours and with good will we are yours. We are vniuste Lordes of thy richesse, and iust ternaunter of thy vices. Finally thou Asia art a woful graue of Rome, and thou Rome art a fleshy stroke of Asia. Sins our auncient fathers did content them selues with Rome alone, why shoulde not we their children contente our

selues with Rome, and Italye, but that we must go to conquer Asia, where we aduertured our honour and spent our treasure. If those auncient romaines, being as they were, so princely barons in life, and so valiaunte in fightinge, and so hardye to commaunde, dyd contente them selues with this litle bozder: why shoulde not we contente oure selues not beinge as they are, hauinge a realme riche & vicious? I knowe not what sonde toy tookt vs in the heade, to go conquere Asia, and not to contente our selues with Rome? Italye was not so poore of riches, nor so destitute of cities, nor so disabated of people, nor so solitary of bestes, nor so vndecked wth buyldinges, nor so barrayne of good fruytes: but y of all these thinges we had moze, then our fathers wished, & also moze then we their children deserued. For me I would say, that it is for want of iudgement or aboundaunce of pryde, for vs to seeke to excede our forefathers in leig nory: when we are not coequal vnto them in vertue. I was contented with all thinges of my forefathers, saue onely that they were a lytle proude, and sedicious, and herein we their children do resemble them well.

For as muche as we are not onely proude and sedicious, but also couetous and malicious. So that in vertuous thinges we go backward and in vnlawful woorkes, we go forward. What is become of the great victories that our forefathers had in Asia? What is become of y infinite treasure they haue robbed in y countrey: what is become of the great nombze of captiues, that they tooke in the warre: what is become of the straunge bestes that they sent into Italy. What is become of the riches which euery one brought home to his house: what is become of y valiaunt kinges which they toke in that conquest: what is become of the feastes & triumphes, wherewith they entered triumphing into Rome? What wilt thou I saye moze vnto the in this case my Cornelius (but that al they which inuited y warre

THE DIAL

are dead, all those whiche were in Asia are deade, all those whiche defended that countrey are deade, all those which entred triumphinge into Rome are dead, and finally, all the riches and triumphes whiche oure fathers brought from Asia, they and those in short space had an ende, vntles the vices and pleasures, whereof we se no ende. ¶ If the valiaunt princes knew, what a thinge it is to inuente warres in straunge realmes, what traualles they seke for their persons, what cares in their hartes, what trouble to their subiectes, what wast to their treasours, what pouertie to their frendes, what pleasures to their enemies, what destruction of the good, what libertie of the euill, & what occasion they geue to straungers to speak, what vniuersall euill they sow in their naturall countreies, and what euill popson they leaue to their heires, I sweare by the faith of a good man, that if (as I fele it) princes did fele it, and as I taste it, princes did taste it, and also as I haue proued it, princes did proue it, I do not saye that with elusion of bloude I woulde take realmes by force; but also they offering the to me wth teares, I woulde not take theim willingly. ¶ For speakinge the truth, it is not the point of valiaunt princes, for to susteine another mans, to put their owne in leoperdie. I aske nowe, what profit toke Rome of the conquest of Asia? I admitte that it durste conquere it, that it was hardie in winninge it, obstinate in fighting, and happy in taking it: should it therfore be fortunate in mainetaininge it? In this case I say and affyrme, and of that I saye I do not repent me: that it is possible to take Asia, but it is a folye to presume to mainetaine it.

Doest thou not thinke it a greate folye, to presume to mainetaine Asia, since there neuer cometh newes of a victo^{ry}, but that it is occasion of an other battayle, and that to susteine warre, they robbe all Italye. In Asia our money is spent, our children are perished: In Asia died oure fathers, for

Asia they make vs paye tributes: In Asia the good hoxies are consumed: Into Asia they cary all our coine: In Asia all the theues are nourished: From Asia cometh all the seditious persons: In Asia all the good do perishe: From Asia they sende vs all the byces: and finally, in Asia all our treasours are spent, and in Asia all our excellent Romanes are killed. And sith this is the seruice that Asia doth to Rome, why wil Rome continue warre with Asia? Other princes befoze vs haue conquered Asia, taken Asia, and possessed Asia: but in the ende, when they saue that it was a countrey where they feared not the goddes, nor acknowledged subiection to their princes, neither that they were apte to receiue lawes, they determined to forsake theim, because they found by experience, that they neither wey thei^r bodies with warres, neither wyne thei^r hartes with benefites. Those Princes not beinge hardie, nor so bolde toasseigne Asia by lande, shoulde we others presume to succour it by sea? They forsake it beinge neighbours, and will we others mainetaine it beinge straungers? In my opinion, Asia is a countrey, where all the valiaunt men haue employed their valiantenes, where all the fooles haue proued their folye, where all the proude haue shewed their pryde, where all the princes entred in with might, where all the tirauntes haue employed their lyfe: but in the ende, it neither profiteth the one to will it, nor to the others to knowe it, and yet muche lesse to banquish it.

I knowe not the man that loueth Asia, that willet well to Asia, that speaketh well of Asia, or that fauoureth the thinges of Asia, since he geueth vs occasion to speake dayle, to sigh nightly, and to wepe hourly.

If men attened to the secrete, to knowe the fatal destinyes, with the whiche the Goddes haue created Asia, they would not strue so muche in the conquest therof. For the goddes haue created it in suche a signe, that

that it should be a common pasture where all feede, a common market where all sel, a common Inne where all rest, a common table where all playe, a common house where all dwell, a common countrey where all remayne: and thereof it cometh, that Asia is despyed of manye, and gouerned of selue. For beyng as it is a common countrey, euerye manne will make it his owne p[ro]p[er]ty. Peraduenture thou wilt thinke, my friend Cornelius, that I haue spoken nowe all the euilles of Asia, but harke, yet I will f[or]me the a newe question agayne. For accordyng to the domages, whiche haue folowed from Asia to our mother Rome, tyme shal rather want to witte, then matter to declare. For without feares I say, that whiche I wyll saye, that there was neuer any romayne capteyne that dyd kyll so thousande Asians wyth the weapons he broughte into Asia: but that he losse a hundred thousande romaynes wyth the byces they broughte to Rome. So that the Asians, by the handes of theyr enemyes dyed wyth honour: and lest he romaynes alyue, full of theyr byces, wyth infamye. I aske nowe what they were that inuented to dine in common places, to suppe in secrete gardeynes, to apparayle the women as men in the theatre, to colour the fleshe of p[ro]fesses with yellowe: to noynt the women as men in the bathe, the Senators goyng smelling to the Senate, Princes to be apparayled with purple agaynst the auncyent decrees to eate twisse in the daye as the Tyrante Denny did, to kepe harlottes and concubines as they of Tyre doe, to speake blasphemys agaynst the goddes whiche were neuer hearde of before in the empire. These sayde byces of Asia, Asia hath presentlye sente to Rome. At the same time when in those parties of the Orient, the warre was hyndeled: semo balaunt captaynes brought these

bices to Rome, whose names my penne shall pardon to tell, because theyr byle of fences shoulde not darken their balaunte deedes. Before that Rome conquered Asia we were ryche, we were patient, we were sober, we were wise, we were honeste, and aboute all we lyued contented.

But synce that tyme we haue geuen our selues to forget the pollicies of Rome, and to learne the pleasour of Asia: so that now all bices maye be learned in Rome, as all ciences maye be hearde in Grece.

By the aboue reherfed, all warlike p[ri]nces maye see, what profite they haue to conquer straunge realmes.

Let vs nowe leaue the byces, whiche in the warres are recovered, and talke of money whiche the p[ri]nces couet and loue.

And in this I saye, that there is no p[ri]nce brought into so extream p[ou]ertrye, as he, whiche conquereth a straunge countrey.

¶ Cornelius thou haste not seene, howe Princes moze of a wyl than of necessitye do waste theyr treasoures: howe they demaunde that of an other mannes, and howe theyr owne dothe not suffice theym: they take those of churches, they seeke great loanes, they inuente great tributes, they giue straungers occasion to speake, they make them selues hated of their subiectes, finallye they praye their subiectes, and humble theym selves to their enemies.

Since I haue declared the domages of warre, I will nowe declare what the originall of warre is.

For it is vnpossible that the phisition applye vnto the sicke agreeable medecyne, if he knowe not of what humour that sicknesse doth procede. Princes since they came of menne, are noryshed with menne, do counsaile with men, and liue with men, & to conclude, they are menne. Sometime through pride whiche aboundeth in theym: sometime counsaile whiche they want they the selues imagine, & other flatterers telleth, & though they

THE DIAL

they haue much in respect of other princes, yet they can do little. Also they saye vnto them, that if their substaunce be great, their fame ought to be greater. Further they tel them, that the good prince oughte lytle to esteeme that he hath inherited of his predecessours, in respect of the great deale more he ought to leaue to his successors. Also they tell them, that neuer prince leste of him any greates memozye, but inuentinge some cruell warre against his enemye. Also they tell them, that the hoire that one is chosen emperour of Rome, he may boldly conquer all the whole earth. These wayne reasons beyng heard of the princes, after wardes as their fortune is base, and theyr myndes high, immediately they desse their enemyes, they open their treasures, they assemble great armies: and in the ende of all the goddes suffer, that they thinkinge to take an other mannes goodes, they waste and lose their owne. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceiue ye, that you whiche by peace may be riche, and by warre will be pooze. O princes, I knowe not who doeth deceiue you, that you which may be loued, doe seke occasions to be hated. O princes, I knowe not who doth begile ye, that ye whiche maye enioye a sure life, do aduenture youre selues to the mutabilitie of fortune. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceiue you, that you so lytle esteeme and wey your owne haboundaunce, and so greatlye set by the want of others. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceiue you, that all hauinge nede of you, you shoulde haue nede of others. I let the to wete my Cornelius, though a prince be more quicke and carefull then all others his predecessours haue bene in Rome: yet it is vnpossible, that all thinges touching warre shoulde succede vnto him prosperously. For in the greatest nede of warre, either he wanteth money, or his subiectes do not succour him, or time is contrary vnto him, or he findeth perillous passages, he lacketh artillarie, or the cap-

taines rebel, or els socour cometh to his aduersaries, so that he seeth him selfe so miserable, that thoughtes do more oppresse his harte, then the enemyes do harme his lande. Though a prince had no warre, but for to suffer men of warre, yet he ought to take vpon him no warre. I aske the my Cornelius, what trauaile so greates to his person, or what greater damage to his realme can his enemyes do, then that whiche his owne men of warre do. The enemyes, to do the worst they can, will but robbe our frontiers, but our men of warre do robbe all the whole countrey. The enemyes we dare, and may resist, but to ours we cannot, nor dare not speake. The enemyes, the worst they can do, is once in a moneth, to robbe and runne their wayes: but ours daily do robbe, & remayne still. The enemyes feare their enemyes: only but ours do feare their enemyes, and haue no pittie on their freindes. The enemyes, the further they go on, the more they diminish: but ours the further they go, the more they encrease. I knowe no greater warre that princes can haue, then to haue men of warre in theyr realmes. For as experience doth shew vs, before the goddes they are culpable, to princes impotunate, and to the people troublesome: so that they lue to the damage of all, and to the profite of none. By the Gods I sweare vnto the (my frende Cornelius) as he maye directe my handes in the warre, that I haue no complayntes in the senate, of the thestes whiche my captaines do committe in Illiria, then of all the enemyes of the Romaine people. Both for that I say, and for that I kepe secret, I am more afraid to create an ensigne of two hundred men of warre, then to geue a cruell barrail to thirty thousand men. For that barrail, fortune (good or euil) forthwith dispatcheth, but with these I can be sure no time of all my lyfe. Thou wilt saye vnto me (Cornelius) that since I am Emperour of Rome, I should remedie this since I knowe it. For that

that Prince whiche dyssembleth with the faulte of another, by reason we will condempne him, as if it is his owne. To this I aunswer, that I am not mighty enough to remedy it, except by my remedy there shuld spring a greater inconvenience. And since thou haste not bene a Prince, thou couldest not fall into that I haue, nor yet vnderstand that which I say. For princes by their wisdom, knowe many thinges, the whiche to remedy, they haue no power. So it hath bene, so it is, so it shalbe, so I founde it, so I keape it, so wyl I leaue it them, so I haue read it in booke, so haue I sene it with my eyes, so I heard it of my predecessours, and finally I saue, so our fathers haue inuented it, & so wil we their children susteine it, and so: his euyl, we wyl leaue it to oure heires. I wyl tel the one thing, and imagine, that I erre not therin, whiche is, consideringe the greater damage, and liuel profite, which the men of warre doe bringe to oure common wealth: I thinke to doe it and to susteine it, either it is the folly of men, or a scourge giuen of the gods. For there can be nothinge more iust, then for the gods to permit, that we fele that in our owne houses: whiche we cause others in straunge houses to lament. Al those thinges I haue wyrtten vnto the, not for that it skilleth greatly that thou knowe them: but that my harte is at ease to vrier them. For as Alcibiades saide, the chestes, and the hartes, ought alwaies to be open to their frendes. Panulia my secretary, goeth in my behalfe to visite that lande, & I gaue him this letter to geue the, with two horses, wherewith I thinke thou wylt be contented, for they are gennettes, The weapons, and ryches, whiche I toke of the Parthes, I haue nowe deuyded, notwithstandinge I sente the, 2. Chariottes of them. My wyfe Faustine greteeth the, and I sende a ryche glasse for thy daughter, and a seluel with stones for thy sister. No more, but I beseeche the Gods to geue the a good lyfe and me a good deathe.

The xvii. Chapter.

* The admonition of the auctour to Princes and greate Lordes to thiment that the more they growe in yeares, the more they are bound to reframe from vices.



AVLVS Gellius in his booke De noctibus Atticis sayeth, that there was an ancient custome amongst the Romaynes, to honoure and haue in greate reuerence aged men. And this was so inuolate a lawe amongst them, that there was none so noble of bloude, and synage, neyther so puissant in speeches, neyther so fortunat in bartayles, that shoulde goe before the aged men, which were loden with whyte beares: so that they honoured them as the Gods, and reuerenced them as their fathers. Amongest others, the aged men, had those prehemynences, that is to wete, that in feastes they sat byghest, in the triumphes they went before, in the Temples they dyd sitte downe, they spake to the Senate before all others, they had their garments furred, they myghte eate alone in secrete, and by their only word, they were credyted as witnessers: Finally I saue, that in all thinges they serued them, and in nothinge they annoyed them.

After the people of Rome began warre with Asia, they forsoke all their good Romayne customes immediatly.

And the occasyon hereof was, that first they had no men to succyn the common

L. i.

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THE DIAL

wealthe, by reason of the greate multitude of people, whiche dyed in the warre: they ordeyned, that all the yonge men shoulde marre, the yonge maydes, and all the wydowes, all the free, and the bonde, and that the honoure whiche had bene done vntyll that tyme vnto the olde men, from hencefo: the shoulde be done vnto the marred men, though they were yonge. So that the moſte honoured in Rome was he, not of moſte yeares, but he that had moſt children. This lawe was made a lytle befoze the firſte battayle of Carthage.

And the cuſtome that the marred men were more honoured, then the olde men, endured vntyll the tyme of the Emperour Augustus, whiche was ſuche a frende of antiquities, that he renewed all the walles of Rome with new ſtones, and renewed all the aunyente cuſtomes of the common wealthe. Licurgus, in the lawes whiche he gaue to the Lacedemonians ordeyned, that the yonge men paſſynge by the olde, shoulde doe them greate reuerence: and when the olde dyd ſpeake, then the yonger shoulde be ſilente.

And he ordeyned alſo, that if anye olde man by caſualtye dyd loſe his goods, and came into extreame pouertye, that he ſhuld be ſuſtained of the common wealthe: and that in ſuche ſuſtentacion, they ſhould haue reſpecte not onelye to ſuccoure hym fo: to ſuſtayne hym, but further to geue hym to lyue competentlye. Plutarke in his Apothegmes declareth, that Cato the Cenſourer viſitynge the corners of Rome, found an olde man ſittynge at his doze weeping, and ſheddynge many teares from his eyes. And Cato the Cenſourer demaunding him why he was ſo euill handeled, and wherefoze he wepte ſo bitterlye, the good old man answered hym.

¶ Cato, the Gods being the onely comfortours, comforte the in all thy tribulations, ſince thou arte readye to comforte

me at this woſull howze. As well as thou knoweſt that the conſolations of the harte are more neceſſarye, then the phyſike of the bodye: the whiche beinge applyed ſometymes doeth heale, and another tyme they doe harme. Beholde my ſcabed handes, my ſwollen legges, my mouth with oute teethe, my peeled face, my white beard, and my balde heade: fo: thou beinge (as thou arte) diſcrete, ſhouldeſt be excuſed to aſke me, why I wepe.

¶ Fo: men of my age, though they wepe not fo: the lytel they fele: yet they ought to weape, fo: the ouer muche they lyue. The man whiche is loden with yeares, turmented with dyſeaſes, purſued with enemies, forgotten of his frendes, viſtred with miſhappes, and with euill wyll and pouertye: I knowe not why he demaundeth long life: fo: there can be no ſharper reuengement of byes, whiche we commit: then to geue vs longe lyfe.

¶ Though nowe I am aged, I was yonge, and if anye yonge man ſhoulde do me anye iniurye, truly I woulde not deſire the gods to take his lyfe, but that they woulde rather prolonge his lyfe. Fo: it is a great pytye, to heare the man (whiche hath liued long) accounte the troubles whiche he hath endured. Knowe thou Cato, if thou doeſt not knowe it, that I haue liued .77. yeares. And in this tyme, I haue buryed my father, my grandfather, two Auntes, and .5. vnckles. After that I had buryed .9. ſyſters, and .11. Brethren, I haue buryed after warres, two legittimate wyfes, and .5. bond women, whiche I haue had as my ſermmans.

I haue buryed alſo .14. chyldren, and .7. marred daughters, and therewith not contented, I haue buryed .37. Nephues, and .15. pieces, & that which greaueth me moſte of all is, that I haue buryed two frendes of mine, one which remayned in Capua, & the other which was reſident here at Rome. The death of who hath greued me more, then all thoſe

those of my alliance and parentage. For in the worlde there is no lyke losse to that, where a man loseth hym whome entirclye he loueth, and of whome also he is derelpe beloued. The faterl destines oughte to content them selues, to haue annoied my house with so manye mysfortunes. But after all this, and aboue al this, they haue leste me a wicked nephewe, which shal be mine heire, and they haue leste vnto me, that al my lyfe I shal lament. O Cato, for that thou owest to the common wealthe I doe desire the, and by the immortall gods I doe comare the, that since thou arte a vertuous Romayne, and censoꝝ of the people, that thou prouyde for one of these two thinges, that is to wete, that this my Nephewe doe serue me, or els ordeyne that I dye forthewyth. For it is a greate crueltye, that those doe pursue me whiche are aliue, since it is now 40. yeares that I ceased not to bewaile the deade. Cato beinge well enfourmed of that the elde man had tolde hym, and since he founde al that true, which he spake, he called vnto his presence the ponge Nephew, and saied vnto him these wordes. If thou were such a child as thou oughtest to be, thou shuldest excuse me of payne, and thy selfe of trauayle. But since it is not so, I praye the take that patientlye, that I shal commaund the: and be thou assured, that I wyl not commaund the anye thing, that shalbe against iustice. For the vicious ponglinges (as thou arte) ought to be more ashamed of the yowthfulnes they haue committed: then for the punishmente which is geuen vnto them.

Firste I commaunde thou be whipte, because thou arte dysobedient, and troubles some to thy grandefather.

Secondlye, I commaunde that thou be banished the limittes of rome, because thou arte a vicious-pong man.

Thirde, I commaund that of all the goods thou hast enherited, thou shalt be dis-enherpted: because thou doste not obeye thy grandefather.

And the cause why I geue suche seuer sentence is, to the ende that from hence forwarde, the ponge shal not disobey the aged, and also that those which haue enherited greate treasours, shal not thinke that men shall permit them to be moze vicious, then others. Phalaris the tyrant, wytyng to a frend of his which was very aged, saied these wordes: the whiche rather seemed of a Philosopher, then of a tyrant. I haue merueilled at the, my frend Verto, to know as I do, that in yeares thou arte very aged, and in wykes very ponge: and also it greueth me, that thou hast losse the credyte of knowledge in the scholes. It greueth me more, that through the, the knowledge shuld be lost, which the old men haue accustomed to haue in Grece: that is to wete, that all the theues, all the persured, and all the murderers were moze sure, when by whyte beares they seemed to be old: then whē they retreated to the altars of the temples. O what goodnes, O what wisdom, what valiauntnes, and what innocency ought the aged men to haue in the aunciente tyme: since in Rome they honoured them as gods, and in Grece they prouided those whyte beares as temples. Plinie in an epylle he wrote to Fabius saier, that Pirrus kinge of the Epirotes, demaunded a philosopher, whiche was the best cyte of the worlde: who answered. The beste cyte of the worlde, is No-lerda, a place of 3 hundred fiers in achaia: because all the walles are of blacke stones, and all those whiche gouerne it, haue hoazye heades.

And further he saied, Who be vnto the Rome, Who be vnto the Carthage, Who be vnto the Numancia, Who be vnto the Egypte. Cytyes whiche counte them selues for the beste of the worlde, wheres of I am of a contrarie oppynyon.

For they auance them selues to haue whyte walles, and are not ashamed to haue ponge Senators. This Philosopher sayde verye well, and I thinke no

L. II. man

THE DIAL

man wyll saye lesse then I haue sayde.

Of this worde Senex, is derpyed the name of a Senacoure, for so were the gouernours of Rome named, because the firste kynge (that was Romulus) chose a hundredth aged men to gouerne the common wealt, and commaunded, that all the other Romayne yowthe shoulde employe them selues to the warre.

Since we haue spoken of the honoure whiche in the olde tyme was given to the aunient men, it is reason we knowe now, from what yere they counted men aged, to the ende they shoulde be honoured as aged men. For the makers of lawes, when they had establisshed the honours, whiche oughte to be done to the aged: dyd aswell ordeyne, from what daye and yere, they shoulde begin. Dyuers aunient Philosophers dyd put .6. ages, from the tyme of the birthe of man, tyl the houre of deathe.

That is to wete, chyldehode, which lasteth tyl .7. yeaeres. Infancye whiche endureth vntyll .17. yeaeres. Yowthe whiche continueth tyl .30. yeaeres. Mans estate whiche remaineth till .55. yeaeres. Age whiche endureth till .lxxviij. yeaeres. Croked age which remaineth til deathe. And so after man had passed .lb. yeaeres, they called hym aged.

Aulus Gellius in his .10. booke, in the .xviii. Chapter. sayeth, that Tullius Hostilius (who was kynge of the Romaynes) determyned to counte all the olde, and yonge, whiche were amongst the people: and also to knowe, whiche shoulde be called infantes, whiche yonge, and whiche old. And there was lytle dyfference amongst the Romayne Philosophers, and in the ende it was decreed by the kynge, and the Senate, that men tyl .xviij. yeaeres shoulde be called infantes, and tyl .xviij. shoulde be called yonge, and from .xviij. yowwardes, they shoulde be called olde.

If we wyll obserue the lawe of the Romaynes, we knowe from what tyme we

are bounde to call and honour the aged men. But addyng hereunto, it is reason that the olde men knowe, to what pottes, and vertues they are bounde, to the ende that with reason, and not with saynyng, they be serued. For speakyng the trueth, if we compare duty, to duty, the old men are more bounde to vertue: then the yonge to seruyce. We can not deny, but that all states of nations (greate and smal, yonge and olde) are bounde to be vertuous: but in this case, the one is more to be blamed, then the other.

For oftentymes if the yonge do offende, it is for that he wanteth experyence: but if the olde man offende, it is for the abundance of malysce. Seneca in an Epistle sayde these wordes. I let the wete my frend Lucillus, that I am verie muche offended, and I doe complayne not of any frende, or foe: but of my selfe, and none other.

And the reason why I thinke thus, is that I see my selfe olde in yeaeres, and yonge in vices: so that lytle is that wherein I haue serued the Gods, and muche lesse is that I haue profited men. And Seneca sayeth further, he whiche prayseth hym selfe moste to be aged, and that woulde be honoured for being aged: oughte to be temperate in eatyng, honest in apparayle, sober in drynkyng, softe in wordes, wyse in counsaile, and to conclude, he ought to be very patiente in aduersity, and farre from vices whiche attempte hym. Alowth of prayse is the greate Seneca, for these wordes: but more worthy shall the old men be, if they wyll conforme their workes accor dyng to those wordes.

For if we see them abandone vices, and geue them selues to vertues: we wyll bothe serue them, and honour them.

The

The.xviii.Chapter.

That princes vwhen they are aged,
should be temperate in eating,
sober in drinke, modest in
apparell, and aboue all, true in
their communication.



Tis consonant to the counsaile of Seneca, that the aged shoulde be temperate in eatynge, whiche they ought to do, not only for the reputation of their persons: but also for the preservation of their liues. For the old men which are drunke, and amorous, are persecuted with their owne diseases, and are defamed by the tongues of others. That whiche the auncient men shoulde eate (I meane those, which are noble, and vertuous) ought to be very cleane, and wel dressed, and aboue all, that they take it in season and tyme: for otherwise, to muche eating of dyuers thinges, causeth the yonge to be sicke, and enforceth the old to dye. Yong men, though they eate dishonestly, very hastily, and eate speaking, we can do no lesse but dissemble with them: but the olde men, whiche eate muche, & hastily, of necessity we ought to reprove them. For men of honoz ought to eate at the table, with as great gravity: as if they were in any counsaile, to determine causes. It is not my intencion, to perswade the sensible olde men not to eate, but to admonish them to eate no more then is necessarye. We doe not prohibyte them to eate delicate thinges, but to beware of superfluous thinges. We doe not counsaile them to leaue eatynge, hauinge neede: but to withdrawe them selues from curiosities. For though it be lawfull for aged men to eate

suffycient, it is not honest for them to eate to overcome their stomakes. It is a shame to wyte it, but more shame oughte they to haue whiche doe it, whiche is, that the goods whiche they haue wonne, and inheriyed by their predecessours, they haue eaten, and drunken: so that they haue neyther boughte house, vyne, nor yet married anye daughter, but they are naked, and their pore chyldren goe to the Tanneries, and Innes: and the myserable fathers, to the Hospitalles, and churches. When any man cometh to pouertry, for that his house is burned, or his shyppe drowned, or that they haue taken all from hym by proces, or that he hath spent it in pleasyng agaynst his enemye, or anye other inconuenience is come vnto hym, we thinke we all are bounde to succoure hym, and the hart hath compassyon to beholde hym: but he that spender it in apparayle not requysite, to seke delycious wynes, and to eate delicate meates, to suche one I woulde saye, that the pouertry he suffereth, is not suffycient for his desertes. For of all troubles there is none so greate, as to see a man suffer the euill, whereof he hym selfe hath bene the occasyon. Also accordynge to the counsaile of Seneca, the auncientes oughte to be well aduertysed, in that they shoulde not onely be temperate in eatynge, but also they shoulde be sober in drynkynge: and this both for the preservatio of their health, and also reputation of their honestye.

For if the olde Philosophers doe not decrease vs, humaine bodys doe dye and corrupte, because they drinke superfluously, and eate more then nature requirith.

If I shoulde saye vnto the olde men, that they shoulde drynke no wyne: they myghte tell me, that it is not the counsaile of a Chrysitan. But presuppose they oughte to drynke, and that for no oppynion they should leaue it: yet I admonyshe, exhorthe, and desire them, that they drinke lytel, and that they drynke very temperate,

THE DIAL

For the dysordynate, and outragious
drynking, causeth yonge men to be drunke,
and the olde membothe drunke and foolish.
Whow muche authozitye losse they, and
what grauytye doe honourable and aun-
cynthe men lose, whiche in drynkyng are
not sober. Whiche semeth to be true, for
asmuch as the man being loden with wine,
though he were the wyfdest in the world, he
shoulde be a berpe foole, that shoulde take
counsaile of suche one in his affaires.

Plutarke in a booke whiche he made
of the fortune of the Romaynes sayed: that
in the senate of Rome, there was an aun-
cient man, who made greate exclamacions,
that a yonge man had in suche sorte dysho-
noured hym, that for the insurpes he had
spoken, he deserued deathe.

And when the yonge man was called,
for to aunswere to that he had sayed vnto
hym, he aunswered. Fathers conscripte,
thoughe he seme yonge vnto you, yet I am
not so yonge, but that I knowe the father
of this olde man, who was a vertuous and
noble Romayne, and somewhat a kinne to
me. And I feinge that his father had gotte
ten much goods fityng in the warres, and
also feinge this olde man spendynge them
in eatyng and drynkyng: I sayed vnto him
one daye, I am berpe sope my loyde, and
uncle, for that I heare of thy honour in the
market place: and am the moze sope, for
that I see done in thy house, wherein we
saue fitye men armed before in one our,
and we now see a hundred knaues made
drunke.

And worse then that, as thy father shew-
ed to all those that entered his house
the ensignes he had wonne in the warres:
so now to those that enter into thy house,
thou shewest them dyuers sortes of wyues.
My uncle comeplayned of one, but in
this case, I make the playnerpe iudge, a-
gynste me the defendaunte.

And I woulde by the immortall Gods, he

deserued no more paine for his woordes: then
I deserue by my woordes.

For if he had bene wyse, he woulde haue
accepted the correccion whiche secretlye I
gaue hym: and had not come openlye, to
declare his fautes in the Senate. The
complaynte of the olde man beinge heard
by the Senate, and the excuse in lyke ma-
ner of the yonge man, they gaue iudges-
mente, that they shoulde take all the Ceds
from the olde man, and prouyde hym of a
tutoure, whiche shoulde gouerne hym, and
his house.

And they commaunded the tutoure, that
from hence forthwarde, he shoulde not geue
hym one cuppe of wyne, since he was nee-
ded of drunkennesse. Of truthe the sen-
ence whiche the Senate gaue, was very
iuste. For the olde man, whiche geueh
hym selfe to wyne, hath asmuche nede to
haue a gouernour, as an infante, or a foole.

Laetius made a booke of the feastes of
Philosophers, and declareth sunny aun-
cynthe bankettes, amonge the whiche he
putteth one, where were assembled many
greate Philosophers. And admitteth that the
meates were meane, and simple: yet the
hydden gesses were sage.

And the cause why they dyd assemble,
was not to eate: but to dyspute of some
grane doctrynes, whereof the philosophers
dyd somewhat doute. For in those dayes,
the greater the Stoikes and the Peripate-
tiques were in number: so muche the moze
were the Philosophers deuided amongest
them selues. When they were so assem-
bled, trulye they dyd not eate, nor drynke
oute of measure: but some pleasaunte ma-
ter was moued betwene the maysters and
the schollers, betwene the yonge and the
olde, that is to wete, whiche of them coulde
declare anye secreete of Philosophye, or any
profound sentence. Whyppe were suche
feastes, and no lesse happye were they, that
they were bidden.

But

But I am sorie, that those which nowe byd and those that are bidden, for a tounge are not as those auncientes were. For there are no feastes now adayes of philosophers, but of gluttons, not to dispute, but to murmur, not to open doubtful thinges, but to talke of the vices of others, not to confirme auncient amities, but to beginne new dissensions, not to learne anye doctrines, but to approue some novelty. And that which worst of all is, that the old sitte at the table with the yong, not on him which hath spoken the moste graue senteney: but of him which hath dronke most wine, & hath rinsed most cuppes. Paulus Diaconus in the historie of the Lumbardes declareth, that 4. old Lumbardes made a banquet, in the which the one dranke to the others peres, and it was in this maner. They did beseech to drinke, 2. to 2. and after ech man had declared how many peres olde he was: the one dranke as many times as the other was peres old, and likewise his companion pledged him. And ech one of these 4. companions, had at the least .xs. yeares: so that a man knoweth not what they did eat in this banquet, eyther litle or much: but we knowe that he that dranke least, dranke .s. cuppes of wine.

Of this so euell custome, came the Gothes to make this lawe, which of many is redde and of selue vnderstanded, where it sayeth

The ordyne and commaund, on payne of death, that no olde man drinke to the others peres being at the table. That was made, because they were so much geuen to wine, that they dranke more oft, then they did eate morselles. The Princes and great Lordes, which are now olde, oughte to be very sober in drinkeinge. synce they oughte greatly to be regarded and honoured of the yonge.

For speaking the truthe, and with lib-

erty, whan the olde man shall be overcome with wine, he hath more necessitye that the yonge man leade him by the arme to his house: then that he should take of his cappe to hit him, or speake vnto him with reuerence.

Also princes and great Lordes, ought to be very circumspecte that when they be come aged, they be not mored for yonge, in the apparayle which they weare: for although that for wearinge a fine and riche garment, the prince doth not enriche or enpouerishe his common wealth: yet we can not denye, but that it doth much for the reputation of his persone.

For the banitye and curiosite of garments, doth shew great lightnes of minde. According to the varietee of ages, so ought the diuersitie of apparayle to be, which seemeth to be very cleare, in that the yonge maydes are attyred in one sorte, the maryed women of an other sorte, the widdowes of an other.

And likewise I woulde saye, that the apparayle of children oughte to be of one sorte, those of yonge men of an other, and those of old men of an other, which ought to be more honeste then all.

For men of hoarye heades, ought not to be adourned with precious garments: but with vertuous woorkes. To go cleanly to be wel apparayled and to be wel accompanied we do not forbidde the olde, especially those which are noble, and valyaunt men: but to go to fine, to goe with greate traynes, and to go very curious, we do not allowe. Let the olde men, pardone me, for it is not the office but of yonge foolcs: for the one sheweth honestye, and the other lightnes. It is a confusion to tell it, but it is greater shame to do it, that is to wete, that manye olde men of our tyme take no small felicity to put caules on their heades, euery man

THE DIALL

saye, to weare Jewels on their neckes, to laye their cappes with agglettes of golde, to seke out diuers inuentions of metalles, to loade their fingers with riche ringes, to go perfumed with odiferous sauours, to weare new fashioned apparayle, and finally I saye, that though their face be full of wrinckles, they can not suffer one wrinckle to be in their gowne. All the auncient historians, accuse Quintus Hortensis the Romaine, for that euerye time when he made him selfe ready, he hadde a glasse before him: and as much space and time had he to streighten the plattes of his gowne: as a woman had, to trimme the beares of her head. This Quintus Hortensis being Consul, going by chaunce one day through Rome, in a narrow street met with the other Consul, where through the streightnes of the passage the plights of his gowne were vndone: vpon the which occasion, he complayned to the senate of the other Consul, that he had done him a great iniurye, saying that he deserved to lose his life. The authour of all this is Macrobius: in the third booke of the Saturnales. I can not tell if I be deceiued, but we may saye, that all the curiositie that olde men haue to go fine, wel appareled, and cleane, is for no other thing, but to shake of age, and to pretend right to youthe. What a grieue is it to see diuers auncient men, the which as ripe figges do fall: and on the other side, it is a wonder to see how, in their age they make them selues yonge. In this case I saye, woulde to god we mighte see them haue bices, and not to complaine of the yeares which they haue. I pray and exhorthe princes and great lordes, whom our soueraigne lord hath permitted to come to age, that they do not despise to be aged. For speaking the truth: the man which hath enty to some olde, doth desire to liue in the lightnes of youth. Also men of honour ought to be very circumspecte, for so muche as after they

are become aged, they be not suspected of their friendes, but that both vnto their friendes and foes, they be counted faythful. For a lye in a yong mans mouth, is but a lye, but in the mouth of an old man: it is a heynous blasphemy. Princes and great lordes after they are become aged, of one sort they oughte to vse them selues to giue, and of another to speake. For good princes, ought to sell wordes by weight, and giue rewardes without measure. The auncient men oftentimes complaine, saying, that the yong wil not be conuersant with them: and truly if there be any fault therein, it is of them selues. And the reason is, that if sometimes they do assemble together to passe awaye the time, if the old man set a talkinge, he neuer maketh an ende. So that a discrete man hadde rather go. xlii. miles on foote: then to heare an old man talke. iii. houres. If with such efficacie we perswade olde men, that they be honest in their apparayle: for a truth we wil not giue the licence, to be dissolute in their wordes, sins there is a great difference to note some man in his apparayle, or to accuse him to be malicious or a babler. For to weare riche apparayle, iniurieth selue: but iniurious wordes hurt many. Macrobius, in the firste booke of the dialogue of Scipio, declareth of a philosopher named Crito, who liued a hundred and fine yeres: and till fifty yeres, he was farre out of course: But after he came to be aged he was so well measured in his eating and drinkinge, and so ware in his speche, that they neuer sawe him do any thinge worthy reprehension: nor heard him speake worde, but was worthy of nothinge. On this condition we would geue licence to many, that till fifty yeres they shoulde be yonge: so that from thens forth, they woulde be clothed as olde men, speake as olde men, and should esteeme them selues to be olde. But I am soye, that all the springe time both passe in flower, and afterwarde they fall

into the grate as rotten, before they finde anye tyme to pull theym out. The olde do complayne, that the yonge do not take their aduice, and their excuse herethin is, that in their wordes they are so long.

For if a man do demaunde an olde man of his opinion in a case, immediatlye he will begynne to saye, that in the lyfe of such and suche kynges and Lordes of good memorye, this was done, and this was prouided

So that when a yonge man aske theym counsaile, howe he shall behaue him selfe with the lusting, the olde man beginneth to declare vnto him the lyfe of those whiche he head.

The reason why the olde men desire to speake so longe is, that since for their age they can not se, nor go, nor eate, nor slepe, they wold y they members all tymes when they are occupied to do their duties, al that tyme their tonge should be occupied to declare of theyr times passe. All this beinge spoken, what more to saye I knowe not, but that we shoulde contente our selues, that the olde men shoulde haue theyr fleshe as muche punished: as they haue their tongue with talke marred.

Though it be very vyle for a yonge man to speake, and flander to a yonge manne not to say the truthe: yet this vice is much more to be abhorred in old men.

Who ought not onely to thinke it theyr dutye to speake truthe, but also to punish the enemies therof.

For otherwise, the noble and valiaunt knightes shuld lose litle of their authority, if a man sawe on theyr heades but whiske beares, and in their mowthes sounde no thinge but lyes.

The xix. Chapter

Of a letter of the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius, vvhetherin he re proueth those, that haue many yeares, and litle discretion.



MARKE Emperoure
borne in mount Celio, desy
reth to you my neighbours,
Claude and Claudine, helth

of your persons & amendment of your liues I beinge as I am, at the conquest of Asia, and you remaininge alwayes in the pleasures of Rome, we vnderstand your netues very late, and I thinke our letters arriue there as late. Notwithstanding is all those whiche go thither, I geue answeres for you others: and of all those whiche come hither, I demaunde of your health. And do not demaunde of others, howe wel and howe muche I loue you, but of your owne proper hartes: and if your harte saye that I am a sepyed friend, then I take my selfe condemned. If perchauce your hartes doth tel you that I loue you, beinge true I dede that I hate you, or if I tell you that I hate you, beinge true that I loue you: of truthe I would pluck such a hart out of my body, and giue it to be eaten of the beastes. For there is no greater dyscepe, then that which the man doth to him selfe. If a stranger begile me, I ought to dissemble it: if an enemye deceiue me, I ought to reuenge it, if my frende misuse me I ought to complayne of him: but if I deceiue my selfe with whom shall I comfort my selfe? For there is no patience that can suffer the hart to deceiue him selfe in anye thinge, whiche he hathe not depelye considered. Peraduenture ye will saye that I do not esteeme you, and that I haue not wrytten anye letter vnto you of longe tyme. To this I answer. That you do not attribute the faulte to my negligence, but to the greates distance of Countreys that

THE DIAL

that there is, from bens to rome : and also to the great affayres of Asia. For amongst other discommodities, the warre hath this also, that it deprieth vs of the sweete conuersation of our countrey. I haue alwayes presumed to be yours, and at this present am at no mans pleasure, moze then at yours. And sins you haue alwayes knowen of me what you desired to knowe I haue espied in you others that, whiche of force I must speake. For in the end I haue not sene any possesse so much, to be worthe so much, to knowe so much nor in all thinges to be so mightye, but that one daye he should neede his poore frende. The deuine Plato sayde, and also well, that the manne which loueth with his hart, neyther in absence forgetteth, neyther in presence becometh negligent, neither in prosperity he is proude, nor yet in aduersity abtecte, neyther he serueth for profite, nor yet he loneth for gayne, and finally he defendeth the cause of his frende as his owne. Diners haue bene the opinions which the aunciētes held to affirm for what ende frendes were taken, and in the ende they were fullye resolved, that for 4. causes we oughte to chose frendes. The first we oughte to haue frendes, to treate, and be conuersant with all: for accordinge to the troubles of this life, there is no time so pleasauntly consumed, as in the conuersaciō of an assured frende. The second is, we oughte to haue frendes to whome we maye disclose the secretes of our hartes: for it is muche comforte to the woful hart to declare to his friend his doubts, if he perceiue that he doth seke them in dede.

The third, we oughte to searche and chose frendes, so thende they helpe vs in our aduersities. For little profiteth it my harte that with teares the frendes do heare all that I bewaile, onles afterwarde in dede he wil take paynes to reforme the same. The fourth we oughte to seke and preserue frendes, so thende they be protectours of

our goodes and likewise Judges of our euilles: for the good friend is no lesse bound to withholde vs from the vices, whereby we are sclandered, then to deliuer vs fro our enmities, by whom we may be slayne. The ende why I tolde you all this was, if that in this letter you chaunce to lighte of any sharpe worde, that you take it patiently, considering that the loue which I beare you, doth moue me to speake, and the sayth which I owe vnto you, doth not suffer me that I should kepe it close. For many thinges oughte to be borne amonge frendes, though they tell them in earnest: whiche ought not to be suffered of others, though they speake it in gess. I come therefore to shewe the matter, and I beseeche the immortall goddes that there be no moze then that which was told me, and that it be lesse then I suspecte. Caius Furius, your kinsman and my speciall frende, as he wente to the realme of Palestyne, and Hierusalem, came to se me in Antioche, and hath tolde me netwes of Italy, and Rome, and among others one abous all the residue, I haue committed to memozye, at the which I could not refraine laughing, and lesse to be troubled, after I had thought of it. Whom many thinges do we take in gess, the which after we haue well considered geue occasion to be soye. The emperour Adrian my good lord, had a manne whose name was Belpius pong, comelye, and stoute, albeit he was very malicious, as suche are accustomed to be: and whiles the imbassadors of Germaine supped with the Emperour in great ioye, the sayde Belpius began to test, accordinge to the maner of parasites which were present, with a cettayne malicious grace. And Adrian perceiuing that some chaunged colour, others murmured, and others were angrie, he sayde vnto the parasite, frend Belpius for the loue of me and my wife, vse no malicious iesses here at oure supper, the which afterwarde might turne vs to euil rest in our beddes,

Caius

Gaius Furius hath tolde me so manie flanders chaunced in Italye, such nouelties done in Rome, suche alteration of our Senate, such contentiō and strife betwene our neighbours, such lightnes of you two that I was astonied to heare it, and ashamed to write it. And it is nothing, to tel after what sorte he told them vnto me, one lesse you had sene howe earnestly he spake them, imagineng that as he told the without takinge anye paine, so didde I receyue them (as he thought) without anye grieue though in dede euerye worde that he spake seemed a sharpe percinge arrowe vnto my heart. For oftymes some telleth vs thinges, as of smal importaunce, the which do prick our hearres to the quicke. By the opinion of all, I vnderstand that you are very olde, and yet in youre owne fantasies, you seeme very yonge. And further they saye, that you apparell your selues a newe now, as though presentlye you came into the worlde: and moreouer they say, that you are offended with nothinge so muche, as when they cal you old, and that in theaters where comedies are played, and in the feldes, where the brute beastes do runne, you are not the hindmost, and that there is no sporte, nor lightnes inuented in Rome, but first is registred in your house. And finally they saye, that you geue your selues so to pleasures, as though you neuer thought to receiue displeasures. O Claude and Claudine by the god Iupiter I sweare vnto you that I am ashamed of your vnchamefastnes, and am greatlye abashed of your manners, and aboue all, I am exceedinglye grieved for your great offence. For at that time that you ought to yelde by your hand, you are retourned againe into the sinne of the worlde. Many thinges men commit whiche though they seme graue, yet by moderaciō of the person that committeth theym, they are made light, but speakinge according to the trowth, I finde one reason, whereby I might excuse your lightnes, but to the con-


trarie, I see, to whereby I maye condemne your follies, Solon the philosopher in his lawes, sayde to the Athenians that if the yonge offended, he should be gently admonished, and greuously punished, because he was stronge: and if the olde didde erre, he should be lightly punished, and sharply admonished, sith he was weake, and feble.

To this Licurgus in his lawes to the Lacedemonians, sayde contrarie, that if the yong did offende, he should be lightly punished, & greuously admonished, sins though ignorance he did erre, and the old manne which did enill should be lightly admonished, and sharply punished, sins though mallice he did offende. These .ii. philosophers beinge (as they haue bene) of such authoritye in the worlde that is past, and consideringe that their lawes and sentences were of such weight: it should be much rashnes in not admonishing the one of theym. Nowe not receyuinge the one, nor reprimanding the other, me thinketh that there is great excuse to the yonge, for their ignorance, and great condemnation to the aged, for theyr experience. Wnes agayne I retourne to saye, that you pardone me my friendes, and you ought not greatly to wepe it, though I am somewhat sharpe in my commendation, since you others are so dissolute in your lues, for of your blacke lyfe, my penne doth take ynke, I remember wel that I haue herd of the Claude that thou hast bene lusty & couragious in thy youth: so that thy strength of all was enuyed, and the beautie of Claudine, of all men was desired. I wil not write vnto you in this letter, my friendes and neighbours, neither reduce to memory howe thou Claude hast employed the forces in thy seruice of thy cōmō wealth & Claudine hast won muche honour of thy beauty: for sūdy times it chaunced, that men of many goodly giftes, are noted of greuous offences. Those which strived with the are all dead, those whom I desiredst are dead those which serued the

THE DIALL

Claudine, are dead, those which before the Claudine, sighed are dead, those which for the died, are now dead, and since all those are dead with their lightnes, do not you others thinke to dye, & your follies also. I demaunde now of thy youthe one thinge, and of thy beauty another thinge, what do you receiue of these pastimes, of these good interteinmentes, of these aboundaunces, of these great contentations, of the pleasures of the world, of the vanitie that is past, and what hope you of al these to carpe into the narrowe graue? Simple, simple and ignorant persones, holue our life consumeth, and we perceiue not howe we liue therein. For it is no felicity, to enioy a short or long life: but to knowe to employ the same, well or euill. Children of the earthe, and disciples of banishe, now you knowe that tyme flyeth without mouing his winges, the life goeth, without liftinge vpp his fecte, the worlde despatcheth vs, not tellinge vs the cause, men begile vs, not mouing their lippes, our flesh consumeth, to vs vnwares, the heart dieth, hauing no remedye, and finally, our glorie decayeth, as if it had neuer ben, and death oppresseth vs, without knocking at the doore. Though a man be neuer so simple, or so very a foole: yet he can not denaye, but it is impossible to make a fier in the botome of the sea, to make a way in the ayre, of the thynne bloude to make tough sinnewes, and of the soft baynes to make hard bones. I meane that it is vnpossible, that the grene flower of youthe, be not one day withered by age.

The, xx. Chapter.

 The Emperoure perswadeth those that are olde, to giue no more credite to the worlde, nor to any of his flatteries.



THAT vvhich I haue spoke now, tendeth more to aduertise the yonge, then to teache the olde. For you others, haue now passed the pygme time of childehode, the somer of youthe, and the harvest of adolescencie, and are in the winter of age, where it seemeth an vncomely thinge, that those your hoozpe heares, shoulde be accompanied with suche dayne follies. Sithens yonge men knowe not that they haue to ende theyr youthe, it is no meruaile that they folowe the worlde: but the olde men whiche see them selues fall in to this gyle, why will they runne after vices agayne? Worlde, for that thou art the worlde, so small is our force, and so great our debilityte, that thou willing it, and we not resisting it, thou dost swalowe vs by in the most perillous goulfe, & in the thornes most sharpe thou dost picke vs: by the prynciest wayes thou ledest vs, & by the most stony waies thou carriest vs. I meane that thou bringest vs to the highest fauours, to the ende that afterwards with a pushe of thy picke thou mighte ouerthrowe vs. Worlde, wherein all is worlde. 52. yeres haue passed since in the I was first bozne, during the whiche tyme, thou neuer toldest me one truth: but I haue taken the with 10 thousande lyes. I neuer demaunded the thinge, but thou dydest promyse it me, and yet it is nothinge at all, that euer thou diddest perfourme. I neuer put my truste in the, but euer thou begiledest me. I neuer came to the but thou dydest vndoe me, finally, neuer sawe I oughte in the, where by thou deseruest loue, but alwayes hatred. This presupposed, I knowe not what is in the worlde, or what we worlde linges wante, for if thou hatest vs, we cannot hate the, if thou dost vs insurpe, we cannot dissemble

seemle it, if thou strykest vs with thy fete, we wyl suffer it, if thou bearest vs with a staffe, we wyl holde our peace, also though thou persecutest vs, we wil not complaine, though thou takest ours, we wyl not demaunde it of the, though thou doest begyle vs, we wyl not cal our selues begyled, and the worste of all is, that thou doest chase vs from the house, yet we wyl not from thens departe. I knowe not what this meaneth, I knowe not from whens this cometh, I wote not who oughte to prayse this same, that we couet to follow the worlde, whiche wyl hate vs, and hate the gods, which loue vs: oftentimes I make account of my yeares past, sometymes also I turne and tolse my bookes to se what I haue red, and another tyme, I desire my frendes to geue me good counsel: and soz no oherwise I doe it, then to attaine to that I haue spoken, & to knowe that I wyl saye. I readynge Rhetozyke in Rhodes, Adrian my lord mainteinyng me there, knowynge that I was .32. yeares of age, it happened, that in the sprynge tyme I found my selfe solitarie, and solitarie with libertie smelled the worlde, and smelling it, I knewe it, and knowynge it, I followed it, & followynge it, I attained vnto it, and attainynge vnto it, thereunto I soynd my selfe, and soyning my selfe therewith, I proued it, and in prouynge it, I tasted it, and in tastynge it me thought it bytter, and in syndynge it better I hated it, and hatynge it, I lefte it, and leauynge it, it is retourned, and retournynge it, I receiued it agayne: finally, the worlde inuynge me, and I not resistynge it, .52. yeares we dyd eate our bread togethers, and in one house we haue alwayes remayned, wylte thou knowe after what sozt the worlde & I do liue in one house togethers, or better to saye in one, harte remaine: harken then, and in one word I wil tel it the. Whē I saw the worlde bzaue, I serued him, whē he saw me sad, he flattered me, whē I saw him wealthy, I asked him, when he saw me mery, he begyled me, when I de-

sired any thing, he holpe me to attaine to it, and afterwarde when the same I best enjoyed, then he toke it from me, when he saw me not pleased, he vsyrted me, when he saw me, he sozgot me, whē he saw me ouerthrowen, he gaue me his hād to releue me, whē he saw me exalted, he tripped me agayne to ouerthrowe me. Finally, whē I thinke that I haue somwhat in the worlde, I finde that al that I haue is a bon rden. Of this whiche I haue spoken of the worlde be any thinge, moze is that a great deale whiche yet of my selfe I wil say, which is, that without doute my folly is greater, then his mallice, since I am begyled so ofte, and yet allwayes I follow the deceiuer. O worlde, worlde, thou hast such moodes & fashions in thy procedynge, that thou ledest vs all to perdition. Of one thing I mervaille much, wherof I cannot be satisfied. Which is, since that we maye goe by the brydge, and yet without any gaine, that we wade thorough the water, & where as the shalowe is sure, we seke to runne into the golfe, and where the way is drye, we go into the plashe, where we maye eate helthe some meates to nozise the lyfe, we receiue popson to hasten death, we seke to destroye our selues, where as we maye be without daunger. Finally I say, without profite we commit a faulte, though we se with oure eyes the payne to follow. Wylle men ought circumspectly to se what they do, to examine that they speake, to proue that they take in hande, to beware whose company they vse, and aboue al, to knowe whom they trust.

For our iudgemēt is so corrupte, that to begyle vs, one suffiseth: and to make vs not to be disceiued, 10. thousande woulde not suffice. They haue so greute care of vs, I meane the worlde, to begyle vs, and the flesch to flatter vs, that the highe waye bringe as it is narrowe, the pathewaye dangerous, and ful of prickes, the forney is longe, & the lyfe shorte: our bodyes are neuer but lodē w bices, & oure hartes but ful of cares. I haue wondered at dyuers thinges in this worlde,

THE DIAL

but that whiche astonisheth me moste is, that those that be good, we make the beleue they are euil: and those whiche are euil, we persuade others to beleue that they are good. So that we shoote at the white of vertues, and hit the butte of vices. I wil confesse one thinge, the whiche being dysclofed, I know that infamye wyl follow me, but peradventure some vertuous mā wyl marueile at it, that is, that in these two and fiftie yeares of my lyfe, I haue proued all the vices of this world, for no other intent, but for to proue, if there be any thinge, where in mans mallice might be satisfied. And afterwarde, al wel considered, al examined, and al proued, I find, that the more I eate, the more I dye for hunger, the more I drinke, the greater thirst I haue, the more I rest, the more I am broken, the more I sleepe, the more drousier I am, the more I haue, the more I conuet, the more I desire, the more I am discontented, the more I procure, the lesse I attain. Finally, I neuer had so greate payne through wante, but afterwarde I had more trouble with excesse. It is a greate folly to thinke, that as long as a man liueth in this flesh, that he can satisfy the flesh: for at the last cast, he may take from vs our lyfe, but we others cannot take fro her, her dysordinate conetousnes. If men dyd speake with the gods, or if gods were conuersant wth men, the first thing that I would aske the should be, why they haue apointed an ende to oure woofal daies: and wyl not geue vs an end, of our wicked desires? O cruel Gods, what is it you do: or what do you suffer vs: it is certaine, that we shal not passe one good day of life only, but in casting this, & that, life consumeth. O intollerable life of mā, wherein there are suche mallices, fro the which we ought to beware, & such perils to fall in, and also so many thinges to consyder, & then both the, and we, do end to know our selues, wth the houre of death appoacheth. Now those that know not, & the world taketh our will, & we others like, ignorautes cannot deny hym,

and afterwarde hauing power of our will, doth constrain vs to y^e which we would not, so that many times we would do vertuous woorkes, & for that we are now put into the worldes handes, we dare not doe it. The world blerth another subtilty wth vs, that to the end we shuld not strine with it, it prayserth the times past, because we shuld liue according to the time present. And the world saierth further, that if we others employ our forces in his vices, he genereth vs licence that we haue a good desire of vertue. O would to god in my dayes I myght see, that the care whiche the world hath to preserve vs the worldynges would take it to withdraw them from hys bytes. I sweare that the Gods shoulde then haue more seruauntes, and the world and the fle she shuld not haue so manye slaues.

The xxi. Chapter.

The Emperoure proueth by good reasons, that like the aged persons vyl be serued and honored of the yong: they ought to be more vertuous and honest, then the yonge.

I Haue spoken al this before rehearsed, for occasion of you Claude, & Claudine, the which at 3. score and 10. yeares will not keape out of the prison of the world. You, I say, which haue bodies weake, & corrupted, what hope shal we haue of you, which are but 25. yerres of age: if my memory deceiue me not, wth I was there, you had nephewes married, & of their childre made sure, & two of y^e children borne: & since that is true, me thinketh when the frute is gathered, the lease is of no value, and after the meale is taken from the mylle, euil that the mylle grinde.

I meane, that the man who is not so aged, ought to desire, that his daies may be shortened in this worlde. Do not thinke my friendes, that a man can haue his house full of nephews, and yet say that he is very ponge: for in lodging the tree with frutes, the blossomes immediately fall, or els they become withered, I haue imagined with my selfe, what it is that you might do, to seeme ponge, and cut of some of your yeares, and in the end I know no other reason, but when you married Lambert your daughter with Darius and your sence Sophia the satre, with Tuscidan, whiche were so ponge, that the daughters were scarce .15. yeares old, nor the ponge men. 20. I suppose because you were riche of yeares and poore of money that he gaue to euery on of them, in stede of money for dowry. 20. yeares of yours, herof a man may gather, that his money of your nephews haue remained vnto you, & you haue geuen vnto them of your owne yeares: I vnderstand my friendes, that your desire is to be ponge, and very ponge, but I greatly desire, to se you old, and very olde. I do not measure in yeares, whiche in you doeth surmount: but in discretion, which in you doth wante. O Claude, and Claudine, note that which I will say vnto you, and beare it alwaies in your memory. I let you wete, that to make teine your selfe, to deface age, to lyue contented, to be free from troubles, to lengthen lyfe, and to auoyde death, these thinges are not in the handes of men, whiche doe desire them: but rather in the handes of those whiche geue them, the which accordinge to their iustice, and not to our couetousnes, doe geue vs lyfe by weight, and death without measure. One thinge the olde men doe, whiche is cause of slanderous maner, that is, that they wyl speake firste in counsaels, they wyl be serued of the ponge, in fearres, they wyl firste be placed, in all that they saye they wyl be holued, in churches, they wyl be hygher then the residue, in distributinge of offces, they wyl haue the

moste honoure, in there oppynions they wyl not be gaynesayde, finally, they wyl haue the credyte of olde sage men, and yet they wyl leade the lyfe of yong dotinge fooles. All these preeminences, and ppylleges, it is verie iuste that olde men shoulde haue, whiche of long tyme haue spent their yeares, in the seruice of the common wealthe: but with this I doe aduise, and require them, that the authoritie geuen them with their whyle yeares, be not dymnyshed by their euill workes.

Is it a iuste thinge, that the humble and honest ponge man doe reuerence to the aged man, proude, and tyfaine full: is it a iuste thinge, that the gentill and gracious ponge man doe reuerence, to the enuious, and malicious olde man: is it a iuste thinge, that the vertuous, and parrtent ponge man doe reuerence, to the foolish, and unparrtent olde man: is it a iuste thinge, that the honest, and lyberall ponge man doe reuerence, to the miserable, and conetous olde man: is it iuste, that the diligent, and carefull ponge man doe reuerence, to the negligent olde man: Is it iuste, that the abstynent, and sober ponge man doe reuerence to the greedy, and gluttonous olde man: Is it iuste, that the chaste, and continente ponge man doe reuerence, to the lecherous, and dissolute olde man: We thinke these thinges shoulde not be such, that thereby the olde man shoulde be honoured: but rather repproued, and punished. For olde men offende more, by the euill example they geue, then by the faulte which they doe commit. Thou canst not deny me, my friende Claude, that it is thirte and thre yeares sythe we bothe were at the Theaters to beholde a playe, when thou earnest late, and founde no place for the to sit in, thou saydest vnto me who was set, yse my soune marke, and sithens now thou arte ponge, it is but iust, that thou geue me place whiche am aged. If it be true, that it is .xxxi. yeares sithens thou

THE DIAL

askedst place in the theaters as an old man, tell me I praye the, and also I censure the, with what oyntemente hast thou anoynted thy selfe, or with what water hast thou washed thy selfe to become ponge? Claude, if thou habest found any medycine, or dyconered anye herbe, wherewith thou couldest take whyte beares from mens heades, and from women the wyncles of their faces: I sweare vnto the, and also I do assure the, that thou shouldest be moze bysyt and serued in Rome, then the God Apollo is in his Temple, at Ephesus. Thou shouldest wel remember Ennius Pristus the old mā, whiche was our neighbour, and somewhat a kinne to the, the which when I tolde him that I coulde not be filled wth his good wordes, and to beholde his ancient whyte beares, he saied vnto me. O my sonne Sparke, it appereth wel that thou hast not ben aged, bycause thou talkest as a ponge man: for if whyte beares do honour the parson, they greatly hurte the harte. For at that houre whē they se vs aged, the strangers do hate vs, and ours do not loue vs. And he told me moze, I let the were my sonne Sparke, that many times my wyfe, and I talking of the peares of another particularlye, when she beholdeth me, and that I seme vnto her so aged, I say vnto her, and sweare, that I am yet ponge, and that the whyte beares came vnto me by great traualles, and the age by sicknesses. I do remember also, that this Ennius Pristus was senatour one yeare: and bycause he woulde not seme aged, but desired that men shoulde iudge hym to be ponge he shaued his bearde, and his heade, which was not accustomed amonge the senatours nor Censours of Rome. And as one daye amongest the other Senatours he entered into the hyghe Capprolle, one layde vnto hym. Tell me man, from whence comest thou? What wyte thou? and why comest thou hither? howe durste thou being no senatour enter into the Senate? he answered. I am Ennius Pristus the aged, howe

chaunceth it that nowe you haue not knowne me? they replied vnto hym, if thou werste Ennius Pristus, thou wouldest not come thus shaven. For in this sacred senate can none enter, to gouerne the common wealthe: vnlesse his parson be endued with vertues, and his heade with whyte beares, and therfore thou arte banished and depyued of thy office. For the olde which lyue as the pong, ought to be punished. Thou knowest wel Claude, and Claudine, that that which I haue spoken, is not the saynyng of Homere, neither a fable of Ouide, but that you your selues sawe it with your eyes, and in his banishment I dyd helpe him with money, and moze ouer, he was banished another tyme, for the lightnes he dyd commit in the nyght in the cite, and I meruaile not hereof: for we see by experyence, that olde men which are fleashed in vices, are moze obstinate to correct, then the pong. What enill fortune haue the olde men, which suffered them selues to wane olde in byces: for moze dangerous is fier in an old house, then in a new, and a greate cut of a sworde is not so perillous, as a rote fistule. Though old men were not honest, and veruous, for the seruice of the gods, & the cōmon wealch, for the saleng of the people, nor for peramptu of the pong: yet he ought to be honest, yet to see but for the reuerence of their peares: If the poze old man haue no teeth, howe shall he eate? If he haue no heate in his stomacke, howe can he dygest? If he haue no taile, howe can he drinke? If he be not strong, howe can he be an adulterer? If he haue no feete, howe can he goe? If he be paralyphe, howe can he speake? If he haue the goutte in his handes, howe can he play. If halde, surthe lyke, wordlye, and vertuous men, haue employed their forces being ponge, desirous to proue at these vices: and when they are olde, it grenteth them extroaimlye, that they can not as yet accomplishe their desires.

Amongest all the faulces in olde men

(in my opinion) this is the chiefest, that since they haue proued al thinges, that they shuld still remaine in their obstinate folly. There is no parte but they haue traualled, no villany but they haue assayed, no fortune but they haue proued, no good but they haue persecuted, no euill but hath chaunced vnto them, nor there is any vice, but they haue attempted. These unhappy men which in this sorte haue spent all their youthe, haue in the ende their commes cut with infirmities, and diseases: yet they are not so muche greued with the vices whiche in them do abound, to hinder them from vertues, as they are tormented, for wante of corporall courage, to further them in their lustes. If we were gods, or that they would geue licence to know the thoughtes of the old, as we see with our eyes the dedes of the yonger: I sweare to the God Mars, and also to the mother Berecinthe, that without comparison, we would punishe more the wicked deuiuers which y aged haue to be wycked: then the light deades of the yong. Tel me Claude, & thou Claudine, do you thinke though you behaue your selues as yonge, you shall not seme to be old: know you not, that oure nature is the corruption of our body, & that our bodye hindereth our vnderstandinges, and that the vnderstandynges are keppe of our soule, & that oure soule is the mother of desiers, & that our desiers are the scourge of our youthe, and that our youthe is the ensigne of oure age, and age the sppe of death, and that death in the end is the house where life taketh hys herber, and from whence youthe flyeth a fote, and from whens age can not escape a horsebacke: I woulde reioyce that you Claude, and Claudine, woulde tell me what you fynde in yfse, that somuche therewith you shoulde be contented: since now you haue passed foure score yeaues of yfse, durynge the whiche tyme either you haue ben wycked in the worlde, or els you haue ben good. If you haue ben good, you ought to thinke it log, until you be with the

good gods: if you haue ben euill, it is iust you dye, to y end you be no worse. For speaking the truthe, those which in 3. score and 10 yeaues haue ben wycked in wyckednes, leaue smal hope of their amendemente of yfse. Adrian my lord, being at Nola in Campania, once brought vnto him a nephew of hys, fro the study, where as the yong child had not profited a lytel: for he became a great Cretian and latine, and more ouer, he was fayer, gracious, wise, and honest. And this Emperoure Adrian loued his nephew so muche, that he saied vnto him these wordes, My nephew, I know not whether I oughte to sayd vnto the, that thou art good, or euill: for if thou be euill, yfse shalbe euill employed on the, & if thou be good, thou oughtest to dye immediately, and because I am worse then all, I lyue longer then all: These wordes which Adrian my lord sayd, doe plainly declare, and expresse, that in thorte space the pale and cruel death doth assaulte the good, and lengtheneth life a great while to the euill. The opinion of a philosopher was, that the gods are so profound in their secrettes, high in their misterpes, and so iust in their wyckednes, that to men whiche least profite the common wealth, they lengthen yfse longest: and though he had not saied it, we others se it by experience. For the man which is good, and that beareth great zeale, and frendshyppe to the common wealth, either the gods take him from vs, or the enemies do slep hym, or the daungers doe cast him away, or the traualles do finish him. The great Pompeius and Iulius Cesar became enemies, & fro that enmity came to cruel warres, the cronicles of that tyme declare, that the kynges and people of the occidental parte, became in the fauour of Iulius Cesar, and the mightiest and moste puissance of all the oriental partes, came in the ayde of greate Pompeius, because these two Princes were loued of fewe, and serued, and feared of al. Amongest the dyuersite and sundry nations of people, whiche came out of the or

THE DIAL

entall parte, into the holte of the great Pompeius, one nation came, meruapulous cruel and barbarous, which saide they dwelled in the other side of the mountaynes Hiphees, which go vnto India. And these barbarous had a custome, not to lyue no longer then fifty yeres: and therfore when they came to that age, they made a greater fier, and were burned therein aliuie, and of their owne wittes, they sacrificed them selues to the gods. Let no mā be affronted at that we haue spoken, but rather let the meruaple of that we wyl speake (that is to say) that the same day that anye man had accomplished fifty yeres, immediately he cast him selfe quicke in to the fier, & the parentes, chylidren and bysfrendes, made a great feast. And the feast was, & they did eate the fleashe of the deade halfe burned, and dranke in wyne and water the ashes of his bones: so that the stow make of the children being aliuie, was the graue of the fathers beinge deade. All this that I haue spoken with my tong, Pompeius hath seene with his eyes: for that some being in the campe dyd accomplishe fifty yeres, and bycause the case was straunge, he declared it oftentimes in the Senate. Let euerye man iudge in this case what he wyl, and cōdemne & barbarous at his pleasure, yet I wyl not cease to saye what I thinke. O golden world, whiche had suche men. O blessed people, of whom in the world to come shalbe a perpetual memozy. What contēpte of world: what forgetfulnes of hym selfe: what stroke of fortune: what whippe for the fleshe: what lytell regarde of lyfe: O what bysell for the vertuous: O what confusion for those that loue lyfe: O howe greater ample haue they left vs, not to feare death: Sithens those here haue willingly dyspyled their owne lyues, it is not to be thought, that they did, to take & goods of others, neither to thinke that oure lyfe shoulde neuer haue ende, nor our couetousnes in like manner. O glorious people, and 10. thousande folde happy, that the proper sensualite be-

inge forsaken, hath overcome the naturall appetite to desire to lyue, not belenginge in that they sawe, and that hating sayd in that they neuer sawe, they strived with the fatal destiny. By the way they assailed fortune, they chaunged life for death, they offered the body to death, and about al haue wonne honour with the gods, not for that they shoulde hasten death, but bycause they shoulde take away that which is superfluous of life. Archagent, a surgine of Rome, and Anthosinus Musus, a phisition of the Emperour Augustus, and Esculapius, father of the phisike, shuld get litel money in that countrey. He that then shoulde haue sente to the barbarous to haue done as the Romaynes at that tyme dyd, that is to wote, to take stropes in the moynnges, pylles at night, to drinke mylke in the moynng, to noynte them selues with gromell sede, to be let blood to daye, and purged to morrowe, to eate of one thing, and to absteyne from manye, a man ought to thinke, that he whiche willingly seeketh death, will not geue money to lengthen lyfe.

The xxii Chapter.

The emperour concludeth his letter, and sheweth vwhat perylles those olde men lyue in, vwhiche dissolutly lyke yonge children passe their dayes, and geueth vnto them hollesome counsell for the remedy therof.



By returninge nowe to the Claude, and to the Claudine, we thinke, that these barbarous bring fifty yeres of age, and you others beinge aboute 17. 20. & 30. it shuld be iust, & iustis you were elder in yeres, you were equal in vertue, and thoughte (as they) you wyl not accept death patiently: yet at the least you ought

ought to amend your cruel lues willingly.

I do remembre, that it is many yeres sithens that Fabrice the ponge, sonne of Fabrice the old, had ordeyned to haue deceiued me, of the whiche if you had not told me great inconueniences had happened: and sithens that you did me so great a benefite, I wold now require you the same with an other like. For amongst them is no equal benefite, then to deceyue the deceyuer. I let you know, if you do not knowe it, that you are poore aged folkes, your eyes are sonke into your heades, the nosegretelles are shutte, the heares are white, the hearinge is losse, the tongue salteth, the teethe fall, the face is wrinkled, the fete swolne, and the stomache cold. Finally I saye, that if the graue could speake, as vnto his subiectes, by iustyce he might commaund you to inhabite his house. It is great pity of the ponge men, and of their youthfull ignorance, for then, vnto such their eyes are not opened to knowe the mishappes of this miserable life, when cruell death doth end their dayes, & aduoceth them to the graue. The deuine Plato in his booke of the common wealthe sayde, that in bayne we giue good counsellors, to sonde & light yong men. For youth is without experience of what it knoweth, suspitious of what it heareth, incredible of what is told him, despising the counsaile of an other, and very poore of his owne. For so much as this is true that I tell you Claude, & Claudine, that without comparisson, the ignorance which the yong haue of the good, is not so much: but the obstinacion which h old hath in the euell, is more. For the mortal goddes many times do dissemble with a, 1000. offences committed by ignorance, but they neuer forgene the offence perpetrated by malice. Claude, and Claudine, I do not meruaile that you do forget h gods (as you do) which created you & your fathers which begot you your parentes which haue loued you, & your frendes which haue honored you: but that which most I meruaile at is, h you forget

your selues. For you neuer consider what you ought to be, vntill such time as you be there where you would not be, & that without power to retozne back againe. Awake awake, since you are ordeyned in your dreames, open your eyes, since you slepe so much accustom your selues to traualles, sithens you are vncaboundes, learne that which becometh you, sithens now you are so olde. I meane, that in time convenient you agree with death, before he make recurrence of life. 52. yeres haue I knowen the thinges of the worlde, and yet I neuer sawe a woman so aged through yeres, nor old man with members so feble, that for want of strength could not if they list do good: nor yet for h same occasiō should leaue to be euell if they list to be euell. It is a merueilous thing to se, & worthy to note, h al h corporal members of man waxeth olde, but the inward hart, & the outward tongue: for h hart is alwayes greene to inuent euils, & the tongue is alwayes able to tell lies. My opinion shoulde be, that the pleasaunt somer being past, you should prepare your selues for the winter which is at hande. And if you haue but fewe dayes to continue, you shoulde make hast to take vp your lodging. I meane that sith you haue passed the dayes of your life with traualle, you should prepare your selues against the night of death, to be in the haue of reste. Let mockeries passe as mockeries, and accept truth as truth, that is to wete, that it were a very iust thinge, & also for your honor necessary, h al those which times past haue sene you yong & foolish, shoulde now in your age, se you graue & sage. For there is nothing h so much desireth h lightnes & folly of h youth, as doth grauice & inconstancy in age. What h knight ronnet his carter, they blame him not for h the horse mayne is not finely comed: but because he is not wel ruled. What greater confusiō can be to any parson, or greater selaunder to our mother Rome, the to se h which now adaites therein we se, that is to wete, the old which

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THE DIAL

can scarcely creape through the streets, to beholde the playes and games as younge men, which serche nought elles but pompe and vanity. It greaueth me to speake it, but I am muche more ashamed to se that the olde Romaynes do daylye cause the white beares to be plucked out of theyr heades, because they woulde not seme olde, to make their berd small, to seme yonge, wearing their hosen very close, theyr shertes open before, the gowne of the senatoure imbordered, the Romayne signe richelye enameled, the collar of golde at the necke, as those of Dace. Ringes in their gownes, as those of Saphire, hoopes in their hattes, as the Grekes, and perles on their fingers, as those of India. What wilt thou I tell the more, then I haue tolde the, but that they weare their gownes longe and large, as those of Tharenche, and they weare them of the colour as men of warre, and enerye weke they haue chaunge as players, and the woordes of all is, that they shewe themselves as dotting in loue, now in their age, as others haue done heretofore in their youth. That old men are overcome by yonge desires, I do not meruaile, for that brutish lust is as naturall, as the daylye foode: but that the old men (being old men) should be so dissolute, herewith men iustlye ought to be offended. For the old men couetous, and of fleshe vicious, both offend the gods, and scaundze the common wealth. How many I haue knowen in Rome, who in their youth haue bene highly praised and esteemed: and afterwarde through the gettinge them selfe to very muche lightnes in theyr age, haue bene of all abhorred. And the worst of all is, y they haue lost all their credite, their parentes, their sauour, and their poore innocent children theyr profite. For many times the goddes permit, that the fathers committinge thoffence, the payne should fall vpon their owne children. The renowned Gaguino Cato, who descended from the high lignage of the sage

Catoes, was five yeres Flamen priest, administrator to the bestal virgines, thre yeres pretor, two yeres Censor, one yere dictator, and five times Consul, being 75. yeres old, he gaue him selfe to solowe, serue and to desire Rosana, the daughter of Eneus Cursius, a lady of treuth, very yong and fayre, and of many desired, and much made of: the time afterwarde passinge away, and the god Cupide doing his office, the loue was so kindled inwardlye in the hart of this old man, that he ranne almoste madde. So that after he had consumed all his goodes in seruing her, dayly he sighed, and nightly he wept, onelye for to see her. It chaunced that the sayd Rosana fel sicke of a seuerer ague, wherewith she was so dis-tempered, that she could eat no meate, but desired greatly to eat grapes: and sithens there were none ripe at Rome, Gaguino Cato sent to the riuer of Rheyn to fetch some, being farre and many miles distant from thens. And when the thing was spred through Rome, that all the people knewe it, and the senate vnderstanding the follie of him: the fathers commaunded that Rosana should be locked vp with the bestal virgines, and the old man banished Rome for euer, to the end that to them it should be a punishment, and to others an example. Truly it greued me sore to se it, and also I had great paynes in writing it. For I sawe the father die in infamy, and his children liue in pouerty. I beleue that al those which shal heare this example, and al those which shal reade this writing, shal finde the fault of this amorous old man, both vile and filthy, and they wil allowe the sentence of the senate which they gaue against him, for good & iust. I swere that if Gaguino Cato had had as many yong men in his banishment in Rome, there should not be caste away so many menne, neyther so manye women euill married. It chaunceth oftentimes, that when the olde men (speciallye beinge noble, and valyaunt) are aduertised of theyr seruantes

seruantes, are rebuked of their parentes
are prayed of their freindes, and accused of
their enemies, to be dishoneste in suche a
place, they aunswere, that they are not in
loue but in geast. When I was very yong
no lesse in wise dome, then in age, one night
in the Capitoll, I met with a neighbour of
mine, the which was so olde, that he might
haue taken me for his nephew, to whom
I sayd these wordes. Lord Fabrice are you
also in loue: he aunswered me. You se that
my age suffereth not that I should be a lo-
uer, if I should be, it is but in sport.

Truly I marvelled to mete him at y^e houre
and I was ashamed to haue suche an aun-
swere. In old men of great age, and graue-
tie, such request can not be called loue, but
grief, not pastime, but losse of time, not moc-
kerie, but villany: for of loue in test ensu-
eth infamy in deede. I aske you Claude, &
Claudine, what a thinge is it to se an olde
man to be in loue: Truly it is no norther,
but as a garland before the tauerne dozes,
where all men thinke that there is wine, &
they sel nought els but vineger. They are
egges white without, & rotten within, they
are golden pilles, the tast wherof are verie
bitter, & as empty boxes in shoppes, whiche
haue newe writtings on them, or as a new
gate, and within, the house is full of filth &
cobwebbes, finally, y^e old louer is a knight
of Erchetes, which helpeth to lose mony, &
can deliuer no mā fro perill. Let this word
be noted, and allwayes in your memo^{ry}
committed, that the old man which is vi-
tious, is but as a leke which hath the head
white, and the tayle greene. We thinke
that you oughte to breake the winges of
time, since that you haue feathers to fye
withal. Decelue not your selfe nor your
frendes, and neighbours, saying that there
is time for all. For the amendment is in
your handes, but time is in the handes of
god to dispose. Let us come nowe to reme-
dy this great damage, do what you can by
the day of youth, & deferre it not vntill the

night of age: for ill cutteth the kniffe, when
the edge thereof is dulled, and ill can he
gnaue the bones, which is accustomed to
eate the fleshe. I tel you, and aduertise you
that when the old and rotten houses begin
neth to fall, vnder set not them with rotten
wood, but with hard timbre. I meane, with
the vpright thoughtes of accomptes, which
we ought to geue to the goddess of our life,
and to men of our renoume. Forther I say,
that if the vine be gathered of our vertues
we ought to graffe againe the amendment:
and if the thyrcades of our gatheringes be
dye, and withered, throughe our pervers
workes we ought to set them agayne with
newe mould, and good desires. The goddess
are so gentle to serue, & so good to contē^t y^e
if for all the seruices we owe them, and for
the giftes which they giue vs, we can not
pay them in good workes: they demaund no
moze in payment but good willes. Finally
I say, that if thou Claude, and Claudine,
haue offered the meale of youth to the
world, offer nowe the bloude of age to the
goddess. I haue written longer then I had
thought to do. Salute all my neyghbours
specially Drusie the patrician, and noble
Romaine widow. I remembre that Go-
brine your niece, did me a pleasure, the day
of the feast of the mother Berecynthia,
wherfore I send 2. thousand Sesterces, one
thousand to helpe to mary her (and thortē
thousaund, to helpe to relieue your pouer-
tye. My wife Faustine is sicke, and I sende
you another, 1000. Sesterces to giue to the
vesal virgines, to pray to the gods for her,
My wife sendeth to the Claudine, a cofer,
by the immortall gods I sweare vnto the,
I can not tell what is in it, I beseeche the
goddess, sithens you are aged, to giue you a
good death, and to me and Faustine, they
suffer vs to leade a good life. Marcus of
mount Celio with his owne hand writteth
this.

The

THE DIAL

The.xxiii.Chapiter.

That Princes ought to take hede
that they are not noted of aua-
rice, for that the couetous man
is both of god and man hated.

THE great Alexander,
king of Macedony, & Dari-
us the vnfortunate kinge of
the Persyes, were not onely
contrary in wartes and con-
questes, whiche they made. but also in the
conditions and inclinations whiche they
had. For Alexander naturallye loued
to giue, and spend: and king Darius to the
contrary, to heape, locke, and kepe. When
the fame of Alexander was spred abroad
through out all the world, to be a prince of
honour, and not couetous, his owne loued
him entirclye, and straungers despyed to
serue him faithfully: The miserable kynge
Darius, as he was noted of great auarice
and of small liberalitie, so his did disobey
him, and straungers hated him. Whereof
may be gathered that princes and great loz-
des by geuynge, do make them selues riche
and in heapinge they make theym selues
poore. Plutarke in his apothegmes decla-
reth, that after king Darius was dead, and
Alexander had triumphed, ouer al the orien-
tal partes, a man of Thebes beinge in
the market place of Athenes setting forth
the fortune of Alexander, for the sundrye
countreyes whiche he had conquered: and
describing the euell fortune of Darius, for
the great nombze of men whiche he had lost
a philosopher with a loude voice saide. O
man of Thebes, thou art greatly deceined
to thinke that one prince loseth many frig-
nozies: and that the other Prince winneth
many realmes. For Alexander the great
wonne nought but stones, and coueringes
of cities: for with his liberality he had alres-

dye gotten the good willes of the citizens,
And to the contrary, the vnfortunate Da-
rius did not lose, but stones, and the couer-
tures of cities, for with his couetousnes
and auarice he had nowe lost al the hartes
of those of Asia. And forther this philoso-
pher sayd vnto him, that princes which will
enlarge their estates and amplify their re-
almes in their conquestes, oughte firste to
winne the hartes, & to be noble, and liberal
and afterwarde, to sende their armies to
conquere the fortres, and walles, for other-
wise, little auayleth it to winne the stones, if
the hartes do rebell. Whereby a man maye
gather, that that which Alexander wanne,
he wanne by liberalitie and stoutnes: & that
which king Darius lost, he losse for beinge
miserable, and couetous. And let vs not
wernaple hereat, for the princes and great
lozdes which are ouercomed with auarice
I doubte whether they ener shall se theym
selues conquerours of many realmes. The
vice of auarice is so detestable, so euell, so o-
dious, and so perillous, that if a man shuld
employe him selfe to write all the discom-
modities therunto belonginge, my penne
shuld do nought elles, then to presume to
dye by all the water in the sea: For the ste-
make where auarice entreteth, causeth a mā
to serue vices, and wo:shippe Idolles. If a
vertuous man would prepare him selfe to
thinke on the great trauaile, & litell rest
this cursed vice beareth with him. I thinke
that none would be vicious therein. Though
the couetous mā had no other trauaile, but
alwayes to go to bed wyth daunger, & to
rise by with care. He thinketh it is a trou-
ble sufficient: for such one whē he goeth to
bed, thinketh y he shold be killed in his bed.
or y sleeping his cofers shold be rifled, and
fro that time he riseth he is alwayes tormē-
ted w feare to lose y which he hath wonne,
& careful to augmēt y which he hath into much. The
deuine Plato in the first booke of his com-
welth, said these wordes y mē be made rich
because they neuer learned to be rich: for be-
wh.ch

continually, and trulpe will become riche, first ought to abhorre couetousnes, before he beginne to occupie him selfe to locke vp goods. For the mā which setteth no bound to his desire: that alwayes haue litle: though he be se him selfe lord of h^e worlde. Truly this sentence was worthily spoken, of such a man. The sentence of the Stoyckes doth satisfy my mind much, wherof Aristotel in his polittikes maketh mention, where he sayth, that vnto great affayres, are alwayes required great riches: and there is no ex^{er}reams pouerty, but where there hath bene great aboundaunce. Therof ensueth, that to princes & great lordes which haue much they wat much, because to men which haue had litle, they cā not wat but litle. If the admonishe worlde lings not to be vitiuous, they will alwayes haue excuses to excuse theym selues, declaring why they haue bene vitiuous, the vice of auarice excepted, to whō, & with whō, they haue no excuse. For if one haue reason be readye to excuse the, there are 2000. to condemne the. Let vs put example in all the principall vices, & we shall see howe this onely of auarice, remaineth condemned, & not excused. If we reason why a prince or great lord is haughty & proude, he will aunswere that he hath great occasion: For the natural dispositiō of men is, rather to desire to command with trauaile, then to serue with rest. If we reprove any man that is furious, and geuen to anger, he will aunswere vs, that we maye aske not, since we meruaile not of the proude: For the one my hath no more authoritie to trouble any mā then the other to take reuēge of him. If we blame him for y^e he is fleshy & vitious, he will aunswere vs, y^e he can not absteyne from that sinne: for if any man can eschew the actes, he fighteth continually with vncleane thoughtes. If we say that any man is negligent, he will aunswere vs, that he deserueth not to be blamed: for the vilenes for our nature is suche, that if we do trauaile it, immediatly it is weary, and if we rest it, immediatly it reioyseth. If we re-

buke any man that is a glutton, he will aunswere vs, that without eatinge and drinking, we can not lye in the world: for the deuine worde hath not forbidden mā to eat with the mouthe; but the vncleane thoughtes which come from the hart. As of these selue vices we haue declared, so maye we excuse al the residue: but to the vice of couetousnes, none can geue a reasonable excuse. For with monney put into the cofers, the soule cannot profyte, nor the bodie reioyce. Boetius in his booke of consolation sayd, that money is good, not whē we haue it in possession: but when we wante it, and in very dede the sentence of Boetius is very profound: for whē man spendeth mony, he attayneth to that he wil, but hauing it with him, it profiteth him nothing. We may say of riche, & couetous men, that if they heape and kepe, they say it is but for deare & dyre, peres, and to releue their parentes and frendes. We may aunswere them, that they do not heape vp to remedye the poore in suche like necessities, but rather to bringe the common wealth to greater pouerty. For then they sel al thinges deare, and put out theyr money to greate vsury: so that this couetous man dothe moze harme with that he doth lend them, then the dyre pere doth with that it hath taken from them. The noble & vertuous men, ought not to reasne so wel for feare of dyre peres: for in the ende, if one deare yeare come, it maketh all deare, and at such a time, & in suche a case, he onely may be called happy, which for being free and liberal in almes, shall reioyce that his tabie should be cospye. Let couetous men beware, that for heaping of much goodes, they geue not to the deuill theyr scoules: for it may be, y^e before the deare pere cometh to sel their corne, their bodies shalbe layde in the grane. What good doth god to the noble mā, geuing the liberal hartes, & what ill luck haue couetous mā (hauing as they haue their hartes so hard laced. For if couetous mā did tast how swete & necessary a thing it is to geue: they coulde kepe litle for the selues

THE DIALL

The xxxiii. Chapter.

Howe lieth the miserable and couetous men, haue not the hart to giue to their fren- des, to depart to their parentes, to succour the pooze, to lend to their neighbours, nor to susteine the orphanes, it is to be thought that they wil spend it on them selues. Truly I saye no moze, for there are men so miserable, and so hard of that they haue, that they thinke that as euill spende, whiche amonge theyn selues they spende: as that which one robberh fro them of their goods, Howe will the couetous and miserable wretch giue a garmente to a naked man, which dare not make him selfe a cote: How will he giue to eate to the pooze famylar, which as a pooze slaue eateth the bread of bzanne, & selleth the floure of meale: How shal the pilgrymes lodge in his house, who for pure miserie dare not entre: and howe doth he visite the hospitall, and relieue the sicke, that oftymes hazardeth his owne helth and life, for that he wil not giue one peny to the phisition: how shal he succour secretly the pooze and needy, which maketh his owne children go barefoote, and naked: how can he helpe to marie the pooze maydes being orphanes, when he suffereth his owne daughters to ware olde in his house: how wil he giue of his goodes to the pooze captiues, which wil not pay his owne men their wages: how wil he giue to eate to the children of pooze gentlemen, whiche alwayes grudgeth at that his owne spender: howe should we beleue that he wil apparel a widow, whiche will not giue his owne wife a hood: howe doth he daylye giue almes, which goeth not to the church on the Sunday because he wil not offer one peny: how shal y couetous man reioice the hart, sith for spending of one peny, oftymes he goeth supperles to bed: And finally I saye, that he wil neuer giue us of his owne proper goodes, whiche weaue alwayes for the goodes of an other.

The auctor foloweth his matter, and with great reasons discom- mendeth the vices of couetous men.



NE of the thinges wherein the deuine prouidence sheweth, that we do not vnderstand the manner of her gouernement, is to see that she geueth vnderstanding to a man to knowe the riches, she geueth him force to seke them, subtiltye to gather them, vertue to susteyne them, courage to defend them, and also longe life to possesse them. And with all this she gyueth him not licence to enioye them, but rather suffereth him, that as withoute reason he hath made him selfe lord of an other mans, of righte he shoulde be made slaue of his owne: thereby a man may knowe, of howe greater excellencie vertuous pouertye is, then the outrageous couetousnes, for so much as to the poze, god doth giue contentation of that litell he hath, and from the riche man, he taketh contentacion of the great deale he posselleth. So that to the couetous man we se troubles increase hourly: and the gaine cometh vnto him but momentally. Let vs compare the ryche and couetous man to the pooze potter, and we shall see, who shall profite most, epyther the potter with his pottes that he maketh of earth, or els the couetous, with the mony whiche he hath in the earth. Though I make no answer to this, yet answer here in hath bene alreadye made, that the one is muche better at ease with the earth, than the other is with the good. For the potter getteth his liuing by selling pottes, and the couetous man loseth his soule by keeping riches. I humbly requyre the high princes, and also I beseech the great lordes, and further I admonishe the

other nobles, & Plebeiens, alwayes to haue this worde in memory. I saye, and affirme, that the moze strögly the man keapeth, and locketh his treasures: the moze strögly, and priuely is he kepte: for if he put two keyes to keape his treasure, he putterh seuen to hys harte not to spende them. Let the noble, and balaunt men beware, that they geue not their myndes to heape by treasours: for if once their hartes be kindled with conetousnes, for feare of spendinge a halpeny, they wyl daylye suffer them selues, to fall into a thousande mysertes. The Plebeiens which are very riche, may saye, that they haue not heaped by much treasours, sithens they can not behold a hundred, or two hundred ducates. To this I answer, that yestates considered, tenne ducates doe asmuch harme to a treasurer, as to others tenne thousand.

For the faulte consisteth not, in heaping, or hiding (much or lytel) riches: but for so much as in heapinge them, we cease to doe many good workes. To me it is a straunge matter, that nigardlines hath greater force to the conetous, then conscience hath in others. For there are many, whiche notwithstandinge conscience, doe profite with the goods of others: & the conetous haninge moze misery, then conscience, can not yet profite with their owne. With much care, and no small diligence, the conetous men doe prouyde, that the myllers doe not robbe the meale, that their beastes make no wastes, that the hunters runne not thorough hys corne, that their wy. ie perill not, that those which owe them any thing, do not go, and make them selues banke routes, y whinels doe not eate their corne, & y thenes robbe not their goods: but in the end, they watche none so wel, as them selues. For al h others (erly, or late) haue alwaies oportunitie to robbe frö them some what: but h conetous hath neuer the herte, to chaunge a ducate. He ought to take great petye of a conetous man, who by his owne will, & not of necessity, weareth his gowne al to corne, his shoes out, his poyntes without

aggletes, an euill fauored girdle, hys cote rente, hys hatte olde hys hose seame rente, hys cappe greasye, and hys therre lowsp: finallye I saye, that dyuers of these mylers sayne, that they haue a greate some to paye, and it is for no other thinge, but for not wearinge a good garmente. What can the conetous do moze, then for heaping a peny in his purse, he wil goe two monethes and not trimme hys bearde: sithens it is true that these pynchpenies doe behaue their parsons so euill, doe ye thinke they haue their houses any thing the better furnished: I saye no, but you shall see their chambers full of cobwebbes, the doores oute of the hingels, the windowes rüer, the glasses broken, the planthes lose, the conertures of the house withoute gutters, the stoles broken, the beddes worme eaten, & chimnies redy to fall: so y to herber a frö, or kinsma of theirs, they are constrained to lodge him in their neighbours house, or els to sed to borrow al that they want. And passing ouer the garmentes they weare, and the houses wherin they dwel, let vs se what table they kepe: for of their gardains theyeate no frute, but y that falleth, of their dignes, but rotted grapes, of their shepe, the sickest, of their corne, the wettest, of wine, y whiche hath taken winde, of lardal, y is yellowe, of milcke, y is tozned: and finally I say, the felicity that glottons haue in eating, the selfe same haue they in heaping. Unhappy are h glottons, & much moze are h conetous: for the tast of one consisteth only in h thore, & h felicity of h other consisteth, in y he may lock vp in his chest. We haue now sene, how the conetous weare symple apparaple, keape a poze table, and dwell in a filthy house: and yet they lesse regarde those thinges that touche there honour. For if they had these eares as open to heare, as they haue their hartes bente, at eche houre to gather, and heape by: they shoulde heare holwe they are called mylers blerers, nygardes, penchpenies, oppresours, cruell, unthankesfull, and

THE DIALL

vnrhankesful, & vnfortunate. Finally I say,
 that in the common wealthe they are so ha-
 red, that al men had rather lay handes vpon
 their bodyes to kyll them, then tonges on
 their renowne to defame them. The coue-
 tous man is of al other moste vnlucky. For
 if he fall at strife with any, he shall finde no
 one frend that wyl come to visite him in his
 house: but he shall haue a hundred theues
 whiche wil robbe him of his goods. For to
 reuenge a couetous & nemy, a man nedde de-
 sire nought els but that he liue long: for he
 is moze tormeted in his life, with hys owne
 couetousnes, then he can be otherwile, with
 any penauince. If rich men would say vnto
 me, that they doe not resoyce to haue fayer
 houses, sithes they may haue them, neyther
 of curious apparel, since they may weare it,
 nor of deinty meates, sithens they may eate
 thm, & that that whiche they do, is not to be
 couerons, but for that they are good chryst-
 ians. In so lutt a thinge, reason woulde my
 pen shuld cease: but I am soyy, they so lytell
 exteame thinges touching their honoz, and
 much lesse the matters touching their con-
 science. If the Auaritious saye, he keepeth
 goods to doe almes, I doe not beleue it: for
 dayly we se, that if a poze man aske him al-
 mes, he aunswereth them immediately, god
 helpe you, for he hath neyther purse nor pē-
 ny. The couetous vseth this, & he neuer ge-
 ueth any almes in his house, but fat meate,
 and resty baken, rotten chese, & hore breade:
 so that it semeth rather y they make cleane
 their house, then geue almes to the poze. If
 the couetous mā would tel vs, that y which
 they haue, is to dyscharge some dettes of
 their predeceffours, wherō they are burde-
 ned, I say it is a vaine excuse: sithens we se,
 that the willes of their fathers, of their mo-
 thers, & of their graūdfathers, be not as pet-
 perfozmed, neyther wyl they thinke to per-
 fozme them, whiche semeth to be very true.
 For since the houre that they laied their fa-
 thers in the graue, they neuer saw ther one
 cādel lighted for his soule. Ye which of pure
 couetousnes & misery, suffreth hym selfe to

dye for hunger & cold: I thinke that neither
 with almes, nor good deades, hys soule can
 be plucked from purgatory. If the couetous
 mā say vnto vs, that y which he keepeth, is
 for no other cause, but to bulde a sumptuous
 chappel, & to leaue of the same memozy, to
 this I aunswere. That if suche one doeth it
 with his owne proper sweet, & maketh resti-
 tucō of al the euil that he hath done, it shal-
 be sanctified, & of al good men commended:
 but if the couetous wyl that many lyue in
 great pouerty, only to make a riche grate,
 god both not commaund that, neither doeth
 the church admit it: for sacrifice done to god
 with the cries & sweet of others, is not accep-
 table. If the couetous tel vs, y thoughte they
 heape treasures, it is not but at their death
 to commaund, that they say many trentalles,
 for the soules of those whiche are departed, I
 say, that I cōmend this purpose, if there be
 no moze peril in the matter: but I am soyy,
 that a couetous man shuld thinke, y he dys-
 chargerth al the wickednes of his life, for cō-
 maunding only a dirge, or trental to be said
 after his death, sith he hath brought to the
 hospital two thousande which he hath rob-
 bed. I would thinke it moze sure, that pzi-
 ces and great lordes shuld spēd their goods,
 to marpe poze maydens, beinge orphans in
 their lyfe, then to commaund many masses
 after their death. For oftetymes the heires
 whiche remaine, cause them to saye a fewe
 masses, and in the meane tyme, they vndoe
 many orphanes. How greatly ought he to
 be cōmended, that plucketh a soule frō pur-
 gatory, & he also which saith the poze yong
 maidens, from falling into the vices of the
 world. Suppose y a couetous mā chaunceth
 to traffique at Medine in Spaine at Liōs
 in Fraunce, at Lisbone in Portingal, at
 Londō in Englād, at Andwarpe in Flaū-
 ders, at Millaine in Lombardy, at florēce
 in Italy, at Palermo in Scicil, at Praga in
 Boemen and at Buda in Hungary: finally
 with his eyes he hath sene all Europe, & by
 traffique he hath knowledge of all Asia.
Admire

Admire now that in euery place he hath gotten goods, and that which he hath gotten, was not with hole conscience, but according to the companies, so hath the offences bene diuers. In this case, if at y^e houre of death, when the couetous man denieth his money betwene the children, he myght also denie his offences, so that he dyspossest y^eng him selfe of the goods, myght thereby be free from the offences, then it were wel. But alas it is not so, for the wicked chyldren lyue triumphinge on the earth with the goods: and the miserable father goeth weeping to hell with his sinnes.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Emperour vvrote to hys frende, vvherin he touched those gentlemē, vvwhich vvill take vpon them the trade of marchaundise againste their vocacion.

MARCE the Emperoure with his brother Annus Verus, fellow in the Empire, vvrote to the Cicinnatus of Capua health to thy persō, & grace against thy euill fortune. frō y^e seat of our mother Bescinthe, I haue sene, neither seruāt of thy house, nor red any letter of thy hand, vvwhich thinge maketh me suspecte greatly, that thy health is in danger, or that thou mistrustest our frendshipp: for earnest frendshipp, requirerh dayly communication, or visitacion: I praye the be not so careless from henceforth, and do not forget vs in such wise, I meane, that thou wilt come and se vs, or at the least that thou wilt write vnto vs ofte: for the letters of faithfull frendes, though vtterly they doe not take from vs the desire of the presence: yet at the least they make vs hope for

a meetinge. I know that thou mayste answer me, that in the cōmon wealth of Capua thou art so busied, that it is impossible thou shouldest write vnto me hereto I answer the. That in no affaires thou canst be so occupped, that it be a lawfull let, not to communicate, or write vnto thy frend. For we may wel tal the time whiche we liue, to be wel employed, whiche is spent in the seruice of god, and in the cōuersation of our frendes. Al the resioue that we waste in talking, trauailinge, sleapinge, eating, and resting, we ought not to write it in the booke of life, but in the register of death. For al be it that in such semblable vvorkes, the bodye is refreshed: yet therewith the hert cannot be comforted. I sweare vnto the therefore my frend that it is impossible the man take any contentacion of any vvorldly thinge, where the hert is not at rest: for our comfort is not in the sinnes or in the bones of the bodye, but in the liuelye power of the soule. It is longe sithens that you and I haue knowen togethers, it is long time likewise y^e floued the, and thou me: and sith we are so true old frendes, it is but reasō that w^{ch} good vvorkes we do renew our frēdshipp. For falsly they vsurpe the name of frēdshipp, vvwhich are not conuersant one to the other, no more then if they were straungers. The man vvwhich speaketh not to me, vvwhich vvriteth not to me, vvwhich seeth me not, vvwhich vvisiteth me not, vvwhich geneth me not, & to vvho I geue not, I would not be vvhere my enemy: but it litel auailerh me, y^e he cal me frēd, for particular frēdshipp consisteth not in aboundaunce, but y^e frēdes doe opē their hartes, & talke to their persōs. Peraduenture y^e wilt say, y^e the great distaunce vvwhich is frō rome, to y^e countrey, hath ben occasiō to diminish our frēdshipp: for y^e noble hertes are on fier, with the presence of that they loue, & haue great paine, with y^e absence of that they desire. I answer, that the forget the delitious vvines are sent, frō the place where they grew: the greater strength they haue. I meane, that herein tris

THE DIAL

friendes are knowen, when their persons are
furthest seuered: for then are their wylls
most conspyred. Tel me I pray the Cici-
natus, sithens alwayes thou haste founde
me a dysygēt friend in thy seruise, why doest
thou mistrust my saythfull good wyl: The
grene leaues outwardly doe shewe, that the
tree inwardly is not dry. I meane, that the
good woorkes outwardly do declare, the ser-
uientnes of the harte inwardly. If thou Ci-
cinnatus presumest to be a true frēd of thy
frēd, I wil thou know this rule of frēdshyp,
whiche is: Where perfecte loue is not, there
wāterch alway faithfull seruice: & for the con-
trary, he that perfectly loneth, assuredly shal
be serued. I haue ben, am, and wylbe thine,
therefoze thou shalt doe me greates iniury, if
thou arte not mine,

The xxvi. Chapter.

The Emperoure declareth vwhat
vertues men oughte to vse, and
the vices vvhiche they ought to
eschewe.

IN tymes paste I beinge
yong, and thou old, I did suc-
cour & with money, & thou me
with good counsell: but now the
worlde is otherwylse chaūged,
in that thy whete heares doe iudge the to be
old, & thy woorkes do cause & to be yōg. Ther-
foze necessity compelleth me, & we chaūge our
stiles, which is: & I succour & w good counsell,
though & geue me no money therfoze: for I
cōsūt thy conetousnes to be such, & for all the
good counsell, & counsellours of rome, & wilte
not vouchesafe to geue one quatrins of Ca-
pua. Now for & good & I wishe &, & for that
whiche I owe to & law of frēdshyp, I wil pre-
sently geue & a counsell, wherby & maist know
what a good mā ought to do, to be loued of
god, & feared, & loued of men. If thou wylte
quietly leade thy life in this miserable worlde
retaine this wel in memory, which I wylte
būto &. First, & good deades & hast receiued
of any, those shalt thou remēber: & & wōges

thou hast susteined, them shalt thou forger.
Secondarely exteme muche thy owne lytel:
and way not the much of another. Thirdly,
the compayny of & good alwayes court: and
the cōuersatiō of the euill dayly fly. Fourthly,
to the greates, howe thy selfe graue: to the
smal more cōuersant. Fifthly, to those whi-
che are present do alwayes good woorkes: and
of those that be absent alwayes speake good
woordes. Sixthly, waye little the losse of for-
tune, and esteeme much thinges of honour.
The seuenth, to lustre one thing, neuer ad-
venture thou many: no; for many thinges
doubtful, doe not thou adventure anye one
thinge certayne. Finally, I praye the, and
advertisse the, that thou haue no enemy: and
that thou keape but one friend. He whiche a-
mong the good wil be coured for good, none
of these thinges he ought to wante. I know
wel, that thou wylte haue great pleasure to
see those my counsels wel wryten: but I en-
sure the, I shal haue greater pleasure to see
the in thy deades wel obserued. For by wry-
ting to geue good counsell, it is easy: but by
woorkes to folloiw the same, is marueylous
hard. My faithfull frēdshyp to the plightred, &
thy great abylyty considered, caused me al-
wayes for the in rome to procure honozable
offices, & by my sute & hast bene Edel, & tri-
bune & master of & hozles, wherēin & beha-
uedst thy selfe w such wysedō, & at the senate
theresfoze yelded me moste hartly thanks, I
procuring the for the, and thou for thy selfe
winninge inche perpetuall renowne. One
thing of the I vnderstand, which with good
wil I would not haue knowē, & much lesse &
any such thing by the shuld haue ben cōmit-
ted: & is to wete, & thou leauing thy office of
the pretozshyp in the warre, by lād, hast ta-
ken vpsōbe trafficks of a marchaūt by sea: so
that those which in rome knew & a knight,
do se the now in Capua a marchaūt. My pe-
nditinge this my letter, for a tyme stode in
suspence, for no other cause, but onely to see
what thing in & first I might best blame: ei-
ther the noble office whiche & didest forsake,
or & vile & baser estate whiche thou hast chosē.

And though thou be so much berened of thy sensis, yet cal to mind thy auncient predecessours which dyed in the warres, onely to leaue their chylzen, and nephewes, armed knightes: & that thou presently sekest to lose that lybertye throughe thy couetousnes, which they wanne by their valiauntnes. I thinke I am not deceiued, that if thy predecessours were reuiued, as they were ambitious of honour, so would they be greedy to eate the in moztels, sinnes, bones, and all.

For the chylzen which vniustly take honoꝝ from their fathers, of reason oughte to lose their lyues. The castels, towne, howsen, mountaines, wood, beastes, Jewelles, and siluer, whiche oure predecessours haue left vs, in þe end by long cōtinuance do perishe: & that whiche causeth vs to haue perpetual memoꝝ of the, is the good renowme of their life. And therefore if this be true, it is great shame for þe pardesto haue such chylzen, in whō þe renowme of their predecessours doth ende. In the flourishyng tyme of Cicero the oratour, when by his counceyl the hole common wealth was gouerned, he beinge then of power, both in knowledge and of money: Salust sayd vnto him in his inuective, that he was of base stocke: wherunto he answered. Great cause haue I to render thankes vnto the gods, that I am not as thou art, by whom thy high linage is ended: but my poze stocke by me doeth now begin to rise. It is great pte to se, how many good, noble, and valiaūt mē are deade: but it is moze greife, to se presently their chylde vicious, and vniust. So that there remaineth aspruche memoꝝ of their infamy, as there doeth of the others honesty. Thou makest me ashamed, þe thou hast forsake to cōquere the enemies as a romaine knight: & that þe arte become a marchaūt, as a poze plebeine. Thou makest me to muse a litel, my frēd Cicinnatus, that thou wilt harme thy familters, and suffer straungers to lyue in peace. Thou sekest to procure death, to those whiche geue vs life: & to deliuer from death those, which

take our life. To rebels thou geuest rest, & to the peace makers thou geuest anoyauce. To those whiche take frō vs our owne, thou wilt geue: and to those whiche geue vs of theirs, þe wilt take. Thou cōdemnest the innocent, & the condemned thou wilt deliuer. A defender of thy countrey thou wilt not be, but a tiraunt of thy common wealth. To all these thinges aduerteth he, which leaueth weapons, & fauleth to marchaundise. With my selfe oftentimes I haue mused, what occasion shuld moue the to forsake chivaldꝝ, wherin thou haddest such honoꝝ: & to take in hand marchaundise, whereof foloweth such infamy. I say, þe it is as muche shame for the to haue gon from the warres, as it is honoꝝ for those whiche are bozne vnto office in the cōmō wealth. By frēd Cicinnatus, my endtendeth not to condemne marchaundise, noꝝ marchaundes, noꝝ enyl to speake of those whiche trafficke, by the trade of bieng, & selling. For as without the valiaūt knightes, warre canot beatchened: so likewise wō oure the dilligēt marchaūtes, þe common wealth can not be maintained. I canot imagin e for what other cause þe shuldest forsake þe warre, & traffique marchaundise, vnles it were, by cause þe now being old, and wantest force to assaulte mē opely in the straites: shuldest wō moze ease sittinge in thy chaire, robbe secretly in the market place. Poze Cicinnatus, sithes þe bestest cheape, & sellist deare, promist much, and perfozrest litel: þe bestest by one measure, & sellerst by another, þe watche that none deceiue the, & platelst therin as other marchaūtes accustome. And to cōclude I sweare, that the measure wherwō the gods shall measure thy lyfe, shalbe muche suffer, then þe of thy merytes. Thou hast taken on the an office, wherwō, þe whiche thy cōpaignons in manye dayes haue robbed, þe in one houre by disceite doest get: & afterwarde þe time shall come, when all the goods whiche thou hast gotē, both by trueth, & falshe, shal be lost, not only in an honre which is longe: but in a moment whiche is but short. The

The xxvii. Chapter



res, wherby h̄ childrē of vanity are set, are
founded of quicke sand: in that sorte, that be
they neuer so baliaūt prosperous, & myghtry,
a litel blast of wind doth stirre them, a lytel
heate of prosperity doth open the, a shewre of
aduersity doth wet the, and vnwares death
strikerh the al flat to the ground. Men seing
they can not be perpetual, do procure to co-
nstrewe them selues, in raising by proud bil-
dinges, & leauing to their childrē great esta-
tes: wherin I count the fooles, no lesse then
in thinges superfluous, for admit h̄ pillars
be of gold, the beames of siluer, & that those
which ioyne them be hinges, & those which
bilde the are noble, & in that mining they co-
sume a thousand yeares befoze they can haue
it out of the grounde, or that they can come
to the bottomes: I sweare vnto them, that
they shall finde no steady rocke, nor lyuely
mountaine, wher they may bilde their house
sure, nor to cause their memory to be perpe-
tual. The immortall gods haue participated
al thinges to the mortall mē, immortality on-
ly reserued: and therefore they are called
immortall, soz so much as they neuer dye, &
we others are called mortall, bycause dail-
ly we vanishe away. My frend Cicinnat^{us},
men haue an end, & thou thinkest that gods
neuer ought to end. Acio grene, now ripe,
now rottē, frute is seuered frō this lyfe, frō
the tree of h̄ miserable flesh, & esteeme this as
norbinge, soz so muche as death is naturall.
But oftymes in h̄ lease or flower of youth,
the frost of some disease, or the perill of some
misshap doth take vs away: so that when we
thinke, to be aloue in the moorning, we are
ded in the night. It is a tedious & lōg woꝝke
to weaue a cloib: yet whē in many dayes it
is wouē, in one moment it is cut. I meane,
that it temuch folly, to se a mā in what toile
he enricheth hym selfe, & into what perill he
putteth hym selfe, to winne a state of honoz:
and after wardes whē we thinke liuel, we se
him perishe in his estate, leauyng of hym no
memory. My frēd Cicinnatus, soz h̄ loue
h̄ is betwene vs, I desire h̄, & by the immor-
tal gods I cōtūre the, that thou geue no credite

to the world which hath this covetise, to hide muche copper vnder litle golde, vnder the colour of one truth, he telleth vs a. 100. lyes, & with one shote pleasure, he minglieth 10. thousand displeasures. He beguileth those to who he pretendeth most loue, & pzoceureth great damages to the, to whom he giueth most goodes, he recompenseth them greatlye which serue him in gess, & to those which he truly loue him, he getteth moches for goods. Finally I say, that whē we slepe most sure, he waketh vs with greatest perill.

¶ Cyther thou knowest the world w his deceyte, or not: if thou knowest him not, why dost thou serue him: if thou dost know him, why dost thou folowe him? Tell me I pray the, wouldest not y take y these for a foole, which would bie the rope wher w he should be hanged, & y murderer that would make the sword, wher w he shuld be brheaden: & the robber by the high waye, that woulde shewe the wel wherin he should be cast: and the traytour that shoulde offer him selfe in place for to be quartered: the rebel y shoulde disclose him selfe to be stoned. Then I sweare vnto the, that thou art much more a foole, which knowest the world, & will folowe it, & serue it. One thing I will tel the, which is such, that thou oughtest neuer to forget it: that is to wete, y we haue greater neede of sayth, not to beleue y vanities whiche we se, then to beleue the great malices which w our eares we here. I retozne to aduise the, to read & cosidre this word which I haue spokē, for it is a sentence of profound misery. Dost thou thinke Cicinatus, y rich men haue litle care to get great riches? I let the wete, that the goods of this world are of such cōdicion, y before the poze man doth lock vp in his chestes a. 100. crownes: he seleth a thousand grēses & cares in his hart. Our predecessours haue sene it, we se it presently, & our successours shal se it: y y mony which we haue gotten, is in a certain nombre, but the cares & trauailes which it bringeth, are infinite. We haue selue paynted houses, & selue noble estates in Rome, y

wherin a litle time haue not great cares in their hartes, cruel enmittes w their neyghbours, much euil toll of their bevyer, disordinate importunities of their frēdes, perillous malpres of their enemies, & about al, in the senate they haue innumerable pzoices, & oftentimes to locke a litle good in their chesses, they make, 10. thousande blottes in their honoz. ¶ How many haue I knowen in Rome, to who it hath chaunced, that al y they haue gotten in Rome, to leaue vnto their best beloued child: an other heyre with litle care of who they thought not, hath enioyed it. There can be nothinge more iust, the that al those which haue beguiled others with disceites in their life, shoulde be found disceiued in their hayne imaginaciōs after their death. Inurious shoulde the gods be, if in al the euil, that the euil pzoceid to do, they shoulde geue them time & place conuenient to accomplishe the same. For the goddes are so iust & wise, that they disceibit with the gull, to thend that shoulde begin, & folow the thinges accordinge to their owne willes & fantasies: & afterwarde at the better time, they cut of their liues, to leaue the in greater torment. The gods shoulde be very cruel, & to the it shoulde be great grese, to suffer that that which the euil haue gathered, to the pzeiudice of many good: they shoulde enioy in peace, for manye peres. Spe thinketh it is great folly, to know that we are borne weping, & to se that we die sighing, & yet for al this that we dare liue laughing. I would aske the world & his worldinges, sithens y we enter into the world weping, & go out of the world sighing why we hold liue laughing: for the rule to measure al parties, ought to be equal. ¶ Cicinatus, who hath beguiled the, to the end y for one bottell of water of the sea of this worlde, for thy pleasure, y wille blister thy hande w the rope of cares, & brouse thy body in thāker of troubles: & about al to aduenture thine owne honour, for a glasse of water of another man.

By the saythe of a good man I sweare vnto thee, that for all the greates

THE DIAL

quartile of water thou dratest, for þe great
deale of monye thou haste, thou remainest
as much dead for thyself, drinke of that wa-
ter: as when thou were without water in
the cup. Consider now thy peres, if my coun-
sel thou wilt accept, þe shalt demand death
of the gods to rest the as a vertuous man:
and not riches, to live as a foole. With the
teares of my eyes I haue bewayled manye
in Rome, when I sawe them depart out of
this world, & the I haue bewayled, & do be-
waille (my frende Cicinnatus) with drop-
pes of blood, to se the retoyne into þe world.
The credite thou haddest in the senate, the
bloude of thy predecessours, my frendship,
the auctoritie of thy persō, the honoz of thy
parentage, þe sclander of thy cōmō welth,
ought to withdraue the from so great co-
uetousnes. O poze Cicinnatus, þe whete ho-
nored heppes which do fall, ought to be oc-
cupied in the noble armies: sithens þe arte
noble of of blood, valiaunt in persō, auctier
of peres, & not euell willed in the common
wealt. For thou oughtest to consider, that
more worth is reason, for the way of men
which are good: then the common opinio[n],
which is the large high way of the euell.
For if it be narrowe to go on the one side,
there is no dust wher to the eyes be blinded
as in the other. I wil geue the a counsell, &
if þe fealest thy selfe euell, neuer count thou
me for frend, Lest no more after the grea-
sie fatte of tempo[ra]l goodes, sins thou hast
thort life: for we se dayly manye, befoze they
come to thy age die, but we se fewe after
thy age live. After this counsell I wil geue
the an aduise, that þe neuer trust presēt pro-
peritie: for then alwaye thou art in danger
of some euell fortune. If thou art mounted
into such picking choynes, as a foole: me
thinkest thou oughtest to descēd as a sage.
And in this sort, al wil say amongst þe peo-
ple, that Cicinnatus is descended, but not
fallen. My letter I wil conclude, & the con-
clusion therof se wel þe note, that is to wete,
that thou, & thy trade shalbe cursed, where

you other marchantes will live poze, no
die riche. Once againe I retoyne to curse
you, for that the couetousnes of an euell mā
is alwayes accomplished, to the p[re]iudice
of many good. My wife Faustine dorthe sa-
lute the, & she was not a litle troubled, whe[n]
she knewe thou were a marchaunt, & that
thou kepest a shoppe in Capua. I sende the
a horse to ride vpon, and one of the most ri-
chest arras of Tripoli to hange thy house
withal, a p[re]cious ringe, & a pommel of a
sword of Alexandrie: & all these thinges
I do not sende thee, for that I knowe thou
hast nede therof: but rather not to for-
gette the good custome I haue to geue. Pāphile
thy aunt, & my neighbour, is dead. And I
can tel the, that in Rome died not a womā
of longe time, whiche of her leste suche re-
noume: for so much as she forgot all enuy-
ties, she succoured the poore, she visited the
banished, she interteyned frendes, and also
I hard saie, that she alone did light all the
temples. Pre stilla thy cosen hath the health
of bodie, though she for the death of her mo-
ther her hart is heauy.
And without doubt, she had reason: for the
only sorowes whiche the mothers suffer to
bring vs forth, though with dropes of
blood we shoulde bewaille, yet we can not
them recompence. The goddess be in thy cu-
stodie, and p[re]serue me, with my wife Fau-
stine, from al euell fortune. Marke of
mount Celio, with his owne hand.

The xxviii Chapter.

✱ The auctour persvadeeth prin-
ces and great Lordes to flye co-
uetousnes and auarice, and to
become liberal, vvhich is a ver-
tue seemly for a royal parson.

Pisistratus the renoumed
tyrant among the Atheniēs,
sins his frendes coulde not
endure the cruelties that he
committed, & he one returned
to his owne house, & bitterly forsoke him.

The which when the tyrant saw, he layd al
his treasure and garnementes on a heape to-
gethers, and went to visite his frendes, to
whome, with bitter teares he spake these
woordes. Al my apparayle & monye here I
hying you, wth determinaciō, y^f if you will vse
my cōpany, we will go all to my house, & if
you will not come into my cōpany, I am de-
termined to dwel in yours. For if you be
wery to folow me, I haue great desire to
serue you: sithēs you know, y^f they cā not be
called faythful frendes, where y^e one cā not
beare wth the other. Plutarche in his Apo-
thegmes sayth, that this tyrant Pisistratus
was very rich, & extreme couetous, so that
they wote of him, y^e the gold & siluer which
ones came into his possession, neuer man
saue it afterward: but if he had necessity to
bye any thing, if they would not present it
vnto him willingly, he would haue it by
force. When he was dead, the Atheniens
determined to wepe him and his treasure:
the case was meruaylous, that y^e golde and
siluer he had, weped moze then his dead bo-
dy. 8. times. At that time, in Athens there
was a philosopher called Lido, of whō the
Atheniens demanded, what they should
do with y^e treasure and dead body: me thin-
keth (quod this philosopher) that if those
which are liuing, did knowe any siluer or
gold, which the tyrant toke from them, it
should be restored agayne immediately: and
do not meruayle, that I do not require it
to be put in the common treasure. For god
will not permit, that the common welch be
enriched with the theste of Trauntes: but
with the sweete of the inhabitants. If any
goodes remaine, which do not appeare
from whom they haue bene taken, me thin-
keth y^e they ought to be distributed among
the poore: for nothing can be moze iust, the

that with the goodes wherewith the tyrant
hath enpouerished manye, with the selfe
same we should enrich some. As touching
the betvall, me thinketh he ought to be cast
out to the foules to be eaten, and to the dogs
to be gnawen. And let no man thinke this
sentence to be cruel: for we are bounde to
do no moze for hym at his deathe, then he
dyd for him selfe in his lyfe, who beyng so
ouercome with auarice, that he would ne-
uer dysboure so much money, as should be
hym seuen foote of verth, wherin his graue
should be made. And I will you knowe,
that the gods haue done a great good to all
Grece, to take life frō this tyrant. First it
is good, because much goodes are dispersed
which heretofore lay hid, and serted to no
purpose. Secōdly, that many tongues shall
rest, for the treasures of this tyrant, made
great want in the common wealth: & our
tonges the greatest parte of the daye were
occupied, to speake euell of his parion. Me
thinketh this philosopher hath touched two
things, which the couetous man doth in
the common wealth, that is to wete, that
buying much gold & siluer to the hid trea-
sure, he robbereth the marchaundise where-
with the people do liue: The other damage
is, that as he is hated of al, so he causeth ra-
uour and malice in the hartes of all: for he
maketh the riche to murmur, and y^e poore
to blasphemie. One thing I read in the law-
es of the Lombardes worthy (of traunth)
to be noted and known, and no lesse
to be folowed, which is: that al those which
should haue gold, siluer, mony, sikkes, and
clothes, euery yere, they should be registred
in the place of iustice. And this was to the
end, not to consent, nor permit theym to
heape much: but that they should haue to
bye, to sel and to traffike, wherby the good-
des were occupied amonge the people. So
y^e he which did spend y^e monye, to y^e profite
of his house, it was taken for good of y^e co-
mō welch. If y^e christiā would do y^e now a
dayes which y^e Lombardes did, there should
not

THE DIAL

not be so many treasures hid, nor so many covetous men in the common welth: for nothing can be more uniuersall, then that one rich man should heape vp that, which would suffice, 10. thousand to liue with all. We can not deny but that the cursed auarice, & disordinate couetise to all states of men, is as prejudiciall, as the might which eateth all garments. Therefore speaking the troth, and with libertie, there is no house that it dothe nor desle: for it is more perillous, to haue a clodde of earth fall into a mans eye, then a beame vpon his fore. Agésilas the renowned king of the Lacedemonians, beinge asked of a man of Thebes what word was mooste odible to be spoken to a king, and what worde that was, that could honoꝝ him most: he answered. The prince with nothing so muche ought to be annoied, as to say vnto him that he is rich, And of nothing he ought so much to reioice as to be called poore. For the gloꝝ of the good prince consisteth not, in that he hath the great treasours: but in that he hath giuen great recompences. This worde without doubte, of al the world was one of the most royallest, and worthiest to be committed vnto memoꝝie. Alexander, Pirrus, Nicanor, Ptolomeus, Pompeius, Iulius Cesar, Scipio, Hannibal, Marcus Porcius, Augustus, Chrito, Traian, Theodose, Marcus Aurelius, all these princes haue ben very valiaunt and vertuous: but forgetting them with all, the writers which haue written the deedes that they didde in their liues, haue mentioned also the povertie which they had at their death. So that they are no lesse exalted, for the riches they haue spent: then for the pꝛouises they haue done. Admit that men of meane estate be auaricious and princes & great lordes also covetous: the fault of þ one is not equall to the vice of the other, though in the end all are culpable. For if the poore man hepe, it is for: þ he would not want, but if the knight heurde, it is because he hath so muche.

And in this case I would saye, that cursed be the knight, which transpleth, to the end that goodes abound, and doth not care that betwene 2. bowes his renowne fall to the ground. Sithen princes and great lordes wil, that men do count them noble, vertuous and valiaunt, I would know what occasion they haue to be rigardes and hard. If they say, that that which they hepe, is to care, herein there is no reaso: for in the end, where the rich eateth leaste at his table, there are manie that had rather haue that which remaineth, then that whiche they pꝛouide to eate in their houses. If they say, that that which they hepe is to appaule them, herein also they haue as litel reaso: for the greatnes of lordes consisteth not, in that they should be sumptuously appauled, but that they pꝛouide that theiꝝ seruantes go not rent, nor toꝝne. If they say it is to haue in their chambers pꝛecious setuels, in their hallies riche Tapstꝛies, as litell would I admitte this answer: for all those which enter into princes palatres, do behold more if those that haue these chambers be vertuous, then that the tapstꝛies be riche. If they say that it is to compass their cities with walles, or to make fortresses on their frontiers: so likewise is this answer amongst the others very cold. For good princes ought not to trauail, but to be wel willed, & if in their realmes they be wel beloued, in þ world they can haue no walles so strong as the hartes of their subiectes. If they tel vs, þ that they hepe is to marry their childꝛen, as litel reaso is þ: for si thes princes & great lordes haue great inheritancees, they neede not heape much. For if their childꝛen be good, they shal encrease & shal be left the: & if by mishap they be cruel, they shal aswel lose þ, & shal be gꝛue the. If they say vnto vs þ that which they heape is for þ warres in like maner, þ is no iust excuse: for if such warre be not iust, þ prince ought not to take it in hand, nor the people therunto to cōdescend, but if it be iust, þ cōmon

wealth then, and not the p^rince, that beare
 * the charges therof. For in lust warres it is
 not sufficiente that they giue the p^rince all
 their goodes; but also they must chey^m sel-
 ues in parson hazard their liues. If they tel
 vs, that y^e they kepe is to giue and dispose
 for their soules, at their dying day: I say it
 is not onely wante of wise dome, but ex-
 treme folly. For at the howe of death, p^rin-
 ces ought moze to reioyce for y^e they haue
 geuen; then for that at that time he giueth.
 How p^rinces and great lordes are enell
 counsayled, since they suffer them selues to
 be flandered for being couetous, onely to
 heape a litle cursed treasure. For experieⁿce
 teacheth vs, no manne can be couetous of
 * goodes, but nedes he must be prodigall of
 hono^r, & abandone liberalite. Plutarke
 in the booke which he made of the fortune of
 Alexander, saith that Alexander y^e great
 had a p^rivate seruaunt, called Perdyke, the
 which seeing y^e Alexander liberally gaue
 all that which by great transple he attay-
 ned, on a daye he sayde vnto him. Tell me,
 most noble p^rince, sithens y^e geuest all that
 thou haste to others, what wilt thou haue
 for thy selfe? Alexander answered. The
 glozpe remaineth vnto me, of that I haue
 wonne and gotten: & the hope of that which
 I wil giue and winne. And forther he sayd
 vnto him, I wil tell the true Perdyke: If I
 knew that men thought, that all that which
 I take were for couetousnes, I sweare vn-
 to the, that I woulde not beate downe one
 corner in a towne: and to winne al y^e world,
 I woulde not go one dayes iourney. My in-
 tencion is to take the glozpe to my selfe, and
 to denide the goodes amongst others.
 These wordes so high, were woorthy of a ha-
 liaunt & vertuous p^rince, as of Alexan-
 der which spake the. If that which in booke
 I haue red, do not begile me, & y^e which
 these etes I haue sene: to become rich, it is
 necessary y^e a m^a geue: for y^e p^rinces & great
 lordes, which naturally are geue to be libe-
 ral, are alwayes fortunate to haue. It chaⁿ
 oftentimes, that some m^a geuing litle, is couⁿ

ted liberal: & an other geuing much, is coun-
 ted a nigard. The which proceedeth of this y^e
 they know not y^e liberalite & nigardnes co-
 sisteth not in geuing much, or litle: but to
 knowe wel how to geue. For the rewardes
 and recompences, which out of time are di-
 stributed, do nother profite the which re-
 ceive them, neither agre to him which ge-
 ueth theim. A couetous man geueth moze
 at one time, then a free hart dothe in. 20. So
 sayth the com^m p^rouerbe, y^e the nigard spe-
 deth asmuche as the liberrall. The differēce
 betwene the liberalite of the one, & the my-
 sery of the other is, that the noble and vertu-
 ous, doth giue that he geueth to many: but
 the nigarde, geueth that he gettieth to one
 onely. Of the which vnadullement, p^rinces
 ought greatly to beware. For if in such case
 one man alone shold be found which woulde
 comend his liberalite: there are. 10. thousand
 which woulde cōdēpne his couetousnes. It
 happeneth oftentimes to p^rinces & great lords
 des, that in dede they are free to recōpence,
 but in geuinge they are very vnfortunate.
 And y^e cause is, that they giue it not to ver-
 tuous parsons & well condicioned, but to
 those which are vnthankfull, & do not ac-
 knowledge the benefite receyued. So that
 in geuing to some, they haue not made the
 their frēdes: & in not geuing to others they
 haue made the their enemies. It sufficeth
 not to p^rinces & great lordes, to haue great
 desire to giue: but to know when, howe, or
 where, & to whō they ought to geue. For if
 they be accused otherwile, to heape vp trea-
 sures, they ought also be cōdēmed for y^e they
 do geue. When a m^a hath lost all y^e he hath
 in playe, in whores, in bankets, and other
 seblable vices, it is but reasoⁿ they be cō-
 dem: but whē they haue spent it like noble,
 stout & liberal m^a, they ought not to be dis-
 cōdēmed, for y^e wise m^a ought to take no dis-
 pleasure for y^e he loseth: but for y^e he cruel speⁿ
 deth: & he ought to take no pleasure for that
 he geueth, but for y^e he geueth not wel. Did
 * in the lyfe of the emperour Seuerus sayth
 that one daye in the feast of the godde

THE DIAL

Ianus, whē he had geuen diuers rewardes and sondry giftes, as well to his owne seruantes, as to straungers, & that he was greatly commended of all the Romaynes, he sayde vnto theim. Do you thinke now (Romaynes) that I am very gladd for the giftes, rewardes, and recompenses which I haue bestowed: & that I am verie glorious for the prayes you haue geuen me: by the god Mars I sweare vnto ye, & let the god Ianus be so mercifull vnto vs all this yere, that y^e pleasure I haue is not so great, for that I haue geuen: as the griefe is, for that I haue no moze to geue.

The .xix. Chapter.

The auctour persvaderth gentlemen, not to abasse them selues by taking vpon them any vile offices for gaine sake.



PLVTARCHE in his Apothemes declareth, y^e the king Ptolome⁹ the first, was a prince of so good a nature, and so gentle in conuersation, that oftentimes he wēt to supper to the houses of his familiar frendes, and manye nightes he remayned there to sleape. And truly in this case he shewed him selfe to be welbeloued of his. For speaking according to the trueth a prince, on whose life dependeth the hole state of the cōmō welth, ought to credite selue at the table, and also fetter in the bed. Another thing this Ptolomeus did, which was, when he trusted his frendes to dinner or supper, or other straungers, of some he desired to borrowe spoiles, of others napkins, and of the others cuppes, and so of other thinges, for he was a prodigal prince. For al that his seruantes in the morning had bought, befoze the night fol-

lowing he gaue it away. One day al the nobles of his realme of Egypt assembled together, and desired him very earnestly, that he would be moze moderate in giuing: for they said, through his prodigality the hole realme was impouerished. The king answered. You others of Egypt are marvellously deceyued, to thinke that the poze and needy prince is troubled. In this case I dare say vnto you, y^e the poze & needy prince ought to thinke him selfe happy, for good princes ought moze to seeke to enriche others, then to heape by treasures for their selues. A happy is the cōmō welth which deserveth to haue such a prince. & happy is y^e cōgue, which could pronounce such a sentence. Certainlye this prince to all princes gaue good exāple & counsell, that is to wete, y^e for thē it was moze honestye, & also moze profite, to make others rich: thē to be rich thē selues. For if they haue much, they shal want no crauers, & if they haue litell, they shal neuer want seruantes to serue them. Suetonius Tranquill⁹ in the booke of Cæsars saythe, that Titus the emperor one night after supper, from the bottome of his hart, fetched a heauy sigh, and he bringe demaunded of those which were at his table why he sighed so sore: he answered. We haue lost this day al my frendes. By y^e which wordes the emperor ment, that he coured not that day amongst those of life: wherin he had geuen no reward nor gift. Truly this noble prince was valiaunt, & mightye: sith he sighed & had displeasure, not for y^e which in many dayes he had geuen: but because y^e one day he had sayled to giue any thing. Pelopide of Thebes, was a man in his time, very valiaunt & also rich: & rich he was fortunate in getting, & liberal in spending, one asked him, why he was so prodigal to giue: he answered. If to the it seemeth that I geue much, to me it seemeth yet I should geue moze: sithens the goods ought to serue me, & not I to honor them. Therfore I wil that they cal me the spender

of the goods: & not þe ſteward of þe houſe. Plus
tarche in his apothemes ſaith, þe king Da-
rius willing to mocke wth king Alexander
foz being poze, ſet to know where hys trea-
ſures were, foz ſuch great armyes to whom
Alexander the great answered. Tel kinge
Darius, that he keepeth in his coſers his
treasures of metall: & that I haue no other
treasures, then þe heries of my frendes. And
further tel him, þe one mā alone cā robbe all
his treasures: but he & al þe woꝛld cā not take
my treasures frō me, which are my frēdes.
I durst say, affirming þe Alexander ſayde, þe
he cā not be called poze, which is rich of frē-
des: neither can he be called rich, which is
poze of frēdes. foz we ſaw by experience, A-
lexander wth his frēdes toke king Dari⁹ trea-
sours frō him: & kinge Dari⁹ wth al his trea-
sours, was not puiſſant enough to take A-
lexanders frendes frō him. Those which of
their natural inclinatio are shamefast, & in
* estate noble, they ought aboute al thinges to
fly þe ſlauder of couetousnes: foz wthout doubt
greater is þe honoꝛ which is loſt, the þe goods
that are gotten. If princes & great lordes of
their owne natural diſpoſitions be liberal,
let the ſolow their nature: but if pchaunce of
their owne nature they are enclined to co-
uetousnes, let the enforce their will. And if
they will not do it, I tel the which are preſent
that a day ſhal come wth they ſhal repēt: foz
it is a general rule, þe the diſordinate coue-
tousnes do raiſe againſt the ſelues all be ni-
mous toges. Thinke that wth you watche
to take mā's goods, þe others watche in lyke
maner to take your honoꝛ. And if in ſuche
caſe you hazard your honoꝛ, I do not thinke
that your liſe cā be ſure: foz there is no law
that doth ordeyne, nor patieſce þe cā ſuffer, to
le my neyghbour lyue in quiet, by þe ſweet of
my blowes. A poze mā eſtemeth aſmuch a
cloke, as a rich man doth hys delicious lyſe.
Wherefoze it is a good coſequēt, þe if the riche
mā take þe govtie frō the poze: the poze mā
ought to take liſe frō þe rich. Phocid⁹ among
geſt þe grekes was greatly renowned, & this
not ſo much ſo: þe he was ſage as ſo: that he
wth deſpiſe al woꝛldly riches, wth wth wth

Alexander þe great (kyng of Macedony)
had ſet him a hundredth markes of ſiluer, he
ſaid vnto thoſe þe bzought it. Why doth A-
lexander ſend this money vnto me, rather
the to other philoſophers of Grece: they an-
ſwered him. He doth ſed it vnto þe, ſo: that þe
are þe leaſt couetous, & moſt vertuous. Then
anſwered this philoſopher. Tel Alexan-
der þe I thought he knoweth not what belon-
geth to a prince, yet I know wel what pte-
neth to a philoſopher. foz þe ſtate & office of
philoſophers, is to diſpoſe þe treſours of prin-
ces: & the office of princes is, to aſke counſel
of philoſophers. And further Phocid⁹ ſayd, *
you ſhal ſay alſo to Alexander, þe in that he
hath ſet me, he hath not ſhewed hym ſelfe a
pitiful frēd, but a cruel enemy: foz eſteming
me an honeſt mā (ſuch as he thought I was)
he ſhuld haue holpen me to haue ben ſuche.
Theſe woꝛdes were woꝛthy of a wiſe man.
It is great pity, to ſe baſtard & noble mē to
be defamed of couetousnes, & only ſo: to get
a few goods, he abaſeth hym ſelfe to vile offi-
ces: which apperteyne rather to meane pa-
rons, then to noble men & baſtard knightes.
Whereof enſueth, þe they liue infamed, & al
their frēdes ſlaudered. Declaring further I
ſay, þe it ſemeth great lightnes, that a knight
ſhuld leaue þe honoꝛable ſtate of cheualry, to
exerciſe the hādycraft of huſbandry: & that þe
hoſſe ſhuld be chaūged into oren, & ſperes to
mattoches, & þe weapōs into plowes. Final-
ly, they do deſire to toille in the ſelde: & reſuſe
to fight in the frontiers. How much ſome
knightes of our tyme haue degenerated, frō
that their fathers haue be in times paſt: foz
their pdeceſſours by aduaūce the ſelues of
the infidels, which in þe ſelbeſt they ſlew, and
their childzen bzag of the coꝛne & ſhepe they
haue in their groudes. Our aūciēt knightes
were not wōꝛ to ſigh, but wth they ſaw the
ſelues in greate dyſtreſſes: & their ſucceſſours
wepe now, ſo: þe it rained not in the moneth
of maye. Their fathers diſt ſtrive, which of
the could ſo: niſt moſt men, haue moſt wea-
pōs, & kepe moſt hoſſes: but their childzen
nowe a dayes cōrentbe, who hath the ſyneſt
wit, who can heape by greateſt treſour

THE DIALL

and who can kepe most shepe. The auncientes strined, who should kepe most men: but these wordlinges at this day strine, who can haue greatest reuenues. Wherefore I saye, since the one doeth desire asmuche to haue greate rentes, as the other byd delyghte to haue manye weapons: it is as though the fathers should take the sworde by the pomel, and the children by the scaberd. Al the good artes are peruerced, and the arte of chenalrye above al others is dyspyled: not without cause I called it an arte, for the auncient philosophers consumed a great time, to wryte the lawes that the knyghtes ought to kepe. And as now the order of the Carthaginiens semeth to be most streight: so in times past, the order of knight hoo was y streightest. To who I swere, that if they obserued the order of chenalrye, as good and gentil knyghtes: there remaynted no time vacante for them in life to be bitious, nor we should accuse them at their death as euil chynias. The true and not fayned knyght, ought not to be proud, malycious, furious, a glutton, coloward, prodigal, nigarde, a lyer, a blasphemur, negligent. Finally I saye, that al those ought not to be indged as knyghtes, whiche haue golden spures: vnles he bathe therewith an honest life. And if it pleased the king of heauen, that princes would now a dayes examyne as straitly those, whiche haue cure of soules: as the Romaines byd those, whiche had but charge of armys. In old tyme, they neuer doubbed anye man knyghte, vnlesse he were of noble bloude, proper of parson, moderate in speache, exercised in the warr, couragvous of harte, happye in Armes, and honest in lyfe: synallye, of al he ought to be beloued for hys vertue, and of none hated for hys vyce. The knyghtes in whom these vertues shyned byghte in Rome, had dyners lybertyes, that is to wete, that they onelye myghte were rynges, ryde on horsebacke thowghe the greatest, they mighte haue a shylde, mytte there gates at dynner, they myghte dynke in cuppes of syluer,

speake to the senate, and make a despaynce they myghte demaunde the ensigne, weare weapons, take the charge of embassage, and warde at the gates of Rome. The auctoure hereof, is Blondus, in the booke of De Italia illustrata. If Plinie deceue vs not in an Epistle, and Plutarche in his pollytykes, Seneca in a tragedie, and Cicero in his paradores, there was nothinge where in the auncientes were more circumspect, then in eleating of their knyghtes. Now it is not so, but that one hauing mony to by a lordship, immediately he is made knyght: that which is worst, when he is made a knyght, it is not to fighte agaynst the enemyes in the felde, but more feely to commit vyces, and oppresse the poore in the towne. So thend he maye be a good chynian, he oughte to beholde Ihesus crucified: and to be a good knyght, he ought alwayes to beholde the armys of hys shylde, the whiche hys graundefather, or greate graundefather wanne. For they shal see, that they wanne them not beinge bitious in their houses: but in shabyng their bloude of their enemyes in the frontiers.

The xxx. Chapter

The emperour vriterh to his fréd,
vwherein men maye learne the
daungers of those, vvhiche traf-
ficke by sea, and se the couetous-
nes of them by lande.



Arcus Aurelius Empe-
rouer of rome, bozne in mount
Celio, wytheth to the Mer-
curus hys specyall frende,
health and consolation, in the
Gods the onely comforters. It semeth wel,
that we are frendes, sithens we doe the
woorkes of charytee. For I vnderstanding
here

here thy myshap, immediatly sente a messenger to comforte the: and in hearing my displease, thou sendest a friend of thine to comforte me. Wherefore men may perceine, if thou hadest me in minde, I dyd not forget the. I vnderstand, that the messenger that wente, and the other that came, met in Capua: the one caried my desire for the, and the other broughte thy letter for me. And if as diligently thou haddest red myne, as I attentively haue harde thine: thou shouldest thereby playnly knowe, that my herte was as full of sorrowe, as thy spyrite was full of payne. I was very glad, and greate thanks I geue the, for that thou didest sende to comforte me in my feuer tokens: and thy visitacion and comforte came at the same houre, that it leste me. But if the gods dyd leaue this sate in my handes, euen as they haue thoughte it good to fire the feuer in my bones: I would not leaue the withoute comforte, nor geue place to the feuer to retourne agayne. Whow greatesure is sure pryde, and the myserye of mans life. I speake this, because I doe presume to take manys realmes from other, and yet I haue not the power to plucke the feuer out of my owne bones. Tel me I pray the (Mercurus) what profite is it to be, so desire muche, to procure muche, to attayne muche, and to presume muche, since our dayes are so bryfe, and our persons so frailty. It is long tyme since we haue ben bound together in frendshyp, & many yeres haue passed sithen we haue knowen the one the other: & the day that thy frendshyp trusted my sayth, immediatly my sayth was bounde, that thy evils shoulde be myne, and my goods thine: for as the deuine Plato sayd, that one lyfe is true frendshyppe, where the bodies are two, and the wylls but one. I count that suspitious frendshyppe, where the hartes are so deuoyded, as the wylls are separated: for there are dyuers in Rome great frendes in wordes, whiche dwell but ten houses in order, & haue their bettes, 10, thou-

sand myles distant. What thou wentest from Rome, & I came from Saminia, thou knowest the agreement whiche we made in Capua, wherof I trust I will not deceiue me now, but I am another thou here, & that thou shouldest be another I thereto by my absence with thy presence, & thy presence with myne absence, be alwayes together. By relation of thy messenger, I vnderstode that thou haddest lost much goods: but as by thy letter I was informed, I angulsh of thy perill was much greater. As we vnderstand here, thou dydest send a shyppe laden with marchandise to Grece, and the mariners and factours besyrnge more to profite by their wysdome, then to accompysh the thy comeliuous: byd cast the marchandise into the Sea, and enely they traualled to saue their persons. In dede in so streight and perillous a case, thou hast no reason to accuse them, no yet they are bound to satisfy the: for no man can committe greater folly, then for the goods of others, to hazard his owne proper life. Pardon me (Mercurus) I pray the, for that I haue spokē, and also for that I wil saye, which is, that for so muche as the mariners and factours were not thy chyldren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy frendes, so that thy marchandise might haue comē to thy selfe haue: thou haddest litle passed, if they had al ben drowned in the depe goulfe of the sea. Further I saye, though I would not say so, & thou much lesse here so, I according to the litle care which you other countours me haue, of the chyldren, & factours of others, and according to the disordinate loue which you haue, to your pper goods: where as I wepest bitterly for the losse of thy goods, though I hadest sente al the mariners drowned, thou wouldest not haue shed one teare. For remaine marchantes wepe rather for 10. crownes lost, which they cannot recouer: the for 10. mydyleng, the whiche 10. crownes woulde haue saued. He thinketh it is neither lost, nor honest, that thou doe that whiche they tel me thou doest, to complaine of thy factours, and accuse the mariners: only to

THE DIAL

reouer of the poore men by land, that which the fishe haue in their possession in the Sea. For as thou knowest, no man is bounde to change health, life, nor the renowne of their persons, for the recouerie of goods. Alas, what ppy haue I on the Mercury, in that the shyppe was laden with thy merchaundise: and the worse of all is, that accordinge to my vnderstandinge, and thy feelinge, the Pirattes haue not cast suche fardilles into the Sea, as thoughtes hath burdened and oppressed thy harte. I neuer sawe man of such condicion as thou art, for that thou seest that the shyppe (vntil such time as they cast that merchaundise ouer the boorde) coulde not saue safelye: and yet thou dost lode thy selfe with riches to go to thy graue. O greuous, and cursed riches, with the whiche neither in the depe seas, neither yet in the maine lande, our persons are in safegard. Knowynge thy property, I would rather bind my selfe, to seke the leade & time: then thy hert so wounded. For in the end, thy leade is together in some place in the bottom of the sea: but thy couetousnes is scattered through al the hole yearre. If perhaps thou shuldest dye, and the surgins with the sharpe rapier shuld open thy stomake, I sweare vnto the, by the mother Beresinthe, (whiche is h mother of al the gods of rome) that they shuld rather send thy herte drowned to the leade: then in life with thy bodye. Now thou canst not be sicke of the feuer tedious as I am, for the heate is in thy bodye, and h paine in thy head, would cause the to haue a double quartaine: and in such disease, thou canst not be healed in thy bed, but in the shyppe, not in lãd, but in the sea, nor w physicians, but w pirates. For h physicians would carry away thy monny, & the pirates would

¶ shew the where thy lead fel. Trouble not thy selfe so muche Mercury, for though thou hast not thy leade with the in the lãd, it hath the with it in the sea, & thou oughtest enough to comforte thy selfe: for where as before thou haddest it in thy cofers, thou hast it presently

in thy intrailles. For there thy life is drowned, where thy leade is cast. O Mercury, now thou knowest, that the daye that thou didest recommend thy goods to the unknowne rockes, and thy shyppe to the raginge seas, and thy outragious avarice to the furious wyndes, holue muche that thy fate: wente desirynge thy profyte, and gayne: so muche the more thou myghtest haue bene assured of thy losse. If thou haddest had this consideration, and haddest bled this diligence: thy desire had ten drowned, and thy goods escaped. For men that dare adventure their goods on the Sea, they ought not to be heauy for that that is losse: but they ought to reioyce, for that that is escaped. Socrates the auncient and great Philosopher, determined to teache vs, not by word, but by worke, in what estimation a man ought to haue the goods of this world: for he cast in the sea not leade, but gold, not litel, but much, not of another mans, but of his owne, not by force, but willingly, not by fortune, but by wysedome. Finallye in this world thy fate he shewd so great courage, that no conicious mā would haue reioyced, to haue found somuch in the lande: as this philosopher dyd delighte, to haue cast in the sea. That which Socrates dyd was muche, but greater oughte we to esteeme that he sayd, whiche was: O ye dyscerful goods, I will drowne you, rather then you should drowne me. Since Socrates feared, and drowned hys owne proper goods: why doe not the couetous feare, to robbe the goods of other? This wise Philosopher would not traiffe the syne golde: and thou dost truste the harde leade. Drowne you two losses, Socrates of Athens, and thou of Rome. He whiche of you two haue erred, or done well: he to carry golde from the land to the Sea, or thou by the Sea to bring golde to the lande. I am assured, that the auncent Romaynes woulde saye, that it is better the couetous of this presente worlde woulde saye, that it is thou, That which in this

this case I thinke is, that thou in prayeing it, doest dyspraise thy selfe: and Socrates in dysprayinge it, of all is praysed, and esteemed.

The xxxi. Chapter.

The Emperoure in his letter rebuketh hys frende for that he acknowledgeth thought, for the losse of his goodes. He sheweth the nature of fortune; and the condicions of the couetous man.



His messenger tolde me, that thou arte verie sad, that thou cryest oute in the nyght, & importunest the gods, wakest thy neyghbours, and abouseth, that thou complaine of fortune, whiche hath bled the so euill, I am sorre for thy greefe for greefe is a frēd of solitūd, enemye of company, a loner of darkenes, straunge in conuersation, & heire of desperation. I am sorre thou criest in the nyght, for it is a signe of folly, a token of finale patience, the point of no wise man, & a great proofe of ignorance: for at the houre when all the world is couered with darkenes, thou alone doest dyscouer thy herte with exclamations. I am sorre that thou arte veried with the gods, saying that they are cruel. For so much as if they haue take any thing from the, for thy pryde, they shuld restore it agayne vnto the for thy humilitie. For as much as we offer the gods through the offence, so much do we appeale them with patience. And my frende Marcu-

rus, knowest thou not, that the patience whiche the Gods haue in dyssembling our faulces is greater, then that whiche men haue in suffering their chastisements: by cause, for we others vniustlye doe offende them, and they iustlye doe punyche vs. I am sorre, that with thy exclamations and complayntes thou slaunders thy neyghbours: for as thou knowest, one neyghbour alwayes enuyeth another, in especiallye the poore, the ryche. And accordyng to my coucell, thou shouldest dyssemble thy payne, and take all thinges in good parte: for if perhappes thy ryches haue caused thy sorow, thy patience wyl moue them to compassion. I am sorre thou complaine of thy fortune. For fortune (sicke she is known of all) doeth not suffer her selfe to be defamed of one: it is better to thinke, with fortune how thou mayst remedy it, then to thinke with greefe how to complaine. For there are dyuers men, whiche to publyshe their paine, are very carefull: but to seke remedye, are as negligente. And poore Mercurius, after so longe forgetfulness, arte thou moze aduysed to complaine of fortune as gayne: and darest thou desyre fortune, with whom all we haue peace? We vnbend our bowes, and thou wylt charge thy launces: thou knowest not what warre meaneth, and yet thou wylt winne the victorye: are deceiued, and wylte thou alone goe safer? What wylte thou moze I saye vnto the, synce I see the commite thy selfe to fortune: Doest not thou knowe, that it is she that beatech downe the hygh walles, and defendeth the towne dyches: knowest thou not, that it is she that peopleth the vnbabytable desertes, and dyspeopleth the peopled Cityes: Knowest thou not, that it is she that of enemyes maketh frendes, and of frendes enemyes: knowest thou not, that it is she that conquereth the conquerours: knowest thou not, & it is she, & of traitours maketh faithfull, & of faithfull suspitions: finally I wyl I knowe, & fortune is she whiche

THE DIAL

turneth realmes, breaketh armyes, abaseth kinges, raiseth tirantes, geneth lyfe to the ded, and beriethe the liuing. Doeſt thou not remember, that the ſecond kyng of the Lacedemonians had ouer hys gates ſuche wordes.

*¶ The pallace here bebold where men do ſtrive
by ſuittles wyſe to conquire what they can
And fortune eke that princes ſancies true
by his vnbredled wyll that alwayes win.*



Certainly theſe wordes were highe, and proceeded of a highe vnderſtandynge. And if in this caſe I maye be beleued, they ought to be wel noted of wiſe men, and not written befoze the gates, but within the herres. Better knew he fortune then thou, ſince he toke him ſelfe for one diſherited, and not as heſre: and when he loſt any thing as thou, he knew that he receiued it by lone, and not that it was hys owne. Men in this life are not ſomuche deceiued for any thinge, as to thinke that the tempoꝛal goods ſhoulde remaine with them duringe lyfe. Nowe that god doeth ſuffer it, now that oure woeful fortune doeth deſerue it, I ſee no greater miſhappes fall vnto any, then vnto them which haue the greateſt eſtates and riches, ſo that trulye we maye boldelye ſaye, that he alone which is ſet in the graue, is in ſafegarde from the vncouſtancye of fortune. Thy meſſenger hath tolde me further, that this ſommer thou preparedſt thy ſelfe to Rome, and nowe that it is wynter thou wylte ſayle to Alexandria. O thou vnhappye Mercury, tell me I praye the, howe longe it is, ſithence thou loſte thy ſenſis: for as muche as when thy lyfe doeth ende, thy auarice beynneth a newe. Thou foundeſt two ciyties very meate for thy traffiche, that is to wete, Rome which is the ſcourge of all verenes: and Alexandria which is the cheſt of all vices. And if thou loſteſt greatlye theſe two ciyties, heare I praye the

what marchaundye are ſolde therein. In Rome, thou ſhalte lode thy body with vices: and in Alexandria, thou ſhalte ſwell thy herre with cares. By the faith of a good man I ſwear vnto the, that if perchaunce thou byeſt any thing of that that is there, or ſellſt ought of that thou byyngeſt from thence: thou ſhalte haue greater honger of that thou ſhalt leaue, then contentacion of that thou ſhalt bynge. Thou doeſt not remember that we are in wynter, and that thou muſt paſſe the ſea, in the which, if the Pyrates do not deceiue me, the ſureſt tranquillyte, is a ſigne of the greateſt torment. Thou mighteſt tel me, if thy ſhyppes ſhoulde retourne without frayte, and therfore they ſhall ſayle more ſurely. To this I aunſwere the, that thou ſhalte ſende them more loden with couetouſnes: then they ſhall retourne loden with ſilkes. O what a good change ſhould it be, if the auariſe of Italy coulde be changed, for the ſilke of Alexandry. I ſwear vnto the, that in ſuche caſe, thy ſylke woulde ſtraight a ſhyppe: and our couetiſe woulde lode a hole nauye. That couetouſnes is greate, which the ſhame of the worlde doeth not oppreſſe: neyther the feare of death, doeth cauſe to ceaſe. And this I ſaye for the, that ſpoken in this dangerous tyme thou durſte ſayle, eynher wyſedome wanteth, or els auarice and couetouſnes ſurmounteth. To ſatiſſye me, and to excuſe the, with thoſe which ſpeake to me of the, I can not tell what to ſaye vnto them, but that God hath forgotten the, and the ſea doe knowe the. I praye the, what goeſt thou to ſeke, ſince thou leaueſt the gouernaunce of thy houſe, and ſayleſt in Alexandria: Peraduenture thou goeſt to the goulphe Arx in, where the maryners call in the leade.

Take hede Mercury, and conſider well what thou doeſt, for peraduenture where as thou thinkeſt to take fro the fiſhe the hard lead, thou mayſt leaue vnto them thy ſolte fiſhe. I haue knowen many in Rome, which

which for to recover one parte of that that they haue lost, haue lost al that which was left vnto them. O my friend Mercury, note, note, note wel this last word, whereby thou shalt knowe, what it is that you courtous men gaze for in this life. Thou sekest care for thy selfe, enuy for thy neighbours, spurrer for strangers, a bayte for theues, troubles for thy bodye, dampnacion for thy renowne, vnquietnes for thy life, annoyāce for thy frendes, and occasion for thy enemies. Finally, thou seest best maledictions for thy beyres: & long lutes for thy children: I can not write any more vnto the, because the feuer dothe so vehementlye bere me. I pray the, pray to the goddess of Sarnia for me: for medicines litel profiteth, if the goddess be angry with vs. My wife Faustine saluterh the, and she sayth that she is sorre for thy losse: she sendeth the a riche telwell for Faull thy daughter, & I send the a commission, to thande one shoulde geue the a shippe in recompence of thy leade. If thou saylest with it, come not by Rhodes, for we haue taken it from their pirates. The goddess be in thy custody, & geue me & Faustine a good life with ours, & a good name among strangers. I do not write vnto the with mine owne hand, for that my sickenes doth not permit it.

The xxxii. Chapter

That Princes and noble men ought to consider the miserye of mans nature, and that brute beastes are in some poyntes (reason set apart) to be preferred vnto man.



MYDAS the auncient king of Phrigia, was in his government a cruell tyrant, & contented not him selfe to play

the tyrant in his owne proper countrey, but also mainteyned rovers on the sea, & theues in the land, to robbe strangers. This king Mydas was well knowen in the realmes of orient, & in such sort, that a friend of his of Thebes sayd vnto him these wordes. I let the were kinge Mydas, that all those of thy owne realme do hate the, and all the other realmes of Asia do feare the, and this not for that thou canst do much, but for the craftes & subtilties which thou blest. By reason wherof, all strangers, & al thine owne haue made ahowe to god, neuer to laugh durings the time of thy life: nor yet to wepe after thy death. Plutarke in the booke of polliciques sayth, that when this king Mydas was bozne, the antes brought coine into his cradel, and into his mouth: and when the nurse would haue taken it from him, he shut his mouth, and would not suffer any parson to take it fro him. They beinge all amazed with this strange sight, demaunded the oracle what this betokened. Who answered, that the child should be maruapulous riche, & with that exceeding courtous: whiche the antes did betoken, in filling his mouth with coine: And afterwarde he would not geue them anye only grapne, and so it chaunced, that king Mydas was exceeding riche, & also verye courtous: for he would neuer geue any thing, but that which by force was taken from him, or by subtilty robbed. In the scooles of Athens, at that time flourished a philosopher called Silenus, who in letters and purenes of life, was highly renowned. And as king Mydas was knowen of many, to haue great treasures: so this philosopher Silenus, was no lesse noted for despising them. This philosopher Silenus was dwelling by the borders of Phrigia, was taken by the theues which robbed the countrey: & beinge brought befoze king Mydas. The kinge sayd vnto him. Thou art a philosopher, & I am a kinge: thou art my prisoner, and I am thy lord, I will parson

THE DIAL

that immediatly thou tell me, what raunsome thou canst geue me to redeme thy parson: for I let the wete that I am not contented any philosopher should perish in my countrey, because you other philosophers sape, that you wil willingly renounce the gooddes of the world, sith you can not haue it. The philosopher Silenus answered him. We thinketh (king Mydas) that thou canst better execute tyranny, then to talke of philosophy: for we make no accompt your bodies be taken but, y our wils be at liberty. Thy demanda is very simple, to demanda raunsome of me for my parsonne, whether thou takest me for a philosopher or no. If I be not a philosopher, what moueth the to feare, to kepe me in thy realme: for sooner shouldest thou make me a tirant, then I the a philosopher. If thou takest me for a philosopher, why dost thou demanda mony of me: sith thou knowest I am a philosopher, I am a craftes man, I am a poete, & also a musician. So that the time that thou in heaping vp riches hast consumed: the selfe same time haue I, in learninge sciences spent. If a philosopher to demanda eyther gold or siluer for raunsom of his parson is either a word in mockery, or els an inuention of tyranny. For sithes I was borne in the world, riches neuer came into my handes, nor after the bath my hart lusted. If y (king Mydas) wouldest geue me audience, & in the faith of a prince beleue me, I wold tel the what is the greatest thing, & next vnto the second, y the gods mape giue in this life: & it may be, y it shalbe so pleasaunt vnto y to here, & so profitable for thy life, that y wilt pluck me from my enemies, & I may diswade the fro tyrannies. The king Mydas hard these wordes, he gaue him licence to say these. & thinges swearing vnto him to heare him, w as muche pacience as was possible. The philosopher Silenus, hauing licence to speake frely, takinge an instrument in his handes, beganne to playe and sing in this wise,

*He senate of the goddess when they sawe though;
T On earthly wightes to stil some ryall grace
the chiefest giftes the beaunty powers had wrought
had bene to sowe his seede in barayne place*

*But when by steppes of such deuine constrain
they forced man perforce to fixe his line
The highest good to helpe the boocles plaint
had bene to shipe his race of slender ruine*

*For then the tender babes both want to knowe
the dere delight that life doth after hale
And eke the dread, that greslye death doth shoue
Ere Charons boie, to steepe an floure doth saile*



The chiefest gift that the gods could giue to man, was, not to suffer him to be borne.

The seconde benefite was, that when they constrained him to be borne, they shoulde immediatly make him die. For then the litel babies haue no desire to liue, nor feare to dye. These two thinges the philosopher proued with so highe, and natural reasons, that it was a merueylous matter, to se with what behemence Silenus the philosopher sange them: and with what bitternes Mydas the tirant wept. With our doubte, the sentences were maruailous profound, which the philosopher spake: and great reason had that king, to esteeme it so muche. For if we do prepare our selues to consider, wherof we are, and what we shall be, that is to wete, that we are of earth, and that we shall retorne to earth: We wold not cease to wepe nor sigh.

One of the greatest banrypes whiche I finde amonge the chyldzen of banrype is, that they employe them selues to consyder the influences of the starres, the nature of the planettes, the motion of the beauntes and they will not consyde them selues of the whyche consyderayon they shoulde take some profyte.

* For man geuinge his minde to thinke on straunge thinges, cometh to forgette his owne proper. ¶ If we woulde consider the corruption wherof we are made, the synne wherof we are ingendred, the infinite traynle wherewith we are bozne, the long tediousnes wherewith we are nozished, the great necessities and suspitions wherein we liue, and above all, the greare perill wherin we dye: I sweare and affirme, that in such consideration, we finde a thousand occasions to wish death, & not one to desire life. The children of vanity are occupied many yerres in y^e scholes to learne rethorike, they exercise the selues in philosophy, they heare Aristotell, they learne Homere without booke, they study Cicero, they are occupied in Xenophon, they herken Titus Lilius, they forget not Aulus Gellus, and they knowe Ouide: yet for all this I say, that we can not say that the man knowe ech litell, whiche doth know him selfe. Eschines the philosopher sayd well; that it is not the least, but the chiefest part of philosophy to knowe man, and wherfore he was made: for if man woulde depelye consider what man is, he shoulde finde mo thinges in him, which woulde moue him to humble him selfe, then to stirre him to be proud.

* If we do behold it without passion, & if we do examine it with reason, I knowe not what there is in man. ¶ Miserable & fraile nature of manne, the whiche taken by it selfe is litel worth: and compared with an other thing is much lesse. For man seeth in brute beastes manye thinges whiche he doth enuy: & the beastes do se much moze in men, wheron (if they had reason) they wold haue compassion. The excellency of the soule layde aside, and the hope whiche we haue of eternal life, if man do compare the captiuitie of men to the libertie of beastes, with reason we may se, that the beastes do liue a peaceable life: and that which menne do leade, is but a longe deathe. If we prepare our selues to consider from the time

that both the man and the beast come into this worlde, vntill suche time as they both dye, and in how many thinges the beastes are better then men: with reason we maye say, that nature like a pitifull mother hath shewed her selfe to beastes, & that she doth handle vs as an iniuste stepmother. Let vs beginne therfore to declare moze particularly the originall of the one, and the beginning of the other: and we shall se how much better the brute beastes are endowed, and how the miserable men are distressed.

The xxxiii. Chapter

The auctour reasoneth of the mystery of men, and of the libertie of beastes.



E oughte deapelye to consider, y^e no wild nor tame beaste is so longe before he come to his shape, as the miserable man is: who with the corruption of bloud and vile matter, is 9. monethes hid in the wombe of his mother. ¶ We se the beast when she is great (if needs require) dothe labour alle exercises of husbandry: so that she is as readye to labour when she is great, as if she were empye. The contrary happeneth to women, which when they are bigge with child, are weary with going, troubled to be layd, they ryde in charlottes throughe the market places, they eat litell, they hope that bywardes which they haue eaten, they hate y^e which is profitable, and loue that which doth harme: Finally a woman with childe is contented with nothinge, and she fretteth and beteth with her selfe. Withens thefore it is true, that we are noysome and troublesome to our mothers when they beare vs

THE DIAL

in theyr wombes: why do not we geue the
some safeconduite when they are in theyr
deliuering? A miserable state of man, since
the brute beastes are borne wout destroy-
ing their mothers: but the miserable men
before they are borne, are troublesome and
careful, and in the time of their birthe, are
both perillous to them selues, and daunge-
rous to their mothers. Which semeth to be
very manifest: for the preparation that mā
will make whē he wil die, & selfe same ought
the woman to do, when she is redy to be de-
liuered. We must also cōsider, that though
a beast hath but .ii. fete, as the birdes haue,
he can go, moue, and runne, immediatlye,
whē it cometh forth: but when mā is borne,
he can not go, nor moue, & much lesse run.
So that a popplinge ought more to be este-
med, which hath no handes: then the man
which hath both handes and fete. That
which they do to the litel babe, is not but a
prognostication of y^e which he ought to suf-
fer in the progresse of his life: y^e is to wete.
That as they are not contented to put y^e
will doer in prison, but they lode his handes
with yrones, and set his fete in the stocks:
so in like maner to the miserable man, whē
he enreth into the charter of his life, imme-
diatly they bind both his hādes & his fete, &
lay him in the cradel. So y^e the innocēt babe
is first bound & rolled, before he be imbrac-
ed, or haue sucke of the mother. We must
note also, y^e the hower wherein the beast is
brought forth, though it know not y^e father
which begat it, at y^e least it knoweth y^e mo-
ther which brought it forth: which is appa-
raunt for so muche as if the mother haue
milke, the yongling forthewith doth sucke
her teates: & if perchaunce she haue no milke,
they go after wardes to hide the selues vn-
der her wings: Of y^e miserable mā it is not
so, but y^e day y^e he is borne, he knoweth not
the nurse y^e gouerneth him sucke, neither the
father which hath begott him, the mother
which hath borne him, nor yet the midwife
which hath receyued him: mozeouer he can
not se wth his eyes, heare wth his eares nor

iudge wth y^e tast, & knoweth neither what
it is to touche, or smell: so y^e we see him, is
whō the signozie ouer al brute beastes, & o-
ther thinges (y^e are created) pertaineth to be
borne the most vnable of al others beastes.
We must also cōsider, that though the beast
be neuer so lytel, yet it can seke for the teat-
es of hys mother to sucke, or to wander in
the felde to feede, or to scrape the dunghil-
les to eate, or els it goeth to the fountaynes
and riuers to drinke, and that he learneth
not, by the discours of time, or that any o-
ther beast hath taught it, but as sone as it
is borne, so sone doth it know what thinge
is necessary for it. The miserable mā is not
borne wth so many present commodities,
he can not eate, drinke, nor go, make him
selfe ready, aske, nor yet complayne, and y^e
whiche is more, he knoweth not scarcelye
howe to sucke, for the mothers oftentimes
would geue to their children (if they could) y^e
bloud of their harte: & yet they cā not cause
the to take the milke of their breasts. A
great misery of mans nature, for so muche
as the brute beastes as soone as they are
come forth: he of their mothers wombe, can
knowe & seke: but when it is offered vnto
man, he can not knowe it. We must note
also, that to brute beastes, nature hath geue
clothing, wherewith they may kepe theym-
selues from the heat of Summer, and defend
them selues from the cold of winter: which
is manifest, for that to lambes & shepe, she
hath geuen woll, to birdes feathers, to hog-
ges bristles, to hoxes heare, to fishe scales,
& to mayles shelles. Finally I say, there is
no beast which hath nede wth his handes
to make any garment, nor yet to borrow it
of another. Of all this the miserable man
is deprived, who is borne al naked, and li-
eth al naked, not carynge wth him one
onely garment: and if in the time of his
life he wil vse any garment, he must de-
maunde of the beastes, both lether, wolle,
and thereunto he must also put his labour
and industry.

I would

I would aske princes, and great lordes, if when they are bozine they bring with them any apparel: and when they dye, if they carry with them any treasure? To this I answer no: but they die as they are bozine, as wel the riche as the poore, and the poore as the rich. And admit that in this life, fortune doth make difference betwene vs in estates, yet nature in time of our birth, and death, dothe make vs all equall. We must also thinke and consider, that so much as nature hath provided the beastes of garments, she hath also taken from them the care of what they ought to eat: for there is no beast that doth eyther plowe, sowe, or labour, but doth content her selfe, and passeth her life, eyther with the litel flies of hayre, with the corne that she findeth in the high wayes, with the herbes in the felde, with the antes of the earthe, with the grapes of the vine, or with the fruites which are fallen. Finally I say, that without care all beastes take their rest, as if the next day should come, they should haue no neede to eat. What a great benefite should god do to the miserable man, if he had taken from him the trouble to apparel him selfe, and care to search for thinges to eat. But what shal the poore miserable man do, that before he eateth, he must till, sowe, he must reape, & chuse the corne, he must cleanse it, grinde it, passe it, and bake it, and it can not be provided without care of minde, nor be done without the proper sweat of the browes. And if perchance any man did prouide for him selfe with the sweat of others, yet shal he liue with his owne offences. Also in other thinges the beastes do excell vs: for in the flowers, in the leaues, in the hearbes, in the strawe, in the otes, in the bread, in the fleshe, or in the fruite whiche they eat, or in the water whiche they drinke, they feelee no paine, although it be not sweete: nor take any displeasure, though their meates be not sauory. Finally, suche as nature hath provided them, without dislikinge, or ma-

king them selues better, they are contented to eat. Man could lose nothinge, if in this point he agreed with beastes: but I am very sorre, that there are manye vicious and proude men, to whom nothinge wanteth, eyther to apparayle, or eat, but they haue to much to mainteyne them selues, and herewith not contented, they are such doo hardes to tast of diuers wines, and suche Epicures to eat of sundry sortes of meates that oftentimes they spend more to drinke the, then they did cost the buying. Now whē the beastes are brought forth, they haue knowledge both of that that is profitable, & also of that that is hurtful for them. For we see this, that the shepe flyeth the wolfe, the cat flieth the dog, the ratte flyeth the cat, and the chicken the kite: so that the beastes in opening the eyes, do immediately know the frendes whom they ought to folowe, & the enemies whom they ought to flye. To the miserable man, was bitterly denyed this so great priuiledge. For in the worlde there hath bene many beastly men, who hath not onely attayned that, whiche they ought to knowe whiles they liued: but also euen as like beastes they passed their dayes in this life, so they were infamed at the tyme of their death. Miserable creatures that we are, which liue in this wicked worlde, for we knowe not what is hurtfull for vs, what we ought to eat, from what we ought to absteyne, nor yet whom we should hate: we do not agre with those whom we ought to loue, we knowe not in whome to put our trust, fro whom we ought to flye, nor what it is we ought to choose, nor yet what we ought to forsake. Finally I say, that when we thinke oftentimes to enter into a sure haueu, within 3. steppes afterwarde, we fall headlong into the depe sea. We ought also to confide, that both to wilde and tame beastes, nature hath geuen armes, or weapons to defend them selues, and to assault their enemies: as it appereth, for that to birdes she hath geuen winges, to the hartes she

feet

THE DIAL

fecte to the Elephantes to the scales, to the ser-
pentes scales, to the Eagle talons, to the
falcon a beake, to the lions teethe, to the
bulles hoynes, and to the beares pawes. Fi-
nally I saye, that the hath given to the for-
es subtilty to knowe howe to hyde them sel-
ues in the earth, and to the fishes litle fin-
nes howe to swimme in the water. Admit
that the wretched men haue fewe enemies,
yet in this they are none otherwise pry-
ledged, then the beastes: for we se (without
teares it can not be tolde) that the beastes
which for the seruice of men were created,
with the selfe same beastes, men are now
adaptes troubled, and offended. And to the
it seeme not we should talke of pleasure,
let euerye man thinke with him selfe, what
it is that we suffer with the beastes of this
life: For the Lyons do feare vs, the wolves
devoure our shepe, the dogges do bite vs,
the cattes scratche vs, the beare doth teare
vs, the serpentes payson vs, the bulles hurt
vs with their hoynes, the birdes do ouerfly
vs, the rattes do trouble vs, the spiders do
annoy vs, and the worst of all is, that a li-
tel flye sucketh our blud in the daye, & the
pooze flea doth let vs sleepe in the night.
O pooze and miserable man, who for to suf-
fer this wretched life, is enforced to begge
all thinges that he needeth of the beastes
For he beastes do geue him wol, he beastes do
driue him water, he beastes do carpe him fro
place to place, the beastes do plough he land,
and carieth the corne into their barnes. Fi-
nally I saye, that if the man receiue anye
good, he hath not wherewith to make recom-
pence: and if they do him any euil, he hath
nought but the tonge to reuenge. We must
note also, that though a man lode a beaste
with stripes, beate her, driue her by the
foule wayes, though he taketh her meate
from her, yea though he ponglinges dye:
yet for none of all these thinges she is sad,
or sorrowfull, and muche lesse doth wepe, &
though she should wepe, she can not. For

beastes litell esteeme their life, and muche
lesse feare death. It is not so of the unhap-
py and wretched man, whiche can not but
bewaile the unthankfulness of their fren-
des, the death of their children, the want
whiche they haue of necessaries, the case of
aduersitie whiche doth succede them, the false
witnes whiche is brought against them, &
a thousand calamities whiche do torment
their hartes. Finally I saye, that the grea-
test comfort that men haue in this life, is
to make a riuer of water, with the teares
of their eyes. Let vs inquire of princes and
great lordes, what they can do when they
are bozne, whether they can speake as ora-
tors, if they can conue as pollices, if they
can gouerne them selues as kinges, if they
can fight as men of warre, if they can la-
bour as labourers, if they can worke as the
masons, if they knowe to teach as maisters,
these litell children woulde aunswere, that
they are not onely ignorant of all that we
demande of them, but also that they can
not vnderstand it. Let vs retourne to aske
them what is that they knowe, since they
knowe nothing of that we haue demanded
them: they wil aunswere, that they can do
none other thing, but wepe at their birth,
and sorrowe at their death. Though al those
(whiche in this so perillous sea sayle) do re-
ioyce and take pleasure, and seme to sleepe
soundly: yet at the laste there cometh the
winde of aduersity, whiche maketh them al
to knowe their folly. For if I be not decey-
ued, and if I knowe any thing of this world
those whiche I haue sene at the time of their
birth take shippe weping: I doubt whether
they wil take land in the graue laughing.
O unhappy life (I should say rather death)
whiche the mortalles take for life, wherein
afterwardes we must consume a great
time, to learne all artes, sciences, and offi-
ces: and yet notwithstanding, that wher-
of we are ignorant, is more then that
whiche we knowe. We forget the greatest
parte, save onely that of weeping, whiche

man needeth to learne: for we are borne, and lue weaping, and until this present we haue sene none dye in loye.

We must note also, that the beastes doe lue and dye with the inclinacions where with they were borne: that is to wete, that the wolfe foloweth the shepe, and not the birdes, the houndes followe the hares, and not the rattes, the sparrow flyeth at the birdes, and not at the fishe, the spyder, the flies, and not the herbes. Finally I saye, that if we let the beaste searche hys meate quietly, we shall not see hym geuen to anye other thing.

The contrarie of all this happeneth to men, the whiche though nature hath created feble, yet Gods intencion was not they should be malicious: but I am soze, since they can not auoyde debyltyte, that they turne it into malice. The presumptiō which they haue to be good, they turne to pryde: and the desire they haue to be innocēt, they tourne into enuye. The surye whiche they should take against malice, they turne into anger: and the lyberalitye they oughte to haue with the good, they conuerste into auaryce.

The necessarye they haue to eate, they tourne into gluttonye: and the care they oughte to haue of their conscience, they tourne into negligence. Finally I saye, that y moze strength beastes haue, the moze they serue: and the lesse men are wo:the, so muche the moze thanks haue they of god.

The innocencye of the brute beast considered, and the malycie of the malicious man marked: without comparison, the companye of the brute beaste, is lesse hurtfull, then the conuersation of euill men.

For in the ende, if ye be conuersaunte with a beaste, ye haue not but to beware of her: but if ye be in companye with a man, there is nothyng wherē ye oughte to truste hym.

We muste note also, that it was neuer ther sene, nor red, that there was anye beaste that toke care for the grane: but the beastes beinge deade, some are tozme in peces with Lyons, other dysmembred by the beares, others gnawen with dogges, other remaine in the felde, other are eaten of men, and other by the antes.

Finallye, the intralles of the one, are the graves of others. It is not so of the myserable man, the whiche consumeth no smal treasure to make his grane, which is the moste baynest thinge, that is in this myserable lyfe: for there is no greater basynesse, nor lychenes in man, then to be esteemed for hys saye sumptuous grane, and lytell to waye a good lyfe: I wyll sweare, that at this daye all the deade do swaie, that they care lytell, if their bodies be buried in the depe Seas, or in the golden tombes, or that the cruell beastes haue eaten them, or that they remaine in the felde withoute a grane: so that their soules maye be amonge the celestiaall companies. Speakeinge after the lawe of a chrystian, I durste saye, that it prospereth lytell the bodye to be amonge the paynted and carved stoness: when the myserable soule is burnynge, in the fyre flames of hel.

O myserable creatures, haue not we suffycente where with to seke in this life, to procure, to traunple, to accomplishe, to syghe, and also what to bewaile, with oute hauinge such care, and anguyshe, to knowe where they shalbe buried?

Is there any man so daine, that he doeth not care that other menne shoulde condempne his euill lyfe: so that they prayse his ryche Tombe: To thole that are liuinge I speake, and saye: of those that are deade, that yf a manne gaue theym leaue to retourne in to the wo:ld, they woulde be occupied moze to correcte their excelle, and

P. 1.

offens

THE DIAL

offences: then to adourne, and repaire their graues, and tombes, though they founde them fallen downe. I cannot tell what to saye moze in this case, but to admonyſhe men, that it is greate follye, to make anye great accompte of the graues.

The xxxiiii. Chapter.

The Emperoure writeth this letter to comfotte hys frende vwith al, vvhich is comfortable to al the, that haue ben in prosperitie, and are nowe broughte into aduerſitye.



Arke the Romain Emperoure, bozne at mounte Celio, to the Domitio of Capua, wvſmeth health, and coſolacion from Gods the onelye comforters.

The bitter winter in theſe partes, haue reiſed briſt coas wyndes, and the wyndes haue cauſed muche rayne, and the muche rayne hath cauſed greate moſtures: the whiche engendered in me ſondry dyſeaſes. Among the which, the gowte of my handes is one, and the Siatica in my legges is another. Elſchianus the philoſopher ſaide, that the libertie of the ſoule cannot be eſtmed to much, nor the health of the bodye, and alſo muche leſſe be bought for money. Tel me I praye the, what can be doe, or what is he worth, that hath neyther libertie, nor health: The deuine Plato in his booke of his common wealth, reciteth theſe thinges.

✱ The firſt, that the man which oweth noſthinge, cannot ſaye that he is poze. For the day that I owe money to another, another, and not my ſelfe, is lord of myne owne,

The ſeconde, the man whiche is no ſeruaunte, nor captiue, hath not reaſon to ſaye that anye thinge maye make hym unhappy. For fortune in nothinge thewerth her ſelfe ſo cruel, as to take from vs the liberty of this life.

The thirde whiche Plato ſaied, is that amonge all temporall goods there is none moze greater, nor greater felicitye, then the treaſure of health. For the man whiche is perſecuted with ſickeneſſe, with ryches can haue no contentacion. In the tyme of our olde fathers, when Rome was wel corrected, they did not only ordeine the thinges of theſe common wealth: but alſo they provided for that whiche touched the health of euery perſon. So that they watched to cure the bodye, and they were circumspecte to deſtroy vices. In the tyme of Gneus Patroclus, and Iulius Albus, they ſaye, that the city of Rome was ordinarily byſpred with ſickeneſſe. Wherefore firſt they dyd forbide, that in the moneth of Iulye, and Auguſt, there ſhould be no ſkelues for women. For the blond of the yong, was corrupted in be-
neral adcs.

The ſecond, that no man ſhuld bring anye fruite from Salon, nor Campania, to ſell during theſe 2 monethes in Rome. For the delicate ladies of Rome for extreme heate, and the poze for their pouerty, dyd not eate in ſommer, but frutes: and ſo the market places were full of frutes, and the houſes full of agues.

The thirde, they dyd defend that no inhabitant ſhould be ſo hardye, to walke after the ſonne were ſet, for the yong men, though the lighneſſe they vſed in the nightes, toke dyſeaſes whiche vbered them in the dayes.

The fourth, they did prohibite that no man ſhould be ſo hardye, to ſell openlye in Rome wyne of Candie, or Spayne. For in the greate heate of the ſommer, as the ſonne is very whote, ſo the wyne as poiſon doeth kil yong men.

The

The sickhe, that they shoulde purge the
pylurces, and make cleane the strectes, and
houses.

For of the corruption of the ayre, is en-
gendered the plague amonge the people.
When Rome was ryche, when Rome pro-
spered, all these thinges were obserued in
the common wealthe. But since Catilina
the Tiraunte dyd rebell, since Scilla and
Marius dyd slaunder it, since Cesar and
Pompeius dyd playe the tirauntes, since
Octavius Augustus and Marcus Anto-
nius dyd robbe it, since Calligula & Nero
dyd defame it, they cared litel whither they
entred into Rome, to sel the wine of Spaine
or Candia. For they feared more the kni-
fe of the enemyes: then the heate of the som-
mer. Greate reason had the auncientes to
so; dyd those thinges in Rome, for to save
the trouthe, they are not healthfull. When
I was yonge in Rome, my heade dyd not
ake with talkynge in the nyghte, nor I did
fele my bloude chased with drynking wine.

Then I was not troubled to sette in the
heate in the sommer, nor I was annoyed
to goe bare legged in the wynter.

But nowe that I am olde, there is no heate
but offendeth me, nor colde but perseith me.

For men throughte muche euill role in
their youthe, come to greuous diseases in
their age.

Of mortal men, after that they be olde,
coude at anye tyme worke with the gods,
that they shoulde become yonge agayne:
I swere vnto the, by the faith of a good
man, that they woulde behaue them sel-
ues so wel, that the world shuld not agayne
deceiue them. Since men haue bene vici-
ous in their youthe, I doe not meruell
though they are ful of dyscaies when they
are olde.

For howe can he lone his health, which
bareth vertue? Al that which I haue spo-
ken here befoze, is to the ende you maye
knowe, and beleue, that I am sickhe, and
that I cannot wyte vnto the so longe as I

woulde, and as thou desirest: so that herof
of it soloweth, that I shall bewaile thy
payne, and thou shalt be greued with my
gowe. I vnderstode here, howe that at the
seaste of the god Ianus, through the run-
nyng of a hoise, greate crye is ryen be-
twene the, and thy neighbor Patricio.
And the buyt was such, that they haue
confiscated thy goods, battered thy house,
banished thy chyldren, and depriued the
from the Senate for .v. yeares.

And further, they banished the cite of
Capua for euer, and haue put thy fellow in
the pylson Mamertine: so that by this lytle
surpryse, thou hast cause to lament al the daies
of thy life. Al those which come from thens,
doe tel vs, that thou arte so woofull in thy
harte, and so chaunged in thy person: that
thou dost not forget thy heauy chaunces,
nor receiuest consolation of thy saynfull
freendes.

Thinke not that I spake this, that thou
shouldest be offended: for accordynge to the
often chaunges which fortune hath shewed
in me, it is longe since I knewe what sor-
row ment.

For trulye, the man whiche is sorow-
full, sigheth in the daye, watcheth in the
nyghte, delyteth not in companye and with
only care he resteth. The light he hateth, the
darkenes he loneth, with bitter teares he
watereth his earth, with heuy sighes he per-
cereth the heauens, with infinite sorowes he
remembreth that that is passe, and forseeeth
nothyng that is comen. He is dyspleased
with hym that doeth comferte hym, and he
taketh rest to expresse his sorowes.

Finallye, the vnfortunate man is cons-
tented with nothyng, and with hym selfe
continuallye he doeth chafe. Releue me
Domitio, that if I haue well touched the
condicions of the sorowfull man, it is for
no other cause, but for that my euill sor-
tune hath made me taste them all. And
hereof it cometh, that I can so wel des-
crib them: for in the ende, in thinges
P. II. whiche

THE DIAL

whiche touche the sorowes of the spryte, and the troubles of the bodie, there is greate difference from hym that hathe red them, and from hym that hathe felt them. If thou dydest feele it there, as I doe feele it here, it is sufficiente to geue the and thy frendes, greate doloure, to thinke that for so small a cryple, thou shouldest vnder the, and all thy parentage. And speaking with the trouth, I am verie sorie to see the caste awaye: but muche more it greueth me, to see the drowned in so litle a water. When men are noble, and keape their hartes hyge, they oughte to take their enemyes agreeable to their estates, I meane, that when a noble man shall aduenture to hazard his person, and his goods, he oughte to doe it for a matter of greate importance. For in the ende, more defamed is he that ouercometh a labourer, then he whiche is overcome with a knyghte. Whowever baryshle is fortune, and in howe shorte space doeth happen an euill fortune: in that whiche now I will speake, I doe condemn my selfe, and accuse the. I complayne to the Gods, I reclayne the deade, and I cal the lyuinge, to the ende they may see, howe that before the eyes we suffer the grefes, and knowe them not, with the handes we touche them, and percene them not, we goe ouer them, and see them not, they sound in our eares, and we heare them not, daylye they doe admonyshe vs, and we doe not beleue them: synallye, we fele the peyn, where there is no remedye of oure grefe. For as experyence doeth teache vs, with a lytell blasse of wynde the fruite doe fall, with a lytell sparke of fyre the house is kyndled, with a lytell rocke the shippe is broken, at a lytell stone the foote doeth stumble, with a lytell hoke they take great payne, and with a lytel wounde dyeth a greate person.

For all that I haue spoken, I meane, that oure lyfe is so fragile, and fortune so fickle, that in that parte where we are so

rest harnessed, we are sonest wounded, Seneca wyrtunge to his mother Albina, whiche was banished from Rome, sayde.

Thou Albina arte my mother, and I thy sonne, thou arte aged, and I am nor yonge, I neuer beleued in fortune, though she woulde promise to be in peace with me. And further he sayde, at that whiche is in me, I counte it at the disposition of fortune, aswell of ryches, as of prospery: and I keape them in suche a plate, that at any houre in the nyght when she lysteth, she maye carpe them awaye, and neuer wake me. So that though she carpe those oute of my cofers: yet she shuld not robbe me of this in my intrayles. With oute doubte, suche wordes were merueylous pithy, and verie decenre for suche a wyse man.

The Emperoure Adryan my Lord, did weare a ryng of golde on his fynger, whiche he sayde was of the good Drucius Germanicus, and the posye about the ring in latine letters sayde thus. Illis est grauis fortuna, quibus est repentina. Fortune is to them moste cruell, whome suddenlye she assaulteth. We see oftentimes by experyence, that in the spygula whiche is stopped, and not in that whiche is open, the Burgyon maketh doubte. In the shallow water, and not in the depe seas, the Pilot despayreth. The good man of armes is more astrayde of the secrete ambushment, then in the open battayle. I meane, that the valyaunte man oughte to beware, not of straungers, but of his owne, not of enemyes, but of frendes, not of the cruel warre, but of the sayned peace, not of the manifest damage, but of the preynt peryll.

Whowever manye we haue sene, whome the mishappes of fortune conde neuer chaunge, and yet afterwarde hauyng no care, she hath made them fall. I aske nowe, what hope can man haue, whiche will neuer trusse to the prosperye of fortune: Since for so lyght a thinge, we haue

haue sente suche trouble in Capua, and so greate a losse of thy person and goods: If we knewe fortune, we woulde not make so greate complaynte of her.

For speakynge the trouthe, as she is for all, and woulde contente all, though she in the ende she mocke all, she geueth and she taketh vs all her goods. And we others take them for inheritaunce. That whiche she lendeth vs, we take it for perpetuall, that whiche in tesse she geueth vs, we take it in good earnest. and in the ende, as she is the mocker of all, so she goeth mockynge of vs, thinkynge that she geueth vs another mans, and she taketh oure owne proper. I let the wete, that knowynge that of fortune whiche I knowe, I feare not the surmises of her trauncles, neyther doeth her lightnings or thunders affray me, nor yet will I not esteeme the pleasauntenes, of her goodlye sayer flatteryes. I will not truste her swete reioysinges, neither will I make accompte of her frendshippes, nor I will ioyne my selfe with her enemies, nor I will take anye pleasour of that she geueth me, neyther greife of that she taketh from me, nor I will haue respecte when she telleth me trathe, nor I do not regarde it, though she tell me a lye.

Finallye, I will not laughe for that she asketh me, nor I will wepe for that she sendeth me. I will now tel the (my frende Domitio) one thinge, and hartely I desire the to keape it in memozye. Dure lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so sodaine, that when she thretneth, she strykeh not alwayes, neyther doeth she threaten alwayes when she strykeh.

The man whiche presumeth to be sage, and in all thynges well prouyded, goeth not so fast, that at euerye steppe he is in daunger of fallynge, nor so softely, that in longe tyme he cannot aryue at his fornyes ende. For the false fortune gaulerh in Cede of stryphynge, and in Cede of gauling

strykeh.

Therefore since in yeares I am older then thou, and haue moze experyence of affayres: if thou haste marked that I haue tolde the, thou wylte remember well that whiche I will saye vnto them, whiche is: that that parte of thy lyfe is troublesome, whiche vnto the seemeth to be mosse sure, wylte thou that by example I tell the all that, whiche by wordes I haue spoken? Beholde Hercules of Thebes, who escaped so manye daungers, bothe by sea and by lande, and afterwarde came to dye in the armes of a harlorte.

Agamemnon the greate Captayne of Grekes in the .x. yeares whiche he warred agaynst Troie, neuer had anye peryll: and afterwarde in the nyght, they kyled hym entryng into hys owne house.

The vniuincible Alexander the great, in all the conquestes of Asia, dyd not dye: and afterwarde with a lytle popson, ended hys lyfe in Babilon. Pompeius the greate, dyed not in the conquest of hys enemies: and afterwarde hys frende Pitholomelus slewe hym.

The couragious Iulius Cesar, in .lxx. battailes could not be overcome: and afterwarde in the Senate, they slewe hym with .xliiij. woundes.

Hannibal, the terryble captayne of Carthage, slewe hym selfe in one momente (whiche the Romaynes coude not doe, in .xliiij. yeares) onelye because he woulde not come into the handes of hys enemies. Asclipa, brother of greate Pompeius, in .xx. yeares that he was a rouer on the seas, neuer was in anye peryll: and afterwarde byatynge water oute of a well, was drowned therein. Tenne Captaynes, whome Scipio had chosen in the conquest of Africa, geastynge on a bydge, fell into the water, and there were drowned. The good Bibul, going triuphinge in his chariote at Rome, a tile fel on hys head: so y his dayne

THE DIAL

gloꝝ, was the ende of his good lyfe. **W**hat wylte thou moze I saye vnto the, but that Lucia my syſter, haupnge a nedell on her bꝛest, and her childe betwene her armes: the childe layeng his hande vppon the nedell, thruste it into her bꝛeaste, whereby the mother dyed. Gueus Rithinio: which was a very wyse man, and also my kinsman, one daye keamyng hys whyte heares, strake a tothe of the combe in his heade, where with he gaue him selfe a mortall wounde: so that in shorte space after, his lyfe had ende, but not hys doctrine, nor memory. Howe thinkest thou Domitio: by the immortal gods I swere vnto the, that as I haue declared the this small number, so I coulde recite the other infinite. **W**hat myſhap is this, after so many fortunes: what reproche, after such gloꝝ: **W**hat peril, after such surety: what euill lucke, after such good successe: **W**hat darke night, after so clere a day: **W**hat so euill enterteynmente, after so greate labour: **W**hat sentence so cruel, after so longe proces: **W**hat inconuenience of death, after so good begynnyng of lyfe: **W**eing in their steade, I can not tell what I woulde, but I had rather chooſe vnfortunate lyfe and honourable death: then an infamous death, and honourable lyfe. That man which wyl be counted for a good man, and not noted for a brute beaſte, oughte greatlye to traunayle to lyue well, and muche moze to dye better. For the euyll death maketh men doubt, that the lyfe hath not bene good, and the good death is the excuse of an euyl lyfe. At the begynnyng of my letter I wrote vnto the, howe that the gowt troubleth me euyl in my hande. I say it were to muche to write anye lenger, and though the letter be not of myne owne hand, these two dayes the loue that I beare the, and the grieve that holdeth me, haue stryued together. My wylle desireth to write, and my fingers can not holde the penne. The remedye hereof is, that since I haue no power to doe what I woulde as thine, thou

oughtest to accepte what I can as myne. I say no moze hereth, but as they tel me, thou buldest nowe a house in Rhodes: wherefore I sende the a thousande sextercies to accompanye the same. My wyfe Faustyne salueth the, who for thy payne is sore displeased. They tell vs thou haste bene hurte, wherefore she sendeth the a weight of the balme of Paleſtine. Heale thy face therewith, to the ende the scarres of that wound doe not appeare. If thou syndest grene almonds, and netwe nuttes, Faustyne desireth the that thou wylte sende her some. By another man she sendeth a gowne for the, and a kirtell for thy wyfe. I conclude, and doe beseeche the immortal Gods, to geue the all that I desire for the, and that they geue me all that thou wyſhest me. Though by the handes of others I write vnto the, yet with my harte I loue the.

The. xxxv. Chapter.

That Princes and noble men oughte to be aduocates for vvidowes, fathers of orphanes, and helpers of all those whiche are comfortles.



MAcrobis, in the thirde booke of the Saturnalles saith, that in the noble city of Athens, there was a temple called Misericordia, whiche the Athenians kepte so wel watched, and locked, that without leaue and lycence of the Senate no man might enter in. There were the Images of pitifull pꝛinces onely, and none entered in there to praye, but pꝛefull men.

The Atheniens abhorred alwayes severe and cruel dedes, because they would not be noted cruell. And thereof cometh this manner of saying, that the greatest injury they could say unto a man, was that he had neuer entred into the scole of the philosophers to learne, nor into the temple of Misericordia to pray. So that in the one, they noted him for simple: and in the other, they accused him for cruell. The historiographers saye, that the moste noble linage that was at that time, was of a king, of Athens, the whiche was exceedinge ryche and lyberall in geuing: and aboue all verie pitifull in pardoning. Of whom it is wrytten, that after the great treasours which he had offered in the temples, and the great riches he had distributed to the poore: he toke vpon him to brynge vp all the orphans in Athens, and to fede all the widowes. Whow much more did that statute of the sayd pitiful kinge shyne, in that temple, who nourished the orphans, the ensignes which are set vp in the Temples of the captaynes which had robbed the widowes. All the ancient princes, I saye, those that haue bene noble, and valiaunt, and that haue not had the name of trauntes, though in some thinges they were noted: yet they alwayes haue bene praysed, esteemed, and commended to be gentle and mercifull: so that they recompensed the fierenes & cruelty whiche they shewed to their enemies, with the mercy and clemency whiche they vsed to the orphans. Plutarke in his polittickes sayth: that the Romaynes among them selues ordeyned, that all that whiche remayned of bankettes and feastes, which were made at mariages and triumphes, shoulde be geuen to widowes, and orphans. And this custome was brought to so good an order, that if any rich man would vse his profite of that whiche remayned, the orphans mighte iustlye haue an action of felonye against him, as a thing robbed from them. Aristides the philosopher in an oration he

made of the excellencies of Rome, sayeth, that the princes of Persia had this custome, neuer to dine nor suppe, but first the trumpets shoulde blowe at their gates: the which were more loude, then armonious. And it was to this end, that all the widowes and orphans shoulde come thither: for it was a lawe amongst them, that all that whiche was left at the royal tables, shoulde be for the poore and indigent personnes. Phalaris the tyrant wrytinge to a frende of his, sayde these wordes. I haue receyued thy brieue letter, with the rebuke likewise which thou gauest me therein, more bitter then tedious. And admit that for the time it greued me, yet after I came to my selfe, I receyued thereby great comfort. For in the ende, one louinge rebuke of his frende is more worth: then a sayned flattery of his enemy. Amongest the thinges wherof thou accusedst me, thou sayest that they take me for a greate tyrant, because I disobey the gods, spoyle the temples, kill the priestes, pursue the innocentes, robbe the people: and the worst of all, that I do not suffer to be entreated, nor permit that anye man be conuersant with me. To that they saye I disobey the gods, in very dede they say true. For if I dyd all that the gods woulde, I shoulde do litle of that men do aske me. For as much as they saye, I robbe the temples, therunto also I graunt. For the immortall gods do demaunde rather of vs pure hartes, then that we shoulde buylde their temples. For that they say I kill priestes, I confesse also, that it is true. For they are so dissolute, that I thinke I do more seruices to the gods, to put them to death: then they do, in doinge their sacrifices whyles they liue. For that they say I rob the temples, I also confesse it: for I defendinge it as I do from enemies, it is but mere and reasonable they find me and my seruantes. For that they say I suffer me not to be entreated, it is true. For dayly and hourelye they aske me so many vniust, and vnrasonable thinges *

THE DIAL

things, that for them and for me, it is better to deny them: then for to graunte them.

✧ For that they saye that I am not conuersant with any, I confesse it is true. For euer when they come into my pallasce, it is not so much to do me seruice, as to aske me some perticuler thing for their profite. For that they saye, I am not pitifull amongst the miserable, and will not beare the widowes, and orphans, in no wise so that I will agree. For I sweare vnto the, by the immortall gods, that my gates were neuer shutte to widowes, and orphans. Puffo in the life of the emperour Claudius sayth, that ones a poore widow came befoze Claudius the Emperoure with weeping eyes, to desire him of iustice. The good prince beinge moued with compassion, didde not onely wepe as she: but with his owne handes dyed her teares. And as there was about the emperour many noble Romans, one amongst them sayd vnto him. For the authoritie and grauntie of Romayne princes, to heare they subiectes in iustice, sufficeth onely: though they dye not the teares of their faces. This emperour Claudius answered. Good princes ought not to be contented, to do no more than iust iudges: but in doing iustice, a man must know that they are pitifull. For oftentimes those which come befoze princes, do retourne more contented with the loue they shewe them: then with the iustice they minister vnto them.

✧ And further he sayd. For asmuche as you saye that it is of small authoritie, and also of lesse grauntie, that a prince do wepe with a widowe, and with his handes wipe her eyes, I aunswere the: that I desire rather to be partaker of the griefes with my subiectes, then to giue them occasion to haue they eyes ful of teares.

Certeynly these wordes are worthy to

be noted, and no lesse folowed.

Admit that clemencie in all things deserueth to be praysed, yet muche more oughte it to be commended, when it is executed on women.

And if generallye in all, muche more in those which are voyde of bealthe, and comforte. For women are quickely troubled, and with greater difficultys comforted.

Plutarche, and Quintus Curtius saie, the good intertaynemente which Alexander the greace, shewed vnto the wyfe and chyldren of kynge Darius (after he was victorlye banquished) exalted his clemency in suche sorte, that they gaue rather more glozpe to Alexander, for the pitye and honestye which he bled with the chyldren: then for the victorie he hadde of the father. And when the unhappye kynge Darius knewe the clemencie, and pitye, which the good Alexander bled to his wyfe, and his chyldren, he sente vnto hym his embassadours, to the ende that on his behalfe they should thanke hym for that that is past, and shoulde desire hym that he would continew so in tyme to come: sauing, that it myghte chaunce, that the Gods and fortune woulde mitigate their wyathe agaynst him.

Alexander answered to the embassadours these wordes. We shal saye in my behalfe to your king Darius, that he geue me no thankes for the good and pitifull worke that I haue done to his captiue women, since he is certayne I dyd it not for that he was my frende: and I woulde not cease to doe it, for that he is myne enemye. But I haue done it, for that a gentle Prince is bounde to doe in suche a case. For I ought to employe my clemencie to women, which can doe nought but wepe: and my puissance power Princes shall fele, which can doe nought els but wage battayle.

Cralp

Truly these wordes were worthy of such a prince. Many haue enuy at the surname of Alexander, which is great. And he is called Alexander & great, because if his hart was great in the enterprises he toke vpon him: his courage was much more greater in cities and realmes which he gaue. Many haue enuy at & renowne which they geue Pompey, because they call him great, for this excellent Romayne made him selfe conquerour of 22. realmes, and in times past hath bene accompanied with 33. kings.

Many haue enuy at the renowne of Scipio & Africane, who was called Africane, because he overcame and conquered the great and renowned city of Carthage: the which city, in riches was greater then Rome, in armes, and power, it surmounted all Europe. Many haue enuy at Scipio the Asian, who was called Asian, because he subdued the proude Asia: the which until his time was not but as a churchyard of Romaynes. Many haue great enuy at the immortal name of Charles, who was called Charles the great, because being as he was (a little king) he did not onely vanquish and triumph over manye kings, & strange realmes: but also forsoke the royall see of his owne realme.

I do not maruaile, that & proude princes haue enuy agaynst the vertuous and valiant princes: but if I were as they, I wold haue more enuy at the renowne of Antonius the emperour, then of the name and renowne of all the princes in the world.

If other princes haue attemped such proude names, it hath bene for that they robbed many countreies, spoiled many temples, committed much straunge, dissembled with manye straunges, persecuted diuers innocentes, and because they haue from diuers good men, not onely their goods: but also their liues: for the world hath such an euil property, that to exalt the name of one only, he putteth downe 100. Nayther in such enterprises, nor with such titles, want

the emperour Antonius Pius his name, & renowne: But if they call him Antonius the pittefull, it is because he knewe not but to be father of Orphanes: & was not prayed, but because he was advocate of widowes. Of this most excellent prince is red, that he him selfe did heare, and iudge the complayntes, and pzoesse, in some of the orphanes: And for the poore, and widowes, the gates of his pallace were alwayes open. So that the poorters which he kepte within his pallace, were not for to let the entre of the poore: but for to let and hepe backe the rich. The historiographers oftentimes say, that this good prince said, that the good and vertuous princes, oughte alwayes to haue their hartes open for the poore, and to remedy the widowes, and neuer to shut the gates agaynst the. The god Apollo sayth, that & prince which will not speedily iudge the causes of the poore, the goddes will neuer permit, that he be well obeyed of the rich. O high and worthy wordes, that is pleased not the god Apollo, but our lying god, that they were written in the hartes of princes, for nothinge can be more vniust & dishonest, then that in the pallace of princes and great lordes, the riche and the foolles should be dispatched: and the widowes and orphanes friends should haue no audience. Happy, and not once, but a hundred times happy is he, that will remember the poore afflicted, and open his harte to comfort them, and dothe not shet his coffers from heaping theym: vnto him I assure, and promise, that at the straghte daye of iudgemente, the pzoers of his lyf shall be iudged with mercy and pity,

The xxxvi. Capter.

THE DIALL

That the troubles and griefes, and sorowes of women are much greater then those of men, whether fore princes & noble men ought to haue more compassion vpon women: then on men.



Tis great pite to see a noble, and vertuous man sorowfull, alone, and a widower, ifepect allpe he liued contented when he was maried.

For if he will not marie, he hath lost his sweete companie: and if he thinke to marie an other, let him be assured, he shall scarcely agree with his seconde wife. There is much sorow in that house, where the woman that governed it, is dead. For immediately the husband forsaketh him selfe, the children do lose their obedience, the seruantes become negligent, the bondmaides become wanton, the frendes are forgotten, the house decayeth, the goodes wast, the apparayle is lost: & finally, in the widowers house there are many to robbe, and few to labour. Heauy & lamentable are the thoughtes of the widower: for if he thinke to marie, it greneeth him to geue his children a stepmother. If he can not be maried, he feeleth greater payne, leinge him all the daye to remayne alone: so that the poore miserable man sigheth for his wife he hath loste, and wepeth for her whom he desireth to haue. Admitte that this be true, there is great difference from the cares and sorowes of women, to that of men.

A thing very clere, for so muche as the widower lawfully may go out of his house, he may go to the fieldes, he maye talke with his neyghbours, he may be occupied with

his frendes, he may pleade his proces, and also he may be conuersaunte, and refresh him selfe in honest places.

For commonly men are not so sorowfull in takinge the death of their wives, as the wives are, in takinge the death of their husbands. All this is not spoken in the dishonour of wise and sage men, whom we make small streames, with the teares of their eyes for the death of their wives: But for many other baie and light men: which (the 9. daies of the funeral pass) a man doth see without any shame to go through the streets, beholding the ladies and damselles which are in the windows.

Truie the wofull women, which are honest, be not such lightnesse. For whyles they are widowes, it is not lawfull for the to wander abroad, to goo out of the house, nor speake with straungers, nor practyse with her owne, nor be conuersaunt with her neyghbours, nor pleade with their creditors, but agreeable to their wofull estate to hide and withdraue them selues in their houses, and to locke them selues in their chambers, and they thinke it theyr dutye, to water their plantes with teares and impourne the heauens with sighes.

O howe wofull: o howe greuous: o howe sorowfull is the state of widowes: for so muche as if a widowe go out of her house, they take her for dishonest.

If she will not come out of the house, she loseth her goodes. If she laugh a litle, they count her lighte. If she laugh not, they call her an hypocrite. If she goe to the church, they note her for a gadder. If she go not to the church, they say she is vntankefull to her late husbande. If she go ill apparayled, they count her to be a nigarde. If she haue her gowne cleane, they say now she would haue a new husband. If she do mapteyne her selfe honestly, they note her to be presumptuous. If she kepe company, immediately, they suspect her house.

finale

Finally I saye, that the poore miserable widowes shall finde a thousand whiche iudge their liues, and they haue not one that will remedy their paynes. Much loseth the woman, who loseth her mother whiche hath borne her, or her sisters whych she loneth, or the friends whych she knoweth, or the goodes whych she hath heaped vpp: but I saye and affirme, that there is no greater losse in the worlde vnto a woman, then the losse of a good husband. For in other losses there is but one onely losse: but in that of the husbands, all are losse together: After that the wiffe doth see her louing husbande in the graue, I would aske her what good could remayne with her in her house. Since we knowe, that if her husband were good, he was the haue of al her troubles, the remedy of all her necessities, the inuentour of all her pleasures, the true loue of her harte, the true lord of her parson, and the idoll whō she honoured: finally he was the faithfull steward of her house, and the good father of her children, and familie. Whether family remayneth or not, why ther children remaine or not, in the one and in the other, trouble and veraciō remaineth most assuredly to the poore widow. If perchance she remayne poore, and haue no goodes, let every man imagine what her life can be. For the poore miserable unhappy woman, eyther will adventure her parson to gette, or will lose her honestye to demaunde. An honest woman, a noble and worthy woman, a delicate woman, a swete woman, a woman of renowne, a woman that ought to maynteyne children, and familie, ought to haue great reason, to be full of angusthes and sorowes: to see, that if she will maynteyne her selfe with the needle, she shall not haue sufficiente to finde her selfe bread and water. If she gayne with her bodie, she loseth her soule. If she must demaund others, she is ashamed. If she fulfill the testament of her husband, she muste sell her gownes. If she will not pay his dettes, they

cause her to be brought before the iudge. As women naturalre are tender, what harte will suffer theym to suffer suche incontinences: and what eyes can absteine to shed infinite teares? If perchance goodes do remayne to the miserable widow, she hath no litel care to kepe them. She is at great charges, and expences, to susteyne and mayntayne her selfe in longe suite aboute her landes, muche trouble to augment them, and in the ende, much sorow to depart from them. For al her children, and heyres, do occupy the selues moze to thinke how they might inherite: then in what sort they ought to serue her. When I came to this passage, a great while I kept my pen in suspence, to se whether I ought to touch this matter or no, that is to wete, that oftentimes the poore widowes put openly the demaund of their goodes: and the iudges do secretly demaund the possession of their parson, so that first they do intury to her honour, before they do minister iustice to her demaundes. Though perchance she hath no childe, yet therfore she remayneth not without any comfote, and for that the parentes of her husbande do spoyle her of her goodes. For in this case, their heyres oftentimes are so disordered, & for a woꝛne cloke, or for a broken shirte, they trouble & sorow bere the poore widow. If perchance the miserable widow haue children, I say, that in this case she hath double sorowe. For if they are ponge, she endureth muche payne to bringe them vp: so that ech houre and moment, their mothers lue in greate sorowes, to thinke onely of the life, & health of their children. If perchappes the children are olde, truly the griefes whych remayne vnto them are no lesse. For so much as the greatest parte of theym are eyther proude, disobedient, malicious, negligent, adulterers, gluttons, blasphemers, false liers, dul headed, wanting witt, or sickely. So that the toy of the woful mothers is to bewaile the death of their welbeloued husbands, & the

THE DIAL

to remedye the discordes of theyr youthful children. If the troubles which remaine to the mothers with the sonnes be great: I saye that those which they haue with their daughters, be much more. For if the daughter be quicke of witte, the mother thinketh that she shall be undone. If she be simple she thinketh that every man will deceyue her. If she be saye, she hath enoughe to do to kepe her. If she be desourmed: she canne not mary her. If she be well manered, she wil not let her go from her. If she be euell manered, she can not endure her. If she be so solitary, she hath not wherewith to remedye her. If she be dissolute, she wil not suffer her to be punished. Finally, if she put her from her, she feareth she shall be scanda- lized. If she leaue her in her house, she is afrayde that she shall be follen. What shall the wooll poore widowe do, seing her selfe burdened with daughters, and enuironed with sonnes, and neither of them of such sufficient age, that there is any time to remedye them: nor substance to mainteyne them: Admit that she mary one of her sonnes, and one daughter, I demaunde thereof: if the poore widowe wil leane her care, and anguisthe: Trulye I saye no, though she chose rich personages, and wel disposed she can not escape: but the daye that she replenisheth her selfe with daughters in lawe, the same daye she chargeth her hart, with sorowes, trauayles, and cares. O poore widowes, deceyue not your selues, and do not imagine that hauing married your sonnes, and daughters, from that time forward, ye shall lue more ioyfull & contented. For that layd aside, which their nephews do demaund them, and that their sonnes in lawe do rob them: when the poore olde woman thinketh to be most surest, the yong man shall make a clayme to her goodes. What daughter in lawe is there in this worlde, who saythfully loueth her stepmother: And what sonne in lawe is there in the worlde, that desireth not to be heire to his father in lawe: Suppose

a poore widowe to be fallen sicke, the which hath in her house a sonne in lawe, & that a man aske him vpon an other, which of these two thinges he had rather haue: either to gouerne his mother in lawe, with hope to heale her, or to bury her with hope to inheryte her goodes.

I sweare, that suche woulde sweare, that he could reioyce more, to geue a ducket for the graue: than a peny to the phisicion, to purge and heal her. Seneca in an epistle sayth, that the fathers in lawe naturallie loue their daughters in lawe, and the sonnes in lawe are loued of their mothers in lawe. And for the contrary he sayth, that naturally the sonnes in lawe do hate their mothers in lawe: But I take it not for a generall rule, for there are mothers in lawe which deserue to be worshipped, and there are sonnes in lawe, which are not worthy to be beloued. Other troubles chaunce daily to these poore widowes, whiche is, that when one of them hath one onely sonne, whom she hath in the stead of a husbände, in stead of a brother, in stead of a sonne, she shall se him dye. Whom sith she had his lyfe in such great loue, she can not though she would, take his death with patience: so that as they burie the dead body of the innocent childe, they burie the lively hart of the wooll mother. Let vs omit the sorowes which the mothers haue when their children dye, and let vs aske the mothers what they fele, when they are sicke: They will aunswere vs, that alwayes and as oftentimes as their children be sicke, the death of their husbands ther is renewed, imagining that it wil happen so vnto them, as it hath done vnto others. And so say the trouth, it is no maynaye, if they do feare. For the vine is in greater perill, when it is budded, then when the grapes be ripe. Other troubles oftentimes encrease to the poore widowes, the which amongst other, this is not the least: that is to wete, the lytle regard of the frendes of her husbände, and the vnthankfulness

those which have ben brought bp with him. The which since he was laide in his graue, neuer entred into h gates of hys house: but so demaund recompence of their olde seruyces, and to reuelue and begin new suites, I would haue declared (oz to say better, by these touched) h traualles of wydowes, to persuade princes, that they remedy them, and to admonishe iudges, to heare them, and to desire al vertuous men, to comforte them. For the woꝛke of it selfe is so goodly, that he deserueth moze, which remedyeth the troubles of one only: then I which wyꝛte their miseries al to gether.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Emperoure Mar. Au. vvrote to a Romaine lady named Lauinia, confortinge her for the death of her husband.

M Arcus of mounte Celio, Emperour of Rome, chiefe consul, tribune of the people, highe Bishop, appointed against the Daces, wissheth health & comfort, to the Lauinia, noble, & worthy Romaine matrone, the late wife of h good Claudin⁹. According to that thy persō deserueth, to that which is to thy husbande I ought, I thinke wel, that thou wilt suspect, & I way the liuel: for h vnso thy great sorowes, complaints, & lamentations, are now arised my negligēt consolation whē I remēber thy mercyes, which can not faile, & imagining h thou wilt remēber my good wil, whertowich alwayes I haue desired to serue the: I am assured, h if thy suspicion accuse me, thy verue & wisdom wil defend me. For speakinge the trueth, though I am the last to comforte the: yet I was h first to fele thy sorowes. As ignorance is the cruel scourge of vertues, & spurre to al vices: so it chaunceth oftentimes, that ouer much knowledge, putteth wylse mē in doubte, & slandereth h innocēt. For almightie as we se by experience, h most presumptuous in wisdom, are

those whiche fall into mosse perillous vices. The kind h latins muche better to the ignorance of vices: then h greekes, with h knowledge of vertues. And the reason hereof is, for that of thinges which we are ignorant, we haue no paine to attaine vnto them: and lesse grieue also to lose them. My intentio to tel the this was, because I knew h, which I would not haue knowē, & haue harde that, which I would not haue harde: that is to wite, h the daies & troubles of Claudinus thy husband are ended, & now thy sorowes (Lauinia hys wife) do begin. It is now a good while, that I haue knowē of the death of h good Claudinus my friend, and thy husband, though I did dyssemble it. And by the God Mars I sweare vnto the: it was not for h I would not betwasse him, but because I coude not discomforte the. For it were extreme crueltye, h the which was so comfortlesse, & sorrowful, for the absēce of so lōg time: shuld be killed with my hand, though I be knowlēt ge of the death of her so desired husband. It were to unkind, & vnseemely a thing, h the, of whom I haue receyued so manie good woꝛtes: shuld receiue of me, so euil newes. The ancients of Carthage held for an insoluble law, that if the father did tel the death of his sonne, oz the sōne the death of h father, oz the womā the death of her husbande, oz the husband the death of his wyfe, oz any other semblable woful, & lamentable death: h he shoulde be cast into the pyss, among the which were cōdemyned to dye. It seemed to those of Carthage, h he which saied vnto another, h hys brother, kinsmā, oz frēd was dede, in meekely they shuld kil him, oz he ought to dye, oz at the least he shuld neuer be sene in hys presence. If in this case, the lawe of the Carthaginens was iust: then I oughte to be excused, though I haue net tolde the this heuie newes. For as ofte as we see hym, who hath brought vs anye cruel tydings: oure sorowes by hys sight, is renewed agayne. Since Claudinus thy husband dyed, I haue not had one howr of rest,

THE DIAL

for to passe the tyme alwaye: for feare leasse
such woeful, & sorrowfull newes, should come
to thy knowledge. But now that I knowe
thou knowest it, I fele double payne. For
now I fele his death, my care, and thy want
of consolacion: and the damage by his death
shall folow to the Romayne Empire. Thou
hast lost a noble romaine, valiaunt in bloud,
moderate in prosperities, patient in aduer-
sities, courageous in daungers, diligente in
affaires, wyse in counsailes, faithfull to his
frendes, subtile & ware of his enemies, a lo-
uer of the common wealth, & very honest in
his person: & aboue all, and whereof I haue
most enuy is, that he neuer offended mā in
his lyfe, nor hurte any with his tonge. We
finde seldom times, so many vertues assem-
bled, in one man. For sateng the trouthe, if
a mā did narrowly examine the vices of ma-
ny, whiche presume to be very vertuous: I
swere, y he shuld finde moze to reproue, then
to praise. Since thou hast lost so good a hus-
band, & I so faithfull a frēd: we are bounde,
thou to bewaile so great a losse, & I to sighe
for so good a companion. And this I do not
desire for Claudine, who now resteth with
the gods: but for vs others, whiche remaine
in daunger of so many euils, for the dead do
rest, as in y sure hanē: & we others do sayle,
as yet in ragynge sea. When heuy hartes,
howe doe I se the, betwene the bell, and the
clappers, that is to wete, that then wantest
the companye of the good: & arte environed
with the flocke of euil. For y whiche occasiō,
I doubt oftentimes, whether I may first be-
waile the euil, whiche liue: or y good, whiche
are dead, because in the end, the euil men do
offend vs moze, whiche we finde: then doeth
the good men, whiche we loose. It is a great
pitie, to se the good and vertuous men dye:
but I take it to be moze sorrowe, to se the e-
uill, and vicious men lyue. As the deuine
Plato sayeth, the Gods to kylle the good
whiche serue them, and to geue longe lyfe
to the euil whiche offend them, is a mystery
so profound, that dayly we do lament it, and
yet we can neuer attayne to the secretes

therof. Tel me, I pray the Lantina, knowest
thou not now, that the gods are so merciful
with whom we goe whē we dye, & that men
are so wicked, with whom we be whyles we
liue: that as y euil were hoine to dye, so the
good dye to lyue: for the good man though he
be dye, liueth: and the euil man though he
lyue, dieth. I sweare vnto the by the mother
Berecinthia, and so the god Iupiter do pre-
serue me, y I speake not this whiche I wyl
speake fainedly: whiche is, that consideringe
the rest that the deade haue with the Gods,
and seinge the sorrowes and troubles we
haue here with the liuyng: I say, & affirme
once againe, y they haue greater cōpassion
of our life, then we others haue sorrow of
their death. Though y death of mē were as
the death of beastes, y is to wete, that there
were no furtes, nor deuils, whiche shuld tor-
ment the euil, and that the gods should not
rewarde the good: yet we ought to be com-
forted, to se our frēdes dye, if it were for no
other, but to se them deliuered frō the thral-
dome of this miserable world. The pleasure
that the Pilot hath to be in sure haven, the
glozy that the captaine hath to se the day of
victory, the rest that the trauelour hath to se
his iourney ended, the contentacion that
the worke man hath to see his worke come
to perfection, all the same haue the deade,
seinge them selues oute of this miserable
lyfe. If men were hoine alwaye to lyue, it
were reason to lamente them, when we
see them dye: but since it is trouth, that
they are hoine to dye, I woulde saye, since
nedes dye we muste, that we oughte not to
lamente those whiche dye quickely, but
those whiche lyue longe: I am assured, that
Claudine thy husbande, remembryng that
whiche in this lyfe he hath passed, and suffe-
red, and seinge the rest that he herbe in the
other: though the Gods woulde make him
emperour of rome, he woulde not be one day
out of his graue. For returning to y world,
he should die againe: but being to the gods,
he hopeth to liue perpetually. I adye Lanti-
nia, most earnestly I desire the, so behemly

ly not to parte the heauens wth thy so heauy
sighes, ne yet to wete the yearth, wth thy so
bitter teares: since thou knowest, y^e Claud-
dine thy husbā is in place, where there is
no sorow, but mirth, where there is no
payne, but rest, where he wepeth not, but
laugher, where he sigheth not, but singeth,
where he hath no sorowes, but pleasures,
where he fereth not cruel death, but enjoy-
eth perpetual lyfe: Since therefore this is
true, it is but reasoⁿ the wydow appease her
angush, cōsideringe y^e her husbā endureth
no paine. Oftentimes wth my selfe I haue
thought, what the wydowes ought to ima-
gine, whē they se them selues in such cares,
and distresse.

And after my counte made, I fynd that
they oughte not to thinke of the companye
past, no; woful solitarines wherin they are
presently, & muche lesse they ought to thinke
* of y^e pleasures of this worlde: but rather to
remēber the rest in y^e worlde to come. For the
true widow, ought to haue her cōuersation
amonge the lyuynge, and her desire to be
wth the dead.

If til this presente, thou hadest payne,
and trouble, to loke for thy husbā to come
home: haue y^e now joy, that he loketh for the
in heauē, wherin I swere vnto y^e, that there
thou shalt be better bled of the gods, then he
was here of men.

* For in this worlde, we knowe not what
glozpe meaneth: and there, they knowe not
what paynes are. Licinius Posthumius
thy vnckle, tolde me that thou art so sorow-
ful, that thou wylt receiue no comforte: but
in this case I thinke not, that y^e bewaildest so
much for Claudinus that thou alone doest
thinke thou hast lost him. For since we dyd
reioyce togethers in his life: we are bounde
to wepe togethers at his death. The heauye
and sorowful hartes, in this worlde fele no
greater grefe: then to see others reioyce at
their sorowes. And y^e cōtrary hereof is, that
the heauy & wofull harte, feleth no greater
joye, no; rest in extreame mishappes of sor-

rowe: then to thinke that others haue sorow
and grefe of their paine. When I am heuy,
and comfortles, I greatly ioye to haue my
frende by me, & my harte doeth tell me, that
what I fele, he feleth: so that all whiche my
frend wth his eyes doeth bewaile, & al that
whiche of my grefes he feleth, the more ther
wth he burdeneth hym selfe, and the more
therof he dischargeth me. The Emperours
Octavian Augustus (the histories saye) on
the riuer of Danuby, found a kinde of peo-
ple whiche had this straunge custome, that
wth eles was neuer sene, no; in booke as
any tyme euer read, which was: that, 2. frē-
des assembled, and wente to the autours of
the temples, & there one frēd cōfederate wth
another: so that their hartes were matyed,
as man & wyfe are matyed touchinge their
bodiles, swearing, & promysinge there to the
gods, neuer to wepe, no; to take sorow, for
anye myshap that should come to their per-
sons. So that my frende should come to las-
ment, and remedye my troubles, as if they
had ben his owne: I shuld lament, and re-
medy his, as if they had bene mine. O glo-
rious worlde, O age most happy, O people
of eternall memozye, wherein men are so
gentle, & frēdes so saythful: that their owne
trauailes they forgo, and the sorowes of
straungers they bewaile. O Rome, wth-
out Rome, O tyme euil spent, O life robs o-
thers euyl employed, O wretche y^e a wayes
arte careles, nowe a dayes the stomacke
and intralles are so seuered from the good,
and the hartes so loyned wth the euil: that
men forgettynge them selues to be men,
be come more cruell then wylde beastes,
I labour to geue the lyfe: and thou se-
kest to procure my death.

Thou wepest to see me laughe: and I
laughe to see the wepe, I procure that thou
doe not mourne: and thou sekest that I
myghte fall. Fynallye, wthoute the pro-
fite of anye, we cast oure selues awaye:
and wthoute gayne, we doe reioyce to end
oure lyues.

THE DIAL

By the faith of a good man, I sweare vnto the (ladye Lavinia) that if thy remedye were in my handes, as thy greife is in my harte: I would not be soze for thy sorowes, neither thou so tozmented, for the death of thy husbande. But alas, though I miserable man haue the harte to fele thy anguysh: yet I want power, to remedye thy sorowes.

The. xxxviii. Chapter.

The Emperoure persvaded vvydovves to put their vvilles to the vvil of god, and exhorteth them to lyue honestly.



Since thy remedye, and my desire cannot be accomplished, because it is a thinge vnpossible to receiue, and speake with the dead, and not hauing power: me semeth, that thou and I shuld referre it to the gods, who can geue much better, then we can aske. O lady Lavinia, I desire the earnestly, & as a friend I counsaile, and admonish the, and wish al my harte I require the, & thou esteeme it so; well done, which the gods haue done, & thou conforme thy selfe to the will of god, and that thou wilt nought els, but as the gods wyl. For they only know they erre not, wherfore they haue thy husband assaulted with so sodaine death: and to the his wyfe, haue lent so longe lyfe. The gods being as they are, so mighty, & so sage, what is he that can be iudge of their proceedings? The gods know right wel those which serue them, & those which offend them: those that loue them, & those which hate them: those that praise them, & those that blasphemie them: those that praye for them, and those which are vnthankfull. And I tel the further, that oftentimes the Gods are serued, moze with them which are buri-

ed in the graves: then with those which goe weapping through the temples. Wille thou now enter into account with the gods: thou oughtest to note and cōsider, that they haue leste the children to comforte thy selfe, they haue leste the goods wherewith thou waiste auoyde pouerty, they haue leste the frendes by whom thou shalt be sanoured, they haue leste the parentes of whom thou arte beloued, they haue leste the good name so; to be esteemed, & health wherewith thou maist liue: finally I say, that smale is that whiche the gods take from vs, in respect of that they leaue vs. After one so;te we oughte to be haue oure selues with men, and after another we oughte to serue the gods. For to men sometimes it is requisite, to shewe a countenance so; to humble them: but to the gods, it is necessary, to lye flat on the ground with thy stomache to honoz them. And yf the Oracle of Apollo do not deceiue vs, the gods are soner with humyltye (where with we worship them) appeased: then with presumptuous sacrifices (which we offer vnto them) cōtented. Since thou art wydow (Lady Lavinia) and art a wise, and vertuous womā, beseeche the gods to preserve thy children, to defende thy renowne, and not to scuer thy frendes from the, & that thou scatter not thy goods, to preserve thy person in health, & aboue al, to be in their fauour. Thou cannest not winne, nor lose somuch in al thy life: as the gods can geue, or take from the in one hower.

Woulde to god the wydow knewe, howe litell she wynneth amonge men, and howe muche she loseth amonge the Gods, when she is not payente in aduersitye: for impayence oftentimes, prouoketh the Gods to warre. We see it in mans bodie by experience, that there are sond;re dyscaises, whiche are not cured with wordes spoken: but with the herbes there vnto applyed.

And in other diseases, the contrarie is sene, whiche are not cured with costly medicines: but with comfortable wordes.

The

The ende of this comparyson tendeth to this effecte, that al the afflicted hartes shuld knowe, that sometymes the harte is moze comforted with one benefite whiche they do: then with a hundred wordes whiche they speake. And at another tyme, the sorrowful harte is better lychtened, with one worde of his frendes mouth: then with al the seruice of others in the worlde.

Wherche that I am, for as in the one, and in the other I am destitute: so in all I doe wante.

For considering thy greatnes, and wayeng my litle knowledge, I se my selfe verie vnable, for that to comforte the: I wante science, and for to helpe the, I nede ryches; but I cease not to haue great sorrow, if sorowe in payment maye be recetued. That whiche with my person I can do, neyther with payper, or tynke, I will requyte. For the man which with worde only comforteth (in effect being able to remedy) declareth him selfe to haue bene a fained frend in tynes past: and sheweth, that a man ought not to take hym for a faithfull frende in tyme to come. That which the Romaynes with the wydowes of Rome haue accustomed to do, I wil not presently do with the (Lady Lantina) that is to wote: that thy husband being dead, al goe to disire the wydow, al comforte the wydow, al wepe with the wydow, and within a fewe dayes after, if the wofull wydow haue nede of anye small fauoure with the senate, they withdraue them seldes together, as if they had neuer knowen her husbande, nor sene her.

The renowne of the Romayne wydowes, is very dainty: for of their honesty, or dishonesty, dependeth the good renowne of their person, the honoure of their parentes, the credyte of their chyldren, and the memozye of the deade. For this therefore, it is healthfull counsaile, for wyse men to speake fewe wordes to wydowes: and to doe insynpte good woordes. What anaplety it wofull

wydowes, to haue their coffers fylled with letters, and promyses, and their cares, stuffed with wordes, and flatteryes: If his thereto thou halste taken me for thy neyghbour, and parente of thy husband, I beseeche the from henceforth, that thou take me for a husband in lode, for father in counsaile, for brother in seruice, and for aduocare in the Senate: and all this so truly shalbe accomplished, that I hope thou wylte saue: that whiche in manye I haue losse, in Marcus Aurelius alone I haue found. I know wel (as thou doest in like maner) that when the hartes with sorrowes are ouerwhelmed, the spirites are troubled, the memozye is dulled, the flesh doeth tremble, the sprite doeth chaunge, and reason is withdrauen. And since that presently sorrow and care, in thy house doe remaine: let the gods forsake me, if I abandone the, let them forget me, if I remember y not. But as Claudine remayned thine, wholye til the hower of deatch: so Marcus Aurelius wyl euermoze be thine, durynge his life. Since I loue the so intterlye, and thou trustest me so faithfully, and that thou with sorrowes art so replenished, and my harte with care so oppressed: let vs admit, that thou lady Lantina, hast the authority to commaunde me in thy affaires; and I licence to counsel, and aduertise the of thinges, touching thy honoz, and person.

For oftentimes the wydowes haue moze nede of a meane remedye, then of a good counsaile: I earnestlye desire the to leane the lamentacion of the Romayne wydowes; that is to wete: to sharte the gaces, to teare their heares, to cut their garmettes, to goe bare legged, to paynte the visage, to eate solitarye, to wepe on the graues, to chide her chamberlaynes, to poure out water w teares, to put acornes on the graues, and to bite their nayles with the teeth: for these thinges, & such other semblable lightnes, behoueth not the grauity of Romayne Matrones, eyther to see them

THE DIAL

as els to knowe them. Since there is no extremitie but therunto vice is annexed: I let the wete (Ladye Lavinia) if thou be ignorant the reof, that the widowes which are so extreme, do tozmett them selues, do trouble their frendes, do offend the gods, do forsake theirs, and in the end, they prosyre not the dead: & to the envious people, they geue occasion to talke. I woulde thinke, and me seemeth, that the women whiche are matrones, and widowes, ought to take vpon them such garment, and estate, the daye that the gods take lyfe from their husbands: as they entend to weare during their life. What anaplerth it, that a wydowe be one moneth shut vp in her house, and that afterwarde with in a yere she is met in euery place of Rome: what auailerth it, that for feewe dayes she hideth her selfe fro her parentes, & frendes: and afterwarde she is found the firste at the theaters: what prosyterth it, that wydowes at the first do mozne, and go euil attyred: and afterwarde they dispute, & complaine of the beauty of the romaine winces: what forceth it, that wydowes for a certayne tyme doe kepe their gates shutte: and afterwarde their houses are moze frequented then others: What skilleth it, that a man se the wydowes wepe much for their husbands, and afterwarde they see them laughe moze for their pastimes: Finally I say, that it lytel anaplerth the woman, to seme to suffer muche openlye for the death of her husband: if secretly she haue another husband al redye found: for the vertuous, and honest wydowe, immediatlye as she seeth another man aloue: she renueth her sorrow for her husbände that is deade, I wyl shewe the (Ladye Lavinia) a thinge that befell in Rome, to chende thou thinke nor, I talke at pleasure. In the olde tyme, in Rome there was a noble and worthy Romayne Ladye, wyfe of the noble Marcus Marcellus, whose name was Fulvia.

And it happened so, that this women seinge her husbände buried in the spelde of

Mars, for the great greife she had, she scratched her face, she ruffled her beare, she toze her gowne, and fell downe to the earth in a sounde, by the reason whereof, if Senators kept her in their armes, to the end she shoulde tozmente her selfe no moze.

To whome Gneus Fuluius the Censourer sayed. Let Fulvia goe oute of your handes, she wyl this daye doe all the penatince of wydowes. Speaking the trouthe, I knowe not, whether this Romayne spake with the Oracle, or that he were a deuine: but I am assured, that all he spake, came to passe. For that this Fulvia was the wyfe, of so excellent a Romayne, as the good Marcus Marcellus was: I woulde that so vnluckye a chaunce had not happened vnto her, which was: that whyles the bones of her husband, were a burning, she agreed to be married to another: and whiche was moze, to one of the Senators that lister her by the armes, she gaue her hande, as a Romayne to a Romayne, in token of a faithfull marriage. The case was so abhominable, that of all men it was dysprayed that were presente: and gaue occasion, that they neuer credyted wydowes afterwarde. I doe not speake it (Ladye Lavinia) for that I thinke that thou wylte doe so. For by the saythe of a good man I sweare vnto the, that my harte neyther suspecteth it, nor yet the authorite of so graue a Romayne doeth demaunde it: for to the onely the fault shuld remaine, and to me the wonder. Hartely I commend vnto the, thy honestye, whiche to thy selfe thou oughtest, and the care whiche behoueth so worthy and noble a wydowe. For if thou arte tozmented, with the absence of the deade, thou oughtest to comforte the, with the reputacion of the liuinge. At this presēt I wil say no moze to the, but that thy renowne amōg the present be such, & that they speake of the so in absence: that to the end, thou gīue the bridell to be silent, and to the good, spūres to come and serue the. For the widowe of euell renowne, ought

to be buried quicke. Other thinges to write to the I haue none. Secrete matters are dangerous to trust; consideringe that thy hart is not presently disposed to heare newes. It is reason thou knowe, that I with thy parentes and frendes haue spokē to the senate, which haue genen the office that thy husband had in Constantinople, to thy soune. And truly I oughtest no lesse to reioyce of it, which they haue sayd of the thē for I they haue giuē him. For they say, though thy husband had neuer bene citise of Rome: yet they ought to haue geuen more then this, onely for thy honest behauiour. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and I will saye, I neuer sawe her wepe for any thing in the world so much: as she hath wept for thy mishappe. For she felt thy losse, whiche was very great: and my sorow, which was not litle. I send the. iiii. thousand sesterces in money, supposing that thou hast wherewith to occupy them as wel for thy necessities, as to discharge thy debtes. For the complayntes, demandes, and processe, which they minister to the Romayne matrones are greater: then are the goodes, that their husbands do leue thē. The goddess which haue geuen rest to thy husbände Claudine, giue also comforte to the his wife Lavinia. Marcus of monnto Celio, with his owne hand,

The. xxxix. Chapter.

That Princes and noble men ought to dyspise the vworld, for that there is nothinge in the vworld but playne disceite.



PLATO, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Sculeucus, Epicurus, Diogenes, Thales, & Methrodorus, had amonge

them so great contentenon to describe, the world, his beginning and propterye, that in mainteyning euery one his opinio, they made greater warres w their penne: then their enemyes haue done with their lances. Pythagoras sayd, that that which we call the world is one thing, and that which we call the vniuersal is an other. The philosopher Thales sayde, that there was no more but one world: and to the contrary, Metrodorus the astronomer affirmed, there were infinite worlds. Diogenes said, that the world was euerlasting. Sculeucus said, that it was not true: but that it had an end. Aristotell seemed to say, that the world was eternall. But Plato sayde clerelye, that the world had beginning, and shall also haue endinge. Epicurus sayd that it was rounde as a ball. Empidocles sayd, that it was not as a botle: but as an egge. Chilo the philosopher (in the high mount Olimpus) dysputed, that the world was as men are: that is to wete, that he had an intellectuall, and sensible soule.

Socrates in his scole sayeth, and in his doctrine wote, that after .37. thousand yeres, all thinges shoulde retourne as they had bene before. That is to wete, that he him selfe should be borne anewe, and should be noyshed, and should rede in Athens. And Dennis the tirant shoulde retourne to play the tirant in Siracuse. Iulius Cesar to rule Rome Hannibal, to conqvere Italy: and Scipio to make warre against Carthage. Alexander to fight agaynst kynge Darius, and so forth in all others past. In such and other vayne questions, and speculations, the aunient philosophers consumed many yeres. They in writinge manye booke haue troubled their spirites, consumed lōg tyme, trauayled many countreys, and suffered innumerable daungers: and in the end they haue set forth few truthe, and many lyes. For the least parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then all that which they euer knewe. When I toke
of

THE DIAL

my penne in my hande, to write the banity of the world: my entencion was not, to reprove this material world, the whiche of the .iiii. elementes is compenided. That is to wete, of the earth that is cold and dry: of the water that is moyste and colde: of the ayre, that is whote and moyst, of fier, that is drie and whote: so that taking the world, in this sorte: there is no reaso why we shold complayne, and lament of it, sins that with out him we can not live corporally. When the painter of the world came into this world it is not to be beleued, that he reproued the water which bare him, when he wente upon it: no: the ayre that ceased to blow in the sea, no: the earth that trembled at his deathe, no: the light which ceased to lighte, no: the stones which brake in sonder, no: the fishe which suffered theim selues to be taken, no: the trees that suffered theim selues to be dry, no: the monumentes that suffered theim selues to be opened. For the creature knowledged in his creator omnipotency, and the creator founded in the creature due obedience. Oftentimes and of many parsons we here say, o woful world, o miserable world, o subtile world, o world vnstable and vnconstraine. And therfore it is reason we knowe what the world is, wherof the world is, from whence this world is, wherof this world is made, & who is lord of this world: sins in it all thinges are vnstable, al thinges are miserable, all disceytfull, and all thinges are malicious, which can not be vnderstanded of this material world. For in the fire, in the ayre, in the earth, and in the water, in the lighte, in the planets, in the stones, and in the trees, there are no sorowes, there are no miseries, there are no disceyts, no: yet any malice. The world wherein we are borne, where we live, and where we dye, differeth much from the world, wherof we do complayne: for the world against whom we fight, suffereth vs not to be in quiet one houre in the day. To declare therfore my entencion, this

wicked world is no other thinge, but the euell life of the worldinges, where the earth is the desire, the fire the couetise, the water the inconstancy, the ayre the follye, the stones are the pride, the flowers of the trees, the thoughtes, the depe sea the hate. Finally I saye, that the sonne of this world is the prosperite: and the moone, is the continual change. The prince of this so euell a world is the deuell, of whom Iesus christ sayd.

The prince of this world shall not be cast out: and this the redeemer of this world sayeth. For he called the worldinges and their worldly liues, the world.

For sins they be seruantes of sinne, of necessity they must be subiectes of the deuell. The pride, the auarice, the enuy, the blasphemye, the pleasures, the lechery, the negligence, the glory, the pye, the malice, the banity, and the follye.

This is the world against which we fight all our life, and where the good are prynces of vices, and the vices are lordes of the vicious.

Let vs compare the troubles which we suffer of the elementes, with those which we endure of the vices, and we shall se, that little is the peril we haue on the sea, and the land, in respect of that which encreaseth of our euell life.

Is not he in moze daunger, that falleth through malice into pride: then he which by chaunce falleth from a hie rock: Is not he, who with enuy is persecuted, in moze daunger: than he, that with a stone is wounded. Are not they in moze peril, that live among vicious men: than others, that live among bytters and cruel bestes. Do not those which are tormented with the fire of couetousnes, suffer greater daunger than those, which live vnder the mount Ethna?

Finally I saye, that they be in greater perilles which with hie imaginations are blinded: then the trees which with the importunate windes are shaken.

And

and afterwarde this worlde is our cruell enemy, it is a disceitfull friende, it is that which alwayes kepeth vs in trauayle, it is that which taketh frō vs our rest, it is that that robberh vs of our treasour, it is that which maketh him selfe to be feared of the good, and that which is greatly beloned of the euell. It is that which of the goodes of other is prodigall, and of his owne verpe miserable. He is the inuenter of al vices, & the scourge of all vertues. It is he whiche entertayneth all his, in flatterye and fayze speche. This is he whiche bringeth men to dissencion, that robberh the renowne of those that be dead, and putterh to lacke the good name of those that be alieue. Finallye I saie, that this cursed worlde is he, which to all ought to render accompte, & of whom none dare aske accompte. O vanity of vanity, where all walke in vanity, where all thinke vanity, where all cleue to vanity, where all semeth vanity: and yet this is litle to seme vanity, but that in deede it is vanity. For as false witness should be heare, that would saie that in this world there is any thing assured healthfull, and true: as he that would saie that in heauen there is any vnconstant, variable, or false thing. Let therfore gayne princes see, how vain their thoughtes be, and let vs desire a vain prince to tell vs howe he hath governed him with the vanities of the world. For if he beleue not that which my pen writeth, let him beleue that which his parson proneth. The wordes written in the booke of Ecclesiastes are such.

I Davids sonne that swayes the kingly seat
With hungry thirst haue it rowen amid my best
A myne desire to proue what pleasures great
In strong life haue stable soote to rest

To tast the sweet that might suffice my will
With rayned course to stonne the deeper waye
Whose streames of his delight should so defill
As might content my restless thought to staye

For loe quene follies impes through raine beleife
So proudly shape ther serche of tickle reache
That though desert anayles the wane of greife
To science toppeth ther climbing wil doth stretch

And so to drave some nice delighting ende
Of fancies toile that feasted thus n-ythought
I largely waide my wasted boundes to bend
To swelld realmes as wiscdomes ayall wrought

I, yall courtes haue reached from the soyle
To serue to lodge my huge attending trayne
Ech pleasant house that might be heapt with toyle
I reared vp to weeld my wanton rayne.

I, cause to plant the long vnused vines
To smooth my tast with treasour of the grape
I, sipped haue the swete inflaming wines
Ald rust of care by hid delight to scape

Freshe arbours I, had closed to the skies
A shrouded space to vse my suckle frette
In che gardens I, had dasing still mine eyes
A pleasant plot when dainty soude was mete

His shaking trees by art I sroue to sett
To fraight desire with fruite of liking tast
When bryling flame, of scowrs sence did bett
The blossome bowes his shoting beames did wast

From rocky hills I forced to be brought
Cold siluer springes to bayne my fruitfull gourd
Large throwen out poudes I labourde to be wrought
Where numbers huge of swimming fishe was found

Great compass parkes I gloried long to plant
And wild serches where swarmed herds of dere
Thousands of shypen e cattell could not want
With newe increase to store the wasted yere

Whole roates I kept of seruile nightes to farne
Desantes of princely ecuries with yokesome toyle
Whose skilfull handes from conning could not swarme
Ther swaye was most to decke my dayntye soyle

The lerned nightes of musikes curious arte
I trained vp, to please me with their play
Whose soyled innes, so sailed to my hart
As flowing gress, agreed to ebbe awaye.

The tender maides, whose stalke of growinge yeares
Yet reached not, to age his seconde rayne
Whose royall fames, were srratorred in no eares
But lurn by leue as beaunties let doo be gayne

THE DIAL

To I enioyed to feede my dulled spirite
With strained voice, of sweete alluringe songe
but yet to mounte the stage of more delight
I tryed to se their cunny dannces longe.

The hylles of massye golde, that I vphears
So huge weare by boure of kinge excess
That clattered claye, with prouder price was kept
In sondry realmes, when ruthfull neede did presse.

In some, I say, my ladies rollinge guide
Did ease for nought, but subiect laye to sight
In iudge of soundes, with nought to alide
but was mislead, to kinde more delight

The clother of my corps yet neuer felt
that pleas'd him ought, but ay it toucht agayne
my higher off sawours, sought he smelt
that might content, his would was neuer raynt.

The greedy fishes, of my deuoured brest
Tranquil in thought, so congent no delight
but yelded straight, as vnto the wight
to office suche, as warion will be light.

But when the dyes of my abused eye
were boyed vp, with looks and lokes agayne
And that my eyes handes, did eye encline
to touche the sweete, that feared full thers paine.

When wanton lost, was fed with reche conceyt
That strange dewise, brought forth from flowing w
When restless will, was talist with the waight
of princely reach, that aid my compasse st.

I saw by serche, the sory instable blame
the blasphemous, the stinging still delight
The fickle eye, the sic abused dame
the slipper stay, the steare contented hysie

Of suche as set, their heauen of hymeringe lyfe
In pleasures lappe, that laughes at their abuse
Whose frownde whole, with frownde twine is ryse
to drowne their blisse, that byndly slept with yse,

For loe the counse, of my dehybryng years
that was embrasse, in armes of sanctes past
When wisdoms sonne, through folies cloudes appares
Deth bluske to heare, the counse that pleasure cast.

So now I se, the maske of huge delight
With flatteringe face, doth promise but decaye
Whose stinging foote, entiled once to flight
His restless wings, do seke to sore awaye
Lo thus he slippes, yeclaime with endles paine
Possess amble, departinge scene agayne.

This sayeth the sage Salomon, talking of
the thinges of the worlde: the whiche as he
spake of the worlde, so hadde he proued it in
dede in his parson. Crediting, as it is reas
to such his doctrine, I can not tell what my
penne can write moze in this case, sins he
sayth, that after he had all proued, expery
mented, possessed, and tasted, he found that
al that we procure and haue in this worlde
is vanitie. O princes and great lordes, I be
seche yee, and in the name of Iesus christe
I exhorte you, with great discretion to en
ter into this depe sea: sins this order is so
disordered, that it bringeth al disorders, &
euell customes. For all those whiche shall
trauayle by the way, when they shal thinke
to go most sure in the midst of their soue
ney, they shal finde them selues to be lost.
None ought to agree with the worlde, for
that he might liue sure in his house: for day
and night, so all worldeinges he hath his
gate open, makinge their entree large and
sure. But let vs beware we enter not, and
much more, that we loode not our selues
with his vices, and be delighted with his
pleasures. For since we do ware worse, and
that we are entered therein, though we do
repent, by no waye we finde the sure com
ming out, but that first we must well paye
for our lodging. I maruell not though the
worldeinges at euerye momente be decey
ued, sins superstitiouslye they beholde the
worlde in their eyes, & lone it profoundly in
their hartes. But if they desired as profound
ly to consider it, as they do hapnly folowe it,
they shold se very playnly, y^e worlde did not
flatter them in prosperite, but threaten the
in aduersite. So y^e vnder y^e greatest payne
of y^e die, which is the bl. is hid y^e least which
is the ase. I would counsel princes & great
lordes that they wold not beleue the worlde
nor his flatteries, and muche lesse beleue
them selues nor their vayne imaginacions.
The which for the most part do thinke, that
after they haue trauayled and heaped by
great treasure, they shall enioye but
their

their owne trauayle, wpythout the tronble of any mā, or that anys man, do goe agasne them. Whowe wayne is suche thought, and howe ofte doth it chaunge contraye, The world is of suche an euill condicion, that if he let vs reste oure first sleepe, as well vs, as that whiche we haue gotten, immediate- ly in the moztning, yea oftentimes an how- er from thense, he wakethe vs with a newe care, and now he hath prepared for vs some meane, to occupye our selves about some o- ther trouble.

The xl. Chapter.

The Emperour speketh vehemēt- ly againste the disceites of the vworld-



Hemperour Traian sayde one day to his maister (which was Plutarche, the greates philosopher) tell me maister, why there are commonly moe euill then good: and why withoute compa- ryson there are moo whyche folowe byces, than those that imbrace vertue. The great Plutarche answered. As our naturall in- clinacion is moze giue to lasciuiousnes and negligence: then to chastity, and abstinence: so the men which doo enforce theim selves to folowe vertue are fewe, and those which giue slacke thei reynes to byces are manye. And knowe thou, if thou knowest it not (most noble Prince) that all this euill pro- ceedeth, that men do folowe men, & that they suffer not reason to folowe reason. Feeble, and miserable is our nature, but in the end we can not deny, that for al our trauay- les, we may finde remedy in it, which se- meth to be true. For so much as if the sonne beth, annoy vs, we do retire to the shadow. If we are greued going on fore, we do re- medy it going on boysebacke. If the sea be

dangerous, we sayle with shippes, If the cold do bere vs, we appoche nere the fire. If thurst doth trouble vs, we do quench it with drinke. If rayne doth wete vs, we go into the houses. If y plague be in one place we flye into an other. If we haue enemies we comfort our selues without frendes. Finally I say, that there is no folowe, nor trauayle but that a man hath founde some rest and remedye. This presupposed to be true (as it is trouh in dede) nowe I aske al the worldinges, if they haue found any re- medy agaynst the troubles and disceytes of this worlde: If I be not deceyued, and if I vnderstande any thing of this worlde, the remedyes whiche the worlde geueith for the troubles, certaynlye are greater trauayles, then the trauayles them selues: so that they are salues that do not heale our woundes, but rather burne our fleshe. When the dis- eases are not very old rooted, nor danger- ous, it pfecteth moze oftentimes to abide a gentle seuer: then to take a sharpe pur- gacion. I meane, that the worlde is suche a deceyuer, and so double, that he dothe con- trary to that he punisheth. That is to wete, that if he do perswade vs to reuenge an in- jury: it is to the end that in reuenging that one, we should receyue a thousande incon- ueniences. And where as we thinke it eas- iest care fro vs, it encreaseth infinite. So that this cursed gyrd, making vs to beleue it, leadeith vs vpon the bye lande, amonge our frendes: causeith vs to fall into the am- bushment of our enemies. Princes and great lordes, in the thoughtes they haue, & in the wordes that they speake, are greatly esteemed: and afterwarde in the workes which they do, and in the affaires they tras- uayle, are as litle regarded. The contraye of al this doth the wicked worlde, who trith all those he accompanieth, in his promisses he is very gentle: and afterwarde in his de- des, he is very pteite. For speakinge the trouh, it costeth vs deare: and we others do sell it good cheepe. I saye much, in say- eng

THE DIAL

eng that we sel it good chepe: but in a manner I shoulde saye better, that we giue it willingly. For se we are those in number which cary away wages of the world: and infinite are those, which do serue it onelye for a bayne hope. ¶ Princes and great lordes, I counsaile and requyre you, that you do not trust the world neither in word, dede nor promise, though he sweare and sweare agayne, that he wil kepe all he hath promised with you. Suppose that the world doth honour you much, flatter you much, visite you ofte, offer you great treasours, & geue you much: yet it is not because he wil geue it ye by litle, and litle, but that afterwards he might take it all from ye agayne in one day. For it is the old custome of the world, that those which aboue all men he hath set before: nowe at a turne, they are surdest be hind. What trust may we haue in þ world and in his flatteries. Since we do knowe, that one day we shall se our selues depriued therof: and that whiche is moze, he viseth such craft, and subtilty, with the one & the other, that in old menne whom reason would shoulde not be vicious, he (the moze to torment their parsonnes) hath kindled a greater fire in their hartes, so that this malicious world putterh into old riches, a new couetousnes; and in the aged, engendereth cruel avarice, and that in that time, when it is out of time. We ought greatly to consider, howe by the world we are deceyved: but much moze we ought to take hede, that we be not by it destroyed. For where as we thinke to be in open liberty: he kepeth vs secrete in prison. We thinke we are whole, and he geueth vs sicknesse. We thinke we haue al thinges: yet we haue nothing. We thinke that for many yeres longe shalbe our life, when that at euerye corner we are assaulted of death. We thinke that it counceith vs for men that be wise, when he kepeth vs bonde like vnto fooles. We thinke that it encreaseh our good, when that in dede it burdeneth our conscience.

Finally I saye, that by the waye where we thinke to continue our renowne, and lyfe: we lose without recovery, both life & fame. ¶ filihp world, that whē thou dost receyue vs thou dost cast vs of: when þ dost afflicte vs, thou dost seperate vs: when thou semest to reioyce vs thou makest vs sad: whē thou pleasest vs: how thou displeasest vs: when þ exaltest vs how thou humblest vs: & when þ dost chastice vs, how thou reiocest. Finally I say, þ þ hast thy drinkes so impoysoned: þ we are without che, & with the and hauing the these within the house, we go out of the doores to seke hym. Though men be diuers in gestures: yet much moze are they variable, in their appetites. And sith the world hath experence of so manye yeres, it hath appetites prepared, for all kinde of prople. For the presumptuous, he procureth honoures, to the avaricious, he procureth riches, and to those which are gluttons, he presenteth diuers viates. The fleshye he blindeth with women, and the negligent he letteth rest: and the ende why he doth all these things, is that after he hath sed them as sicke, he casteth vpon them the nettes of all vices. Note princes & great lordes, note noble men, though a prince do se him selfe lord of al þ world he ought to thinke þ of no balne is the seignory, onles he him selfe be vertuous. For litle it profiteth that he be lord of the vicious: whiche is him selfe, the seruauit of all vices. Panpe saye that the world doth begile them: and other say, that they haue no power against the world. To whom we may aunswere. That ifar the first temptacions we would haue resisted the world: it is vnpossible that so oftentimes it durst assault vs. For of our sinne, sinnes, cometh his so great audacity. I can not tel if I shall dissemble, I shal holde my peace, or whether I shall saye that I would saye, sins it greueth my hart so much, onely to thinke of it. For I like my eyes rather to lament it, then my fingers able to write it. It is so, that euerye man suffereth

suffereth him selfe to be governed so of the world: as if god were not in heuen, and had not promised to be a good christian here in earth. For al that betwixt, we will, that which he foloweth, we folowe, and that which he chooseth, we chose. And that which is greatest sorrow of al, if we do refrain our selves from a ueritie, it is not for that of our owne nature we would cease from it; but because the world will not command vs to doe it. Al that is that which I haue spoken, in respect of that I will speake: which is, that the world hath made vs now so ready to his law, that from one houer, to another, it chaunged the whole state of this lyfe. So that to daye he maketh vs hate that, which yesternay we loved, he maketh vs complaine of that, which we commended: he maketh vs to be offended now with that, which before we dyd desire: he maketh vs to haue moztall enemyes of those, which before were our special frendes. Finally I saie, that the world maketh vs to lone that in our life, which afterwardes we bewaile at the houer of death. If the world dyd geue vnto his minians any perfecte and accomplished thing: it were some what, that for a time a man shold remayne in the seruice of his house. But since that in the world al thinges are graunted not during life, but as lending, which ought to be rendered the daye folowynge: I knowe not what man is so berpe a foole, that in the world doeth hope for any perpetual thing. For all that he geteth, he geteth with such conuycion, that they shall render it vnto hym, when he shall demaunde it: and not at the discrecion of hym that doeth possesse it. Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetual lyfe: I saie certaynely no. For in the sweetest tyme of all oure lyfe, then so dauidely we are assaulted of cruell death. Peradventure the world can geue vs temporary goods in aboundaunce: I saie certaynely no. For no man at anye tyme had so muche riches: but that which he wanted was moze, then that he possessed.

Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetual loye: I saie certaynely no.

For exemptynge those dayes which we haue to lamente, and also the houres which we haue to syge: there remaineth not for vs one momente to laughe. Peradventure he can geue vs perpetual health: I saie certaynely no. For to men of longe lyfe, without comparyson the diseases are moze, which they suffer: then the yeares are, which they lyue. Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetual rest: I saie certaynely no. For if the dayes be fewe, wherewith we see the elementes withoute cloudes: fewe are the bowers, which we seale our hartes withoute cares. There fore, since that in this myserable world there is no health perpetual, no life perpetual, no riches perpetual, no toy perpetual, I woulde knowe what it is, that the worldelynges woulde of the world, since they knowe that it hath no good thinge to geue them, but onely by lending, or by vsurpe: If it be vsurpe, there is no gayne of money: but rather retourne, with restitution of vices. O chyldren of banispe, O maisters of lighnes, since it is so, that ye now determine to folow & serue the world: loke not of the world to haue any thing, but thinges of the world. In it is nothinge but pryde, enuy, lechery, hate, ire, blasphemy, auarice, and foly. And if ye aske, if he haue in his gouernance any vertuous thinge, he wil aunswere you, that he doeth neuer sell suche marchaundysse in his shoppe. Let no man thinke, that the world can geue vs that, which it hath not for it selfe. And if we will chaunge anye thinge with it, and it with vs: he is so subtile to sel, and so curyous to bye, that that which he taketh shalbe of greate measure, and that which he selleth vs, shal want much weight.

THE DIALL

The xli. Chapter,

Of a letter, vvhiche the Emperoure
Marcus Aurelius vvrote to com-
fort his frend in his banishmēt,
vvhiche is notable for al men to
learne theyanities of this vvorld.



MARCUS Em-
perour of Rome com-
panyon in the em-
pire, with his bro-
ther Angius Ve-
rus to the Torquat

of the citie of Ga-
lles wisther health to thy parsonne, and
strength against thy euill fortune. I beinge
in the Temple of the bestal virgins, about
the monerhes hence, I receiued a letter of
thine: the which was in such sorte, that nei-
ther mine eyes for that time could make an
end to rede it, nor since, I haue had the hart
to aunswere it. For in the inconueniences
of oure frendes, if we haue no facultie nor
might for to remedye it, at the least we are
bonnde to betwape it. Thy sorowe maketh
me so heauy, thy payne doeth trouble me so
muche, I am so carefull of thy anguise, so
tormented with thy griefe, that if the Gods
had geuen power to wofull men, to departe
their sorowes, as they haue geuen to ryche
men, to departe their goods: by the faith
I owe vnto god, I sweare, that as I am the
greatest of thy frendes, I woulde be he
whiche shoulde take the mosse parte of thy
griefes. I knowe ryghte well, and as wel
as he that hath proued it, that as muche dif-
ference as there is betwene the barke and
the tree, the mary and the bone, the corne
and the strawe, the golde and the drosse,
the truerh and the dzeames: somuch is there
to here the trauailes of another, and to talke

his owne. Notwithstandynge comforte thy
selfe my frende Torquatus: for where the
frendes be true, the goods and the euils are
common betwixte them. Oftentymes with
my selfe I haue merueiled, to what ende, or
intention, the immortall Gods haue geuen
trauaile, and tormentes to men, since it is
in their power to make vs to liue with oute
them. I see no other thinge, why the myshap-
pes oughte patiently to be suffered: but be-
cause in those, we knowe who are our faith-
full frendes. In battayle, the valiaunt man
is knowen, in the tempestuous weather,
the Pilot is knowen, by the tounche stone,
golde is tryed, and in aduersitye, the frend
is knowen.

For my frende doeth not inoughe to
make me merue, vnlesse also he doeth take
parte of my sorowe. I haue herde say here,
and nowe by thy letter I haue sene, howe
they haue banished the from Rome, and
confiscated thy goods, and that for pure
sorowe, thou arte sicke in thy bed: where
of I meruell not, that thou arte sicke, but
to be as thou arte alpy. For sayeng to the,
the truthe, where the harte is sore wound-
ded, in shorte space it hath accustomed to
yelde vp vnto the bodye. I see wel that thou
complaynest, and thou haste reason to com-
playne, to see thy selfe banished from Rome,
and thy goods confiscate, to see thy selfe
oute of thy countrey, withoute anye paren-
tage: yet therfore thy sorow ought not to be
so extreame, that thou shouldest put thy lyfe
in hazarde. For he alone oughte to haue
lycence, and also is bounde to hate lyfe,
whiche doeth not remember, that he hath
serued the Gods, nor hath done any pro-
fyt to men. If the affayres of the Empire
dyd not occuppe me, and the emperpal ma-
testie dyd not withdraue me: I woulde im-
medyately haue come to comforte thy per-
son, where thou shouldest haue sene by ex-
periēce, with what griefe I fele thy trouble.
And therfore if I takest me for thy frend, thou
oughtest to beleue of me that, which in this
case

case I woulde helene of the : whiche is, that as thou hast ben the most entier frend whiche I had in Rome : so is this the thing that moste I haue felte in this lyfe.

Tell me my frende Torquatus, what is it thou sufferest there, that I doe not lament here : It maye be, that sometyme thou laughest, but I alwayes wepe: sometimes thou comfortest thy selfe, but I am alwayes sadde. It maye be, that thou lightest nest thy payne: but I am alwayes in sighenge. It maye be, that sometymes thou castest from the sorrowe: but for me I can not receiue consolacion. It maye be that thou hopest remedye of longe lyfe: but for me I fynde no remedye more healthful, then presente death. Finallye I saye, that here I fele all that thou felest there, and furthermore I suffer all that, whiche as a frende I oughte to suffer here: so that both oure paynes are made one moste cruell sorrowe, wherewith my wofull lyfe is tormented. I woulde greatlye desire to come and see the, and to healepe to dysburthen the of this charge.

And since it is impossible for me, I sende the this letter, wherein perchance thou shalt fynde some comfortable wordes. For thou knowest, that if the true frendes can not doe that, whiche they oughte: yet they doe accompythe it, in doing that they can. If my memozye deceiue me not, it is well xxxi. yeares since we two haue known together in Rome, durynge the whiche, fortune hath made here betwone vs dyuers alterations, in the whiche tyme I neuer sawe the one daye contented. For if thou were sad, nothinge dyd make the merre, but were as a man withoute taste: and if thou were ioyfull, thou esteemedst it lytle, as a man being troubled.

Therfore if the trouthe be so (as in dede, is) that in trauayles thou were loden with sorowes, and in prosperities thou were euyl contented, so that of nothinge in the worlde thou couldest anye taste: why is it (my

frende Torquatus) that nowe agayne thou arte in dyspayre, as if thou couldest neuer into the worlde : Thou dydest reioyce thy selfe, xxxi. yeares, with the tryumphe and prosperitie of Rome: and thou complaynest onelye of lit. monethes, that fortune hath bene contrary vnto the.

O Torquate, Torquate, dost thou not knowe, that the wyse men (in whome wysedome reigneth) haue more feare of two vnhappye dayes in this lyfe: then of two hundred of prosperous fortune. How manye haue I sene goe oute of their prosperities, with the charges of another man, and their owne proper byces: so that the bayne glozpe and the saylinge prosperitie endured fewe dayes: but the grieve of that they haue lost, and the enuyties which they haue recovered, endure many yeares. The contrarie of all this, cometh to iafortunate men, which escape oute of their tribulacions, spoyled of byces, enuyronned with vertues, persecutours of euyl, zelers of good, frendes of all, and enemyes of none, contented with theirs, and not desirynge others: finally, they are scaped wisely fro the snare, and haue gathered the rose, not hurryinge them selues with the prickles. What wilt thou that I saye more vnto the, but that the most fortunate, are vauquished in peace: and the vnforsunate, are conquerers in warre. One of the sentences whiche moste haue contented me, of those whiche the auncyentes haue spoken, is this, of the deuyn Plato.

That those whiche are in prosperitie, haue no lesse nede of good counsaile: then the vnhappye haue of remedye. For no lesse doe they trauayle, whiche goe alwayes in the playne waye: then those, which mount on the sharpe craggie mountayne. Accorde dyng to that I haue gathered of thy letter, me semeth, that when we hope moste rest, greatest trauaile hath succeeded to the.

And hereof I doe not meruell, nor thou oughdest not to be offended.

THE DIAL

For as experyence teacheth vs, when the trees haue h blossomes, then they are most subiecte to the froste. And when glasses are drawen oure of the furnaces, they breake. The captaynes hauinge wonne the victoꝝ, doe dye. When they wyl put the key in the doꝝe, the house dooth fall. The pirates perishe, within the kenning of the lande. By that I haue spoken, I meane, that when we thinke to haue made peace with fortune, then she harbe a new demaunde ready forged. All newe chaunges of fortune, cauſeth alway newe paine to the parſon: but oftentimes it is cauſe of moze greate ſortreſſe.

For the tree beareth not ſo muche fruite, where it firſt grewe, as there where it is againe planted: and the ſauours are moze odiferous, whē they are moſt chafed. I meane, that men of hye thoughtes, h moze they are wꝛapped in the frowninges of fortune, the moze ballaunte and ſtoute they ſhewe them ſelues.

The man bitterlyſe is ſolpſhe, oꝝ harbe great want of vnderſtandyng, who hopeth at any tyme to haue perfecte reſt, immagynynge that h woꝝld wil geue no aſſaule vpon hym: but that the tyme ſhall come, wherein he ſhalbe wꝛithoute care and feare.

This myſerable lyfe is of ſuche condycion, that daylye, oure yeares do diminiſh, and oure troubles encreaſe.

O Torquate, by the immortall gods I doe deſire the, and in the ſapthe of a frende I doe require the, thou beinge boꝝne in the woꝝld, nouryſhyng thy ſelfe in the woꝝld, lyuinge in the woꝝld, beinge conuerſaunt in the woꝝld, beinge a chyld of the woꝝld, and folowyng the woꝝld, what dyddſt thou hope of the woꝝld, but thinges of the woꝝld: Peraduenture thou alone wylte eate the fleathe wꝛithoute bones, geue baſtyle wꝛithoute peryll, trauaſyle wꝛithoute payne, and ſayle by the ſea wꝛithout danger. I meane, that it is vnpoſſible ſoꝝ mortall men to lꝛue in the woꝝld, vn-

leſſe they wyl become ſubiecte to the ſoꝝꝝers of the woꝝld.

The woꝝld hath alwaies ben the woꝝld, and nowe the woꝝld ſhalbe after vs, and as a woꝝld ſhall handell the woꝝldlynges.

The wyſe men, and thoſe which of thyr eſtates are carefull, are not contented to ſe, noꝝ ſuperſpeciallye to knowe the thinges: but rather wape them profoundlye.

I ſaye this, becauſe if thou kneweſt thy debelytye, and kneweſt fortune, and her chaunge, if thou kneweſt the men, and thyr malycies, if thou kneweſt the woꝝld, and hys flatteryes: thou ſhouldeſt wꝛynne no lytel honour, where as otheꝝ wyſe thou mayeſt chaunce to get infamye. We are nowe come to ſo greate follye, that we wyl not ſerne the Gods, whiche haue created vs: noꝝ abſtayne from the woꝝld, which perſecuteth vs.

And the beſte is, that he not wyllyng vs (but rather reſcaynge vs) we ſaye (that of oure owne wylls, we wyl loue, and ſerue hym: and yet knowynge that thoſe whiche longeſt haue ſerued the woꝝld, do go oute of hys houſe moſte bitterlyſe lamentinge. Oftentimes I ſaye to thinke, that (accor- dyng to the multitude of men whiche ſolowe the woꝝld, beinge alwayes euyl handled of the woꝝld) if the woꝝld dyd pray them as he doeth annoy them, if he dyd comfoꝝte them, as he doeth tormenter them, if he kept them as he banyſher them, if he exalted them, as he abuſer them, if he receyued them, as he expelleth them, if he dyd continewe them, as he conſumeth them: I thinke that the Gods ſhoulde not be honoured in heauen, noꝝ the Temples woꝝhypped in the earthe.

O Torquate my frende, that whiche nowe I wyl ſay of the, iuſtlye thou maieſt ſaye of me.

That is to wete, how much we put oure confidence in fortune, how lewdly we paſſe ourdaies, & how much we are blinded in the woꝝld

woylde: yet for all that, we credite his woꝝd as muche, as though he had neuer moꝝked anye.

The .xlii. Chapter.

The Emperour perſwaderh all men by ſtrong reasons, not to truſte the vworld nor any thing therein.



Et me I praye the Torquatus, what wylt thou heare moꝝe: what tollie thou ſe moꝝe: and what wylt thou knowe, moꝝe, to knowe a woꝝld:

ſeing how until this preſent, thou haſt bene handled of the woꝝld: thou demaundest reſt, and he hath geuen the trouble. Thou demaundest honour, and he hath geuen the infamy. Thou demaundest riches, & he hath geuen the pouerty. Thou demaundest loꝝe, and he hath geuen the ſorow. Thou demaundest to be his, & he hath geuen the his hand. Thou demaundest life, & he hath geuen the death. Therfoꝝe if it be true, that the woꝝld hath handled & in this wiſe, why doest thou wepe to retorne againe to his wyched houſe: & filthy woꝝld, how farre art thou from ſuſt: and howe farre oughte they to be from the, which deſire to be ſuſt. For naturally thou art a frend of nouelties, & enemy of vertues. One of the leſſons which the woꝝld readeth to his chylde is this: that to be true woꝝldlynges, they ſhould not be very true. The whiche experyence plainly ſheweth vs, for the man whiche medleth muche with the woꝝld: leaueh alwayes ſuſpition of hym, that he is not true. The woꝝld is an inkaſſadoure of the euil, a ſcourge of the good cheſt of vices, a tyrant of the veruous, a breakeꝝ of peace, a frende of warre, a ſwete

water of byces, the gawle of the veruous, a defender of lyes, an inuētour of nouelties, a traueller of the ignoꝝaunce, a hammer for the malicions, a table of gluttons, and a furnage of conſpiſſence: finallye, it is the perill of Charibde, where the barres do peryſhe, and the danger of Scilla, where the thoughtes doe waſte. I ſuppoſe that theſe be the condictions of the woꝝld. The trouthe is, that if there be anye woꝝldyng who complayneth to be euill contente with the woꝝld, ſhall be therfoꝝe chaunge his ſtile: Trulſe no, and the reaſon is, that if perchaunce one woꝝldyng ſhould go oute of the houſe, of the woꝝld, there are ten thouſand bankies at his gate. I know not what wiſe man wyl lye in the woꝝld with ſuch condictions, ſince the vices wherewith we do reſoyce our ſelues are very ſeuere, in reſpect of the tormentes which we ſuffer. I ſay not that we doe heare it, by heare ſaye, and rede them in bookes; but we ſe with our owne eyes, the one to conſume & waſte the goods, others to ſal and looſe their credyte, others to fall with their eyes, and looſe their honour, others to looſe the lſe, and all this ſene, yet neuertheleſſe euerye man thinketh to be free by pꝛyueledge, where there is none pꝛyueleged. My frend Torquatus, of one thinge I aſſure the, whiche is, that the men whiche are boꝝne of women are ſo euill a generation, and ſo cruell, is the woꝝld wherein we lye, and fortune ſo empoſoned with whome we frequente: that we cannot eſcape without being ſpurred with hys ſere, bytten with hys teeth, toꝝne with hys nayles, & impoſoned with hys benyyme.

Peraduenture thou oughteſt ſaye vnto me, that thou haſte ſene ſome in Rome, whiche haue lyeued longe tyme, fortune neuer beinge agaynſte hym. To this I aunſwere.

That thou mighteſt rather to haue pꝛyue bypon hym, then enuye: ſoꝝ it is not

THE DIAL

to; bys profyte, but for bys greate hinder-
raunce. For the worlde is so malicious,
that when it seemeth to be moſte our frend,
then it worketh vs moſt displeaſure.

The healthfull men, dye rather of a ſhor-
te diſeaſe in ſewe daies: then the byre and ſe-
ble mon doe, with a diſeaſe of manie yea-
res. By this compariſon I meane, that
ſince man can not eſcape, nor lyue without
trouble: it is muche better, that by lytle,
and lytle, he taſteth them, then that they en-
ter all at one tyme into bys houſe.

How muche oughte the man to be ha-
ter of the immortall gods, who knoweth not
what trouble meaneth in this worlde. For
he onely oughte to feare fortune, who know-
eth not fortunes loſe. Since the Gods
would permit, and thy miſchance hath bene
ſuche, that thou haſte found moze danger,
where thou thoughteſt moſt ſure: as a man
cuſt fortun'd it is reaſon, that we apply vs
to the ſome new waie, to the end thou looſe
not thy good renowne. ſince thou haſt loſt
thy euill goods.

Tell me I praye the (Torquatus) why
doeſt thou complayne, as a man ſicke: why
cryeſt thou, as a ſoule: why doeſt thou ſigh,
as a man in deſpaire: and why doeſt thou
weepe, as a chylde: Thou arte come oute of
the waie.

And thou complaineſt to haue loſt thy
waie. Thou ſaydeſt by the byſpying Seas:
and thou wonder'eſt, that the waues doe al-
ſaule the. Thou haſte aſcended the ſtepe,
and craggy mountaynes: and thou com-
plaineſt that thou arte wearie. Thou walkeſt
by the thorned: and wiſt not
that thy gowne be torne.

Wyldeſt thou thinke in the toppes of the
high mountayne to lyue moſt ſure. By that
I haue ſpoken, I wyl aſke what diligence
ſeruyce thou haſte done to the worlde, that
thou wouldeſt the Gods of heauen ſhoulde
recompente the: Wouldeſt thou of fortune
a ſafe conduct, We beinge (as the ſay-
ers of manie, nature beinge not able to

gentle, the which is mother of all: My
frende Torquatus, that which the ppe-
full nature cannot promiſe the, wyldeſt
thou thinke that fortune (which is the ſuſ-
ſepte mother) ſhoulde gyue: It is impoſſi-
ble that the Sea ſhoulde alwayes promiſe
vs ſuretye, and the heauen clouenes, the
ſummer dewes, and the wynter froſtes.

Markes well, marke my frende Torqua-
tus, that all naturall thinges are ſubiecte to
chaunge euerye yere: but all the worlde-
lynges oughte to endure the eclipſe euerye
momente.

ſince the natural goods cannot alwayes
be in one mans cuſtodye, beinge neceſſary:
it is ſuche that the goods of fortune periſhe,
ſince they are ſuperfluous. What ſhoulde
the Gods be, if that which is to the do-
mage of ſo manie, they had made perpe-
tually: and that which is to the profyte of
all, they had made mortall.

I wyl no more reduce to thy memory,
the proſperitye which thou haſte had in
tymes paſt: beſoze that we treat be-
tweene fortune handſleth the at this preſent.

The deſirefull fortune, when at thy gate
the ſoldier merchauntyſe, knowing that
the ſolde was the, and thou beinge igno-
raunt of that thou boughteſt: ſhe gaue the
fruitfull grounde, and afterwarde made it
vnto the paynefull. ſhe haſte genen the ſo-
luer for ſwete: and the ſwete ſhe haſte re-
turn'd to the ſoluer. ſhe haſte genen the
the euill for the good: and where that thou
haſte ſolde her good, ſhe retourn'd vnto the
euill.

Finallie ſhe haſte begg'd the in the ſuſe
pyſe: thou not ſuppoſyng that thou had-
deſt receiued any damage.

We can doe no leſſe in this caſe but to
haue compaſſion vpon the: yet thoughte
they condemn malicyous fortune for
ſellpyngs, they wyl note the ſymple in-
byenge.

For in the ſhope of fortune, all mer-
chauntyſe are ſuſpicious.

Unhappy that we are, I saye those which meddle with the world: for in his market they se nought but lies, & we do not truste but in the overthowes of our resolue: which are not payde, but with the coste of our life. And the faultours of that faile, giue vs nothing by weight, or measure: for they are a sort of baraboundes, and the world of al is, knowing that they ought to lose with fortune, all seek to bye at her shoppe. Thus they selle to the world, lone the world, much serue the world well, folowe the world: well, and seele the world well, for in the ende of the iourney, the world requirerh thee to be like vnto his inconstancie. I wold enter into count, not with the world, which in the ende is the world: but with the worldlings, which are in loue with the world. For in the ende, either it is good, or euil.

If the world be good for them, wherof do they complayne? If he be euil, why do they folowe him? They can not (though they wold) denie one of the .ii. errors wherin worldlings fal: that is to wete, that they serue an euell mayster, or that they murmure out of a good lord.

Tell me my friend Torquatus what distourbance thou haste, since thou madest so long tyme a contentance to the world: For peres thou hast serued the world, and hast bene in his fauour: wherfore it were now his time that betwene the and him were some discorde. For betwene the grandfathers and the nephews, betwene the father and the children betwene the vncles and the nephews, daylye we se great strifes: and diuident thou thinke, that betwene the and fortune, perpetual peace should be?

He gaue not to Belus king of the Assyrians but .lx. yeares, of prosperity.

To the queene Semiramis .vi. onely.

To Label king of the Lacedemonians .v.

To the king of Chaldeans .liii.

To the great Alexander .liii.

To great Antiochus king of Carthage .li.

To oure Iulius Cesar one, and to infinite others he gaue not one.

If the world were patient he should be no world, if the world were constant, he should be no world, if the world were sober, he should be no world, if the world were true, he should be no world, if the world were corrigible, he should be no world: finally I say, that for nought els the world is world, but because there is nothing in him worthy to be helowd: and many thinges in it that deserueth to be reprobod.

If thou were wise, and knewest any thing of the world, in all the discourse of those .xxii. yeres, thou haddest not eaten without care, nor haddest gone without gyles, nor haddest not spoken without suspicion, nor slept without assaulte, nor trusted any frende.

For the wate meane do thinke alwayes, wherin their enemies may beguile them, wherin they them selues may faile, and wherin fortune may let them. I know, not if it be, that the world of him selfe be happy, or that the worldlings be foolis. For if one stranger, one neighbour, or our proper brother dorbe enuye vs, we will neuer (though he do requyre vs) pardon him, and we cease not to folowe the world, though we knowe he persecuterh vs. So that we ozawe our swordes agaynst flies: and will kill the elephantes with needles.

There is no greater ill in the world, then to thinke all thinges in the world are in extremite.

For if we be abased we sighe alwayes to moune: and if we be highe, we wepe alwayes for feare of falling.

Suche overthowes harbe the world, and his states are so secret: that we are no sooner shipped, but we se both our bandes and feet entangled in vices: by the which oure lyfetye is broughte into suche extreame, and cruell captiuitie, that we bewaile oure mishappes, with rooTINGS: as brute beastes: but as men we dare not once vete them.

THE DIAL

I knowe not wherof this cometh, for some I see which willingly fall, and others I see which would recover them selves. I see dyvers that would be remedied, and I see all do complayne: but in the end I see no man that doth amend. These thinges I haue written vnto the, for no other thing, but because thou henceforth thou shouldest liue more circumspectly: for as thou knowest, I say nothing, wherof I haue not had long experience. The colt which thou hast sent me, is proued very good, especially for that he lea-
peth very well, and say the carriere, he is exceeding ready and hath a comely grace. I send thee, ii. thousand sexterces, wherewith thou mayst releue thy necessities. Finding opportunitye, as touching thy banishment I will speake to the senate in thy behalfe. I say no more to the, but that the consolation of the gods, and the loue of the gods be with the Torquatus. The malice of the euell, & the prynces of the furtes, be absent from me Marcus. My wife Faustine saluterh the. And in her behalfe, and mine, recom-
mend vs to thy faire daughter in law Sophonisba, & thy daughter Amida. Marke of vnto Celso, writeth to the Torquate, with his owne hand.

The .xliii. Chapter.

Princes and noble men ought not to beare with iugglers, jesters, and parasites, minstrelles, loyterers, nor with any suche kinde of raskals. And of the lawes whiche the Romaines made in this behalfe.



Iurgus, Prometheus, Solon and Numa, Pomplius, famous inventers, and ordyners of lawes, orde

the subtilty of their witte, and the zeale which they had to their people in ordeining many lawes which they taught: not onely what they ought to do: but that which they ought to fly. For the good and expert philistons do deserue more prayse to preserue vs before we are sicke: then to heale vs after we are diseased. Plutarche in his apothegmes neuer ceaseth to exalte the Lacedemonians, saying: that when they dyd obserue their lawes, they were the most esteemed of all the grekes: & after that they brake them, they were the moste vblest subiects, which euer the romaynes had. The felicity, or infelicity of realmes, doeth not consist in haue good, or euill lawes: but to haue good, or euill Princes. For lytel prospereth vs the lawe to be full, if the king be wyched. Sexus Cheroneus in hisse of Nerua saith, when the Romaines and the Grekes had warres together, that the embassadours of these two nations were at controuersie, which of them shuld haue the Rhodians to be their frendes: the Greke embassadoure saied to the romaine. Ye ought not to make your selues egal, & romaines, wth the Grekes, since that trouble is, that ye came fro Rome to Grece to seeke lawes. The Romaine embassadour answered hym. I graunt the, that fro Rome we sent to seeke lawes in Grece: but thou wilt not deny, that from Grece you haue brought that vices to Rome. I saie vnto the that without comparison, greater damage haue the vices done vnto vs: then your lawes haue profited vs. Plutarche in an epistle he wrote to Traiane sayed, these wordes. Thou wytest vnto me, moste noble Pryncce, that thou arte occupied in ordeynynge newe lawes: but in my oppynion, it had bene muche better, that thou haddest kepte, and caused to be kepte the olde. For lytel prospereth it to haue the coffers full of good lawes, and that the common wealthe be full of euill customes. I haue sene very few Princes, but to make lawes they had habyltye sufficience: and

to hope them, they haue felt in them selues great debility & weaknes. Hereof we haue example. For Nero was he, whiche made the best lawes in Rome; and that afterwar des of life was most corrupt. For the gods oftentimes permitte, that by the handes of some euell men, the others shoulde be constrained to be good. Plutarcke sayeth sur ther.

If thou wilt (noble prince) trust thine owne vnderstandinge, in my poore coun sayle, in fewe wordes I would recte vnto the al y nuncient lawes. I wil see the very briefe and swete lawes, not to thende thou shouldest publishe theym in Rome: but to the ende thou kepe them in thy house. For sins thou haste made lawes for all, I wyll make lawes for the.

The first lawe is, that thou behaue thy selfe in such sort, that thou be not noted of any notable vice: For if the prince be ver tuous in his pallace, none dare be dissolute in his house.

The second lawe is, that equally thou kepe iustice, as wel to him which liueth farre of, as to him which is nere about the: for it is much better that thou departe of thy goodes to thy seruantes, then that thou shuldest geue them that iustice, whiche apper teyneth to others.

The third lawe is, that thou delight in word and dede to be true, & that they take y not in this default to speake to much. For princes which in their wordes are vncer rayne, and in their promises doubtful, shall be hated of their frendes, and mocked of their enemies.

The fourth lawe is, that thou be ver ye gentle of condicion, and not forgetfull of seruices done. For vnthankefull princes are hated of god, and despised of men.

The fift law is, that as a pestilence thou chase from the flatterers. For such is their euell life, do disturbe a whole comō wealth, and with their flatteries, do darken thy re

notune.

If thou (most noble prince) wilt obserue these, v. lawes, thou shalt nede to make no mo lawes: For there is no nede of other lawe in the common wealth, but to se that the prince be of good life. This wrote Plu tarche to Traian, and euery vertuous mā ought to haue them written in his hart.

I was willing to touche this historye onely to shewe the profite of this laste lawe, where it sayeth, that princes admytte into their conuerfation no flatterers, of whom it is reason we talke of now: For so muche as there are diuerse men, wyth whom they lose their time, and spend these goodes. When Rome was well ordered. If offices were greatly esteemed to the Romay nes.

The one was, the masters of fence, which were as men that fought. And the cause to inuent this play, was to the end yong men (not expect in warre) shoulde se the swoz des dyatwen, sharpe speares, shootinge of crossebowes, to geue blowes with their swozd, to shed bloude, to geue cruell woundes, and to sleie men: For in this sort they lost feare, and in going to the warre, they recovered courage. The man whiche hath past a watche, though he be in the night, dare passe it: But he whiche hath not pas sed it, though he be in the daye, dare not enter it. I meane, that the Romaynes were very sage, to shewe vnto their children the daungers, before they did put them therein. For this is the difference betwene the fear ful hart and the couragious stomache, in that the one flyeth from a distaste, and the other is not afrayd of a swozd.

The second office whiche was estreamed in Rome, was that of the, jugglers, iesters, players of tragedies, and of suche o thers, whiche inuented playes, and pastimes to reioyce the people: and in especial ly men of warre, who they feares at they goinge forth, and muche more at their coming

THE DIAL

coming home for the Romaynes thinking that they should be with such gloype receyued, wente with determinacion eyther to winne the victorie, or to dye in battayle.

The auncient & true Romaynes had such care for the common wealth of their people, that they consented that iesters should iest, fugglers should fuggle, and the players of ennerclodes should playe: But this was not through abondance of vantage, nor for want of grauntie, but to take from the plebeians, occasion of idlenes, & to kepe them occupied in other perticuler playes: they would that all the pleasures shoulde be taken togethers. Not without cause I saye, that the pleasures were taken in common, that is to wete, that no romayne could play any playes perticulerly, make any bankers, represent comodies, nor make anye feastes beside those, whiche they made to reioyce the whole people, so that in Rome they traunpled seuerally, and reioyced togethers. Would to the immortal gods, that suche & so excellent a romayne custome were obserued in our christian common wealth.

But I am verie sorre that indifferently the riche, and poore, great and small, do play comodies, runne the bulles, do iust, and make bankers, weare deuises, feast the ladies, spend in bankett, and inuents feastes. The whiche thinges altogether do redounde to the damage of the common wealth, to the wast of the goodes, & to the corruption of the maners: for the particuler pastimes do encrease new vices to bzede in men. These players did serue in rome to make pastime at the greates feastes of their Goddes: for the Romaynes were greates worshippers of their goddes, and so carefull of their temples, they sought to feast them at the wayes they could inuent. Truly this was done by the deuine sufferance, for their goddes being lengthinge stockes (as in dede they were) the liuing god would they should be serued, honoured, and feasted by gestures, and moyses, Blondus in the thirde booke de

Roma triumphante mencioneth & whiche I haue spoken, and sayeth. That the Romaynes were no lesse curious to giue lawes to the fugglers, and iesters, whiche went mocking by and downe Rome: then to the captaynes whiche were fightinge in the warre. for though they did permit iesters, players and fugglers, to exercise their offices: yet they did commaunde them that their liues might be vpright and iust.

Amongest others, suche were the lawes, whiche the romaynes ordeyned for these iesters, fugglers, players, and tombles.

The first lawe was, they commaunded that they should all be knowen, and cramined, to se if they were honest men, wise and sage. for & moze their offices were vaine, so much the moze they prouided, that they were geuen to wise men.

The second lawe, commaunded to examine them, to se if they were able, and comly to exercise their offices: and in dede in this case, as wel as in the other, they hadde reason, for as very a foole is he, whiche harreneth to a foole not pleasaunt, as the foole him selfe.

The thirde lawe was, that they did not permit anye Romayne fuggler to exercise such feates, once he had some other craft. So that if they occupied the holpe dayes to playe and shewe pastime in the streets, the other dayes they should worke at home at their houses.

The fourth lawe was, that no fuggler nor iester, should be so hardy in his offences to speake any malices: and in dede it was a lawe very necessary. for oftentimes selue they are, whiche do reioyce at their mockeries: and manye whiche complaine of their malices.

The fift lawe was, that no fuggler or iester, shoulde be so bolde to make anye pastimes in anye partyculer houses, but in open places. for other wise, those whiche spake them became hardy: and those whiche heard them were vicious,

The

The Romaynes not contented to haue made these lawes, ordeyned that the iugglers for no payntes shewd, or any other thing spoken, should be so bolde as to receyue any money. And to auoyde their complayntes and to satisfy their payntes they allowed euery one of them a thousand sesterces yere ly out of the common treasure. We ought greatly to prayse the prouidence of the Romaynes, which haue prescribed a kinde of life for the iesters, to liue: even as they did to other men of rome, and to the captaynes of warre. And in this place no lesse than in an other graue thing, they shewed their wisdom. For a gouernour of a common welth trauayleth moze to correct spoiles the to gouerne the sage.

The. xliiii. Chapter.

* Hovve some iesters were punished by the auncientes, and of the iesters and loyterers of our time.



Vlius Capitolinus in the booke of the maners of the auncientes sayeth, that in times past, the iesters, and iugglers were greatly esteemed. And we will not denye but that they had reason, for with them they honoured the gods, they toke their pleasures, they reioyced their feastes, they were verie quicke men, not importunate nor couetous. The iester hath no grace onlesse immediatly a man putterh his hand to the purse. We find some fragmēttes of an oratio which Cicero made in the senate, greatly repriming the Senatours, and all the people because they so willingly gaue eare to this iester, who stirred by sedition among the commons, his

name was Roscio, who was so greatly esteemed in rome y the Romaynes did moze willingly heare that which he sayde in his lectures, than that which Cicero spake in good earnest. This iester Roscio and Cicero stryued whyche of them bothe were of greater witte. Roscio for presentynge a thyng wpyth dyuers gesses or Cicero pronouncynge wpytyn maters in earnest. When I rede in Iulius Capitolinus that whyche I haue spoken, I will not rease to cōfesse mine innocēce, for that I could not then kepe my selfe from laughing, to se that Roscio, being Prince of folp: did presume to dyspute with Cicero, whyche was facher of eloquence. With all these thynges are vnsfable in one, so from one day to another we see them chaunge. The romaynes had greatlpe esteeme the pollicpe of the common wealthe, the dyscipline of warre, the nurture of chyldren, the exercise of the poyge, and the honestye of the players, and iugglers: the which in tyme came to be so dissolute, that very ofte they were occasyon of greate slaunders amoge the people. The which by the Romaynes sene, and considered, and that the iesters which were wont to shewe them pleasures, were cause of dissension (and where all they commaunded them to be resydente in their offices, they were vacabondes, and that vsinge them as sages, they liued as loyterers & fooles, nor contented with that, that they gaue them of the common treasure, but they wente beggynge of euery man) the Senate of rome determined amonge them selues to banyshe al the iugglers, and iesters, out of the common wealthe. On this execucion of these loyterers, sprange dyuers dysensions amonge the people. For the Princes which were good, cast them oute: and those which were euyl, called them in. So that one of the tokens which were in Rome, to know a veruous, or virtuous pynce, was to se if he mainteyned iesters, iugglers, or vacabondes, amonge the people.

Plutarch

THE DIALL

Plutarcke in his *Apothegmes* sayeth, that the Lacedemonians did neuer permit any iuggler or iester to be in the comon welth. And when one did demaund a Lacedemonian, by an imbassado: of Rhodes, what was the occasion to make such a lawe, *sins* the gessers, and players, shewed pleasure to the people, and the people losse nought but laughed at their folly: the Lacedemonian answered, *Lycurgus* saw harde, felt, or red, some great damage, that the iesters, iugglers or players, might doe in the common welth, *sins* against theym, he made thes so straight a lawe. But that which I know is that we Grekes are better, wepinge with our sages: then are the Romaynes laughing at their fooles. *Dio* in the life of *Traian* declareth, that there came a iuggler to Rome from *Affricke* whose conuepaunte was so cleene, that it was a wondrous thing to se what states he did and to heare what wordes he spake. And when they prayed the good emperor *Traian*, that it would please him, to heare him, he answered, It is not for the authoritie of a graue and vertuous prince, that in his presence any such bayne thing should be shewed. For in such a case, he should be no lesse noted of lightnes, then the other accused of follye. And further he sayd. Before princes, a man shuld not be so hardy to speake dishonest wordes, nor shewe light representacions. And in such case, as much payne deserue they which moue him therto: as those, which do represent them. For a man ought not to put before princes thinges which should allure them to vices: but thinges which should moue the to vertues. Certainly these wordes were worthy of such a personage. *Suetonius Tranquillus* in the life of *Augustus* declareth, that in Rome there was a iester very merry, and pleasaunt called *Estephane*, who one day offered his seruice to the emperoure, to the ende that of that seruice some profite mighte vnto him ensue. He went to the pallace sometime in

the attyre of a page, and an other time in the habite of a Romayne matrone: and so truly counterfayted every thinge, that it seemed not to be him, but the selfe same pat: to be represented. The emperor *Augustus* was greatly displeased w that iester had done, and commaunded for the with that he should be whipt in. iii. theaters. And when he complayned, that the emperoure commaunded vncouthes to be whipped on, & he thise, the emperor *Augustus* answered. Ons they shal whippe the, for the iniurie thou diddest to the Romayne matrone, whom thou diddest represent.

The seconde time they shal whip the, for the suspicion that thou hast to represent it before my parson. The third for the time thou hast made diuers loose, for beholding and hearinge the. For iesters do not deserue so much punishment, in the iesters & mockertes they do say: as for the time which they lose, and cause others to lose. Certaynly, the punishment which was geuen to the iester, was very iust: and exceeding good were the wordes, which *Augustus* sayd.

There was an other iester in the time of *Augustus* whose name was *Pilas*. And when the Emperour had banished all the iesters, & iugglers from Rome, this *Pilas* was so pleasaunt, and merry with all persons, that with great instance they besought the Emperour to reuoke that sentence. And the request in deed was so great as if it had ben for a Philosopher, they coulde haue done no more. For bayne, and light men, employe rather that they haue, on him who bringeth vnto them some folye: then to one, which teacheth and correcteth their lyfe. The Emperour condescended to the requeste if the people, on suche condicion that they should geue a mayster and tutor to *Pilas*, that shold chastice and correct him as a foole. Saying, that *sins* sages tooke fooles to be their maysters, that the fooles also should haue sages for masters. The cause was: that as one daye he that had the charges

charge of Pilas did rebuke him for certaine lightnes that he had done, or for some dishonestie that he had sayed: Pilas was exceeding wrothe with him. The whiche the emperoure vnderstandynge, commaunded he shuld be whipp, and banished for ever, and ener. When Augustus gaue this sentence, they saye he sayed this woorde. Rome hath ben mightie, and puissant inough, to make her enemyes shoue: & now she is not able, to banishe iesters, & fooles. And that that is worst of al, they haue presumption to beres: & we haue not courage to reprove them. The Lacedemonians had greate reason, and also the Romaynes, to reue their common wealth of iesters. For they are idel, vicious, dishonest, malicious, and presumptuall to the common wealth. These iesters, and jugglers are idel, seeing that moze then others, they eate the swette of others. They are vicious, for they can not exercise their offices but in vices, and in creakynge with vicious men. They are dishonest, for they get not to eate by deinge good woordes: but by speakynge dishonest wordes. They are malicious, for they haue accustomed, when they loue not a man, immediately to speake euyl of hym. They are vnprossurable for the common wealth, for they mocke vs, and sel vs vaine wordes: & we pay them good money. The woorde is come to so greate follye, and corruption, that euen as graue & wyse men thinke it greate inconueniente, to be conuersaunte with bayne, and sonde men: so the Lordes of estate thinke it an honour, to haue in their house, some folyshe iesters, whiche doe expresse dyuers folyes. If there were not but this euyl: yet here it myghte be dyssembled. But what shall we say, that for the mooste parte the lordes are so vaine, and the iesters so presumptuous: that the Lordes haue moze care to contente them, then they haue to please the lordes.

In the house of a lord, a foole at the end of the yere wyll aske moze, then anye other of those whiche are mooste auisiente

so that the follies of one are moze acceptable, then the seruyces of all. It is shame to speake it, and no lesse to wyte it, that the Chylidren of banpty are so bayne, that they byrbe a foole or a iester no lesse in these dayes, to thintente he maye be a meane for them vnto the Prince: then they dyd in tymes paste desire Cicero, to make an oration for them befoze the Senate.

It is for wante of vnderstandynge, and throughe the bilerpe of personne, oppression of the harte, & dyspayse of renowne, to be desirous by the meane of fooles, to attayne to anye thinge. For he can haue no greater wysedome, whiche putterh his hope in the fauoure of a foole. What remayneth for me to say, when I haue sayd that which I wyll saye. And it is, that if a gesser or foole saye openly to some lord, God saue youre lyfe, Oh he is a noble man in dede, he wyll geue hym a gobme of silke: and entring in to a churche, he woulde not geue a pooze man a halpenye.

What neglygence, is there of Princes: What banptye of Lordes? Since they forsake the poze and wyse, to enryche the iesters and fooles. They haue enoughe for the woerde, and not for Ihesus Christ: they geue to those that aske for his louers sake, and not to those whiche aske for the health of the soule. He oughte not to doe so: for the knyghte whiche is a Christyan, and not a woerdelynge, oughte rather to wyll, that the pooze doe praye for hym at the holwer, of deathe: then that the fooles, and gessers shoulde praye hym in his lyfe.

What doeth it prosyre the soule, or the bodye, that the iesters doe praye the for a coate thou haste genen them: and that the poze accuse the, for the bread thou hast denyed them: Peraduenture it wyll prosyre the asmuche, that a foole, or a flatterer, goe befoze a Prince appayrilled with a netwe lyuerpe of thine: as the pooze men shall doe the damage befoze God, to whome thou haste denyed a pooze ragged shirter

THE DIAL

All gentlemen, and knightes, in the name of our sauour Iesus Christ I admonyshe, exhort, and humbly require, that they consider wel what they spende, and to whom they geue, for the good Princes, oughte to haue more respect of the necessaries of the poore: then of the follies of counterfaytes. Certe as yee wyl, deuyde as ye list, for at the houre of death, as muche as yee haue laughed with the fooles, for that ye haue geuen them: so muche shall ye wepe with the poore, for that ye haue denyed them. At the houre of death it shalbe greuous paynes to him that dyeth, to see the fleashe of the Disphantes all naked, and to beholde counterfayte fooles laden with their garmentes. Of one thing I am amased, that indifferently every man may become a foole, and no mā let hym: and the worst of all is, if once a foole become couetous, all the world afterwards can not make him to be in his right senses. Truly, suche one which hath no reason to be a foole, at the leaste he hath good occasion: since he getteth more to cate playng, then the others doe working: What negligēce of the princes, and what smal respect of y^e gouernours of the commō wealch is this: that a pong mā, whole, stout, strong, and valyaunte, shold be suffered to go from house to house, from table to table, and only for babblinge bayne wordes, and tellynge shameful lyes, he shoulde be counted a man of an excellent tonge. Another folp there is in this case, that their wordes are not so folp, as their dedes are wicked. And though they haue a good, or euill graue: yet in the end, they be counted in the commō wealch, as loyterers and fooles. I knowe not whether in this case is greater, either their folp, or our lychtnes, for they vse vs as fooles in tellinge vs lyes, and we paye them good money. The Romaynes dyd not permit in their common wealches, colde iesters: nor we Christyans oughte to retayne into oure houses, idel loyterers, we oughte to knowe, that more offendeth he whiche sinneth with

a defourmed woman: then he whiche sinneth, with a beautifull ladye. And he whiche is drunke with sowter ale offendeth more: then he whiche is drunke with swete wyne. And so in like maner, greater offence comit they, whiche loose their times with the fooles, that haue no grace: then with iesters, whiche haue good wittes. For it may be permitted sometyme, that the sage man for the recreation of his sprytes, doe fremente the compaignie of some pleasaunte man.

The. xlv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the Emperour vvrote to a frende of his, certifying hym, that he had banyshed from Rome, the iesters, iuglers, conterfet fooles, parasites, ruffians, minstrels, vacabondes, and al other loyterers.



Arcus Aurelius onelye Emperoure of Rome, lord of Asia, cōfederate with Europe, frende of Affricke, and enemy of the warres, wissheth health to the Lambarte, gouernour of the Ile of Helespont. With the surres which thou didest sed me, I haue caused my gowne to be furred, and am girded with the girdel which thou didest present me, & am greatly cōiected with thy hōudes. For all is so good, that the body doeth reioyce to possesse it, and the eyes to beholde it, and also the harte to render thanks for it. Where I dyd aske a few thinges of the in self, thou hast sent me many in earnest, wherein not as a seruant, but as a frende, thou hast shewed thy selfe. For the office of noble and worthy hartes, is to offer to their frendes, not only y^e which they demaunde: but that also whiche they thinke they wyl demand. Truly y^e haue better measured thy seruises,

by thy noblenes: then I the demaund by my couetousnes. For if thou doest remember, I did demaund of the only, xii. skynnes: and thou hast sent me: 12. dosen. I tolde the, that I desired 6. houndes for to hunte: and thou hast sent me: 12. of the best that can be found in the Ile. In such sorte, that I haue had honour: and thou hast wonne renowne. For in the litle I haue demaunded, they shal see my lytel couetousnes: and in the much thou hast sente me, they shal perceiue thy greatelyberalypse. I esteeme highlye that whiche thou haste sente me: and I beseeche the gods sende the good lucke. For thou knowest, we may render thanks for the benefites receiued: but we haue not the power, to requyte the gentlenes shewed. For the man whiche dare receiue of another any giste, doth bynd hym selfe to be hys slaue. I can not be thy slaue, for I am thy frend: & hereof I oughte not to reioyse, more then another. For being a seruant, I shuld serue the with feare, but being thy frend, I wyl profite the with frendshyp. Therfore to declare the chesc occasion wherfore I wryte vnto the at this present, I say, I send the 3. shippes laden with iesters and iugglers, loyterers, vacabondes, and fooles: & yet I doe not send vnto the all the vacabondes which are in Rome, for then it shuld be peopled with straungers. The office that they had, was that some of them sang sounny malitious songes in the streets, others told lies and netues, for their diners, other flattered for aduantage, other played on instrumētes to get drinke, others counterfayted the fooles for a new golwe, some played the phisician for a profite, other iugglers conueyed craftely, other figboies picked finely, others made rimes ignorauntly, and other disers, soyfied, and hogged comynghly: I swere vnto the by the god Hercules, these loyterers wanted no fooles to here them. I let the wete, my frende Lamberte, that these loyterers are suche, and their scollers in number so manye: that though the maysters maye be in. iii. shippes carped yet

the schollers coude not be in an hundreth transported. Of one thing I meruel much, and also I affirme, that the Gods be offended, since earthequakes ouerthrew the houses, the great waters cary awaye the byldges, the froste frese the vines, the corrupte ayer infecteth the wise men: & yet is ther no plague that consumeth the fooles: Who we unhappy art thou Rome, vnto him that shal wel beholde the, and diligentlye serche the. For in the wanteth valyaunte capraynes, honest Senatours, iuste Censours, faithfull officers, and vertuous Princes: and onelye there aboundeth fooles, iesters, platers, dysers, loyterers, and vacabondes. What service thou shuldest do to the gods, and profite to our mother Rome, if for 3. shippes of fooles, thou diddest sed vs one barke only of wise men: I would not saye (but I wyl not cease to saye) that I haue sene fooles, that I haue heard many folies: but I neuer saw so great fooles, nor harde suche extreme folly, as that of some noble romaines, & Italyens, who thinke it a greate acte to keape a foole in their house. I iudge him to be a greater foole, that so desireth to kepe a foole: then the foole hym selfe. For a foole hath a semblance of the sage, after that he accompanieth with a sage: but the sage thewerth hym selfe a foole, after he accompanieth with a foole. Why doe men seke thinges of mockery: since al that is in the world is mockery? Why seke we fooles? Since all that we saye, is nothnige but folie? Why doe we reioyce, with those whiche flatter vs: since there are none, that saye one onely truerth? Why doe we seke fained fooles? Since that all, or the mosse parte of vs all, are verpe fooles: I see dyuers in Rome, the whiche though they companie with honest men, are dyssolute, companyng with sages they are symple, creakynge with wyse men, they are withouite consideracion, and being conuersaunte with fooles, they thinke to be sage. If we kepe company with pitifull, we shalbe pitifull,

THE DIALL

If we be conuersaunte with the cruel, we shall be cruel. If we communicate with lyers, we shalbe lyers. If we haunte the true, we shal be true; and if we desire the foliſhe, we shal be fooles. For according to the maſters we haue, and doctrines we haue: such shal be the sciences whiche we shall learne, and the workes whiche we shal folow. The famous tiraunte Penis the Siracusaine, whiche was in Scicil, saied vnto the philosopher Diogenes, Tel me Diogenes, what condicion ought men to haue in their houses, and with what persons ought they to deuide their goods? Diogenes answered him. The wise man which wyl lue in peace with the common wealch, and that wyl not see his goods euyl imployed, oughte not to geue to eate, nor to accompany with anye, but with the aged persons which shuld counsaile them, and with the yong which shuld serue them, with frendes whiche shuld fauour them, & with the poze, to the end they shuld prayse them. Penis the tiraunt greatlye commended that, which Diogenes the philosopher tolde hym: but he coulde neuer profite with that counsaile. For as he shewd him selfe a tiraunte in robbing: so he shewd him selfe also vndiscrete in spending. Presuppōse that that which Diogenes the philosopher spake were true, it is to wete, that we ought to fede the aged, seruantes, frendes, & poze: we se by this answer, it is not iuste to geue to eate, eyther to iesters, minstrels, parasites, flaterers, loyterers, or fooles.

First me semeth, that a man ought not to thinke that fooles are capable to geue counsaile, since they haue it not for them selues: for it shoulde be great folly to vse men as sages, whiche of their owne wyl haue made them selues fooles.

The seconde me semeth that it is a haine thinge to thinke, that the iesters shuld serue as seruantes; for these vnhappy people, to the trauaile onelye, haue taken vpon them this office so sleaundersous.

Thirdly it semeth to be a shamefast thinge, and of great inconuenience, that anye noble and sage man shuld defermyne, to haue anye flaterer, or iester, for his samplare frende: for suche oughte not, nor cannot be counted among the true frendes, since they loue vs not for the vertue we possesse, but for the goods whiche we haue.

Fourthly me thinketh it a bayne thinge to thinke, that vnder the couler of pouertye it shoulde be iuste, to geue meate to iesters, or loyterers: for we cannot saue that suche are poore for that they wante ryches, but that follye aboundeth in them. Since there fore a man is defamed to haue such iesters, flaterers, and loyterers for frendes, and that for being seruantes they are vnhable, and with oute witte to aske them counsaile: me thinketh it is a greate follye, to spende his goods on suche loyterers. For as their intencions to the gods onelye are manifest, and to men secreete: so there is nothinge wherewith the good doe appoyne and manifest their intencions to be good, or euyl, more then in the wordes whiche they speake, and in the companies whiche they keape.

The.xlvi.Chapter.

Howe the Emperour found the sepulchres of many learned Philosophers in Helespont vwhere vnto he sente all these loyterers.



VVyl thou knowe Lamberte, that thy Ile is consecrated with the bones of many excellent men, the whiche were banished by sundry tyrannous Princes of Rome. The auncyentes greatlye commende that Ile, because there are therein stones called Amatistes, tame dere, satyr women, familiare wolves, swift dogges of foote, & pleasaunt fontaines

Yet notwithstanding I wyl not cease to commend these thinges which reioyce those that be present, & also comforte those that be to come. For I esteeme more þ bones, which the earth doe couer: then the riches, which groweth thereon. If thou hast not losse the sense of smelling, as that Ile doeth sauoure vnto me of sages: so doeth Rome stinke of fooles. For, for the time it is lesse payne, to endure the stinke of the beast: then to heare the wordes of a foole. When the warres of Asia were ended, I returned home by that Ile, wherein I visited al the lyuing people, and al the graues of the dead philosophers. And for a truerh, I tell the Lambert, þ that iourney was verie troublesome vnto me: for herein my person endured much payne, on the land I suffered dyuers daungers, and on the sea, I saw my selfe in sondry perils. In the city of Corinthe (where thou art resident at this present) in the middest of the market place, thou shalt finde the graue of the philosopher Panimio, to whom the streight friendship auayled litel, which he had with Ouide: but the enmity greatly endomaged him, which he had w Augustus the emperor. Two leagues fro the foote of the mountaynes Arpines, thou shalt finde the graue of the famous orator Armeno, who was by þ consul vniuersally banished. And of troth, as here was much blood lost, because Silla should not enter into Rome: so there were not few teares shed in Italye, for the banishment of this philosopher. In the gate of Argonata, harde by the water, in the toppe of a hygge rocke, thou shalt finde the bones of Callidorus the philosopher, who obserued all the annuente lawes: and was a greate enemy of those, which broughte in vsue customes, and statutes.

This good philosopher was banished, in the prosperitie and surye of the Maritans: not for the euils they sauoued in hym, but for the vices he reprovoued in them. In the felde called Helimes, there was a greate tombe, within the which were the

bones of Selleno the philosopher, who was aswel learned in the, vii. lyberall artes: as if he hym selfe had firste inuented them.

And he was banished by the Emperoure Nero, for because he perswaded this cruel Emperoure, to be mercifull, and pyrefull. In the same felde, oute of the woodes towards the weste parte, thou shalt finde the graue of the philosopher Vulturius, a man in Astrologie profoundly learned, which litle auayled him in his banishment. For he was banished by Marcus Antonius, not for that Marcus Antonius woulde haue banished hym: for he was not offended by him, but because his loue Cleopatra hated him, as her mortall enemye.

For women of an euill lyfe, reuenge commonly their angry hartes, with the death of their especial frendes. Diuers other tombes in that Ile I sawe, the names whereof though in wytyng I haue them: yet at this present I cannot cal them to memory. Well, by the faith of an honest man I sweare vnto the, that thou shalt fynde al true which I haue tolde the. Nowe I tel the Lambert, that I visiting those graues, their disciples did not beare them greater obedience, whē they were alive: then I dyd reuerence now they are dead. And it is true also, that in all that time my eyes were as muche wet with water, as their bones were couered with earthe.

These philosophers were not banished, for myscheues by their personnes committed, nor for sclanders they had done in the common wealthes: but because the deades of oure fathers deserued, that they shoulde be taken from their company, and the their chyldren were not mo:thy, to haue the bones of so famous, and renowned sages in oure custodie. I cannot tell, if the enuye I haue to that Ile be greater, or the pytye I haue of this miserable Rome: for the one is immortal by the graues of the deades, and the other is defamed with the lyfe of the lyunge.

THE DIAL

I desire the hartelpe as a frende, and doe commaunde the as a seruante, that thou keape the priuilegies, whiche I geue to that Ile, withoute breakynge anye one.

For it is bette iuste, that suche cyties people with suche deade, should be priuilegi'd of the lounge. By this Centurpon, thou shalt knowe al thinges whiche are chaun- sed amongst the prysoners.

For if I should wyte al the whole mat- ter vnto the as it was done. I ensure the, vnto me it would be muche paine to wyte it, and to the great trouble to rede it. It suf- fyceth presentlye to saye, that the daye of the greate solempnyte of the mother Be- recinthe, a schaunder arose in Rome by the occasion of these iesters, scoffers, and loy- terers: and by the saythe of a good man, I sweare vnto the, that the bloude whiche was shed throughe the places, surmounted the wyne whiche was drunke at the feaste.

And thinke not that whiche I saye to be tytel, that the bloude whiche was shed, sur- mounted the wyne that was drunke.

For as thou nowe knowest, the Citizynes are come to so greate follye: that he whiche was on that daye moste drunke, they sayed that he had offred vnto the Gods greates- sacryfices. I am yet a trayed, to remember the cruelties whiche that daye I saw with my owne eyes: but I am muche more a- shamed of that, whiche they talke of vs in strange realmes. For the noble and wo- rthy hartes, doe not counte it so muche to receyue a greate wounde: as to take it of a cowardely man.

There is greate difference betwene the nettes, wherewith they take byrdes: and no lesse is there betwene the hokes, wherewith they take fysh. I meane, that the knyfe whiche cutteth the fleashe, differeth muche from the knyfe, whiche hurteth the harte.

For the hurtes of the booke, with surgi- ons maye be healed: but the gods only are the physicions of the perils of the harte.

I sawe Rome whiche was neuer basne-

quished by valiaunt men) at that day ouer- come by loyterers. Rome whiche could ne- ner be wonne by those of Carthage, is now wonne by iesters, players, and bacabon- des. Rome whiche triumphed of all the Realmes, is now vanquished of the loy- terers, iesters, and idel persons.

Finallpe, we sawe that Rome whiche in tymes paste gave lawes to the Barba- rous, is now become the slaue of foolles: in this case I haue bene so troubled that I cannot tell what to saye, and lesse what I wyte vnto the. One thing comforteth me, that since Rome and her Romaynes do not reioyce them selues, but with foolles: that she, and her chyldren be not punished, but by the handes of foolles. I thinke not that in this case the Gods doe anye wronge, if Rome which laughed throughe mockery at the players: doe wepe one day with the loy- terers in good earnest.

Thou myghtest demaund me Lambert, since we other Princes are bound to main- tayne equal iustyce with all: wherefore we doe dyssemble manye offences whiche o- thers haue done in earnest: and yet we wyll not pardon those gessers, since al that they haue inuented, was for mirth and pastyme: I promise the, though the of- fences were greate in dede: yet I doe not banysh them so muche for the bloude they haue shed, as for the good orders whiche they haue peruerterd.

Once agayne I retourne to say vnto the, that I haue not banyshed them so muche for because they were occasion of murders: as to be teachers of al lyes. Without com- paryson, greater is the offence to the gods, and greater is the damage to the common wealthe to take awaye (as these loyterers haue done) the senses of wyse men: then that whiche the murderers doe, to take life fro their enemyes. The end of these iesters, scoffers, jugglers, idell men, and those kynde of rascalles, is alwayes to perswade men, that they speake continually in mag- heries,

herles, treat continually in mockeries, and to ridde them of their sorowes, and all this is to deceyue them of their goodes. In the which case I saie, and so pleased it the goddes, that they shoulde content them selues with the goodes, without robbing vs of our wisdom. When Scipio the Affricane had ended the warres of Affricke, he went through Rome accompanied not with valiaunt captaynes: but with the players, iesters, and jugglers. The whiche a philosopher seeing sayd vnto hym these wordes. O Scipio, according to the muche they haue talked of the, and the litle I see in the, it had bene better thou haddest dyed in Affricke, then to come to Rome. For thy high actes, in thy absēce did astony vs: & thy lightnesse in thy presence doth offend vs. To the it is great infamy, & to the sacred senate litle honesty, & thou hauinge conquered so mighty princes in Affricke, shouldest go accōpany with fooles, and madde men in Rome. I let the were Scipio, that thy life had not then so much perill amonge thy enemies: as thy honour hath at this present among fooles. These wordes were herpe good, though they were euell receyued, of humayne malice. For by reaso of these wordes the poore aged philosopher was banished (by the fren des of Scipio) out of Italy: and sent to that ile of Helesponte.

The .xlvii. Chapter.

* The Emperoure declareth the cause vvhye these iesters, and jugglers vvere admited into Rome.



After that these loyterers and vacaboundes shal land in thy ile, thou shalt let them go at liberty, and shalt take none of their goodes: but thou shalt aduertise them that they be not so hardy, to exercise their craftes nor feates. For if they do the contrarpe, thou mayst make them lose their life, and banish them that ile, which I haue conditionallye pardoned, them here in Rome. One thinge I commaund the, and I beseeche the forget it not, that is to wete that thou compell the to labour, and that in no meanes thou suffer them to be idle.

For idleness is the mother of all vices in the parson, and the causer of all schaunderes which arise in the common wealthe.

Whens we knowe not but to labour, and the loyterers know not but to loyter, I would say, that with moze reason they myght say, that we were not sage: then we might say, that they are fooles. For wrongfullye are they called fooles, which by craft eate the swette of others: Being the litle regard we haue to these loyterers, and consideringe holwe muche we presume: by the sayth of a good man I sweare vnto the Lamberte, that with greater reason they shoulde mocke our wordes: then we others shoulde laughe at their wordes. For they profite moze with our goodes, then we do of their folly.

In the, CClii. of the foundation of Rome a soze plague came into Italy. The which beinge ended, they determined to tel nor the thousandes, of menne that were deade: but the small number of those whiche remayned alue.

Rome afterwarde beinge so solitarie, and Italy so desolate, onely to refoyce the people, and to the ende the ctytes shoulde not remaine uninhabited, the first cheaters were inuented, and then first were these players receyued.

THE DIAL

For vntill that time the Romaynes knewe no other thinge, but to offer sacrifices to their goddes in the temples: and to fight against their enemies in the feldes. A lamentable thinge to heare, y this plague lasted only .xxiii. monethes, and the rage & folly of these players, and idell men, hath endured moze then .liii. yeres. Would to the immortal goddes, that that plague had ended those fewe which remaine: before this cursed generacion had brought so abhominable customes into Rome. For much better had it bene for our mother Rome, that she had wanted inhabiteurs, than such raskals should haue come and dwelled therein. I knowe wel (Lambert) that these parsons do greatly complayne of me, and that the complayntes whiche they do in the beginning, shal not haue an end there: but I care not much: for the complayntes of the euell do serue for no other thing, but to repproue the iustices which are ministred vnto them by the good. The princes in that they commaund, and the iudges in that they execute ought not much to esteeme the complayntes of al those which say they haue wrong.

Prouided that the cause be iustified, and that vnder the colour of iustice they do no wrong in dede. In the flatteries which they tel vs concerninge our gloire, and in the sclauanders which they spake of vs concerninge our reproche, wise men ought wel to note the nature of the parson whiche speaketh it, whether that be true which he speaketh, and what moueth him to tell it. For as it is a shame for to be rebuked of a man which is honest: so it is no small infamy to be praysed of those which are euill.

Sins the time I was borne, I neuer sawe anye thinge lesse profitable, in the common welth, nor moze bayne, neyther worse inuencions, nor colder recreations, then these are, which these iesters, players, and iugglers do inuent. What thinge can be moze monstrous, then to se the folly of a foole byngne diuers

wise men out of their wittes: What greater mockery can there be, then that al do thinke that the iesters of a foole ought to be reioyced at, with the laughter of y sage? What greater sclaunder can there be, then that in the offices of the noble and worthy Romaynes, the gates shoulde alwayes be open for fooles: and the wise men shoulde finde them alwayes shutte? What greater cruelty can there be in Rome, then that the senatours and riche men geue moze to a player, for a song which he singeth in one houre, then they do to the seruantes for seruing them a whole yeare? What greater theft can there be than this, that the garisons which are in Illiria, want: and players, iesters, iugglers, flatterers, and loyters in Rome haue so much? What greater shame can Rome receiue then this, when it shal be sayde in time to come, that iugglers, players, parasites, iesters, and flatterers, haue wonne moze with their iuggling, playing, telling and flattering: then diuers capraynes with their weapons, and triumphes? Beholde therfore Lamberte, what difference there is betwene capraynes, and loyters.

For when the wife went throughte Rome, folowing their follies from gate to gate: the others went from realme to realme consuming their goodes, aduenturing their liues, fighting against the barbarous people and shedding their owne proper blood.

And in the hindermoste parte of Spayne, when those of Seuill had warre with the Gaditanes, it chaunced that euen in the middell of the time, those of Seuill wanted money, and .ii. parasites offered them selues for .ii. yeares to susteyne the warres, with their owne proper goodes: so that with the riches of two fooles many wise men were overcome. When the Amazonas were ladies of Asia, then they buylte the great temple of the goddesse Diana. And as the histories account, onely with that they toke away from a player, was buylte this noble

ble temple. If the hystories of the Egyp-
tians do not deceyue me, king Cadm⁹, who
with a. 100. gates buylde the great citie of
Thebes, so: such a buylding, so highe and
monstruous a citie, all his subiectes toge-
ther gane him not so much, as .ii. parasites
did alone. When the good emperour Au-
gust⁹ renewed the walles of Rome, & made
them of hard stone, which befoze that time
were onely of earthe: and bycke, towarde
such a costly worke, he had moze of .ii. para-
sites which were drowned, then of al the ci-
ty beside. I being in the city of Corinthe,
sawe an auncient tombe, wherein the Co-
rinthians say their first king was buried.

And the hystorographers saye, that this
king was a great wastler, others saye he
was a parasite, others say he was a iug-
gler, but how so euer it was, he was first a
lesser, and obtayned a realme in earnest.
Behold therfoze Labert, how they are ne-
glected of gods & fauoured of fortune, & in
how litle estimation the goodes of this life
ought to be esteemed: firs some by counterfay-
ting fools leue of the as great a memo-
ry of their follye, as the others do by the
wisdom. There is one thing only of these
lopyterers that pleaseth me, that is to wete,
that in presence they make euery man laugh
with the follies they speake: and after that
they are gone, al remayne sad for the mony
they cary away. Truly it is a iust sentence
of the goddess, that those which haue taken
vayne pleasures together, do wepe after-
wardes for their losses senerallye. At this
present I will write no moze vnto the, but
that I send the this lette written in Greke,
to the ende thou mayst reade it to all those
of that ple. And thou shalt immediatlye
dispatche the shippes, to the ende they carpe
the prouisions to the men of warre in Illi-
ria. Peace be with the Lambert, helth and
good fortune to me Marke.

The senate saluteth the, and do send the the
propogatio of the gouernment for the next
yere. In the calēdes of January, thou shalt

saye Gaude foelix. My wiffe Faustine
commendeth her to the, and sendeth the for
thy daughter a riche girdel. In payment
of thy seruices, I send the .ii. rich iowelles,
ii. lighte horses, and one laden with .4000.
sesterces. Pareus of mount Cellio, with
his owne hand writteth vnto the.

The .xlviij. Chapter.

That princes and noble men
ought to remember that they
are mortal, and must dye, vvhether
are fundrye notable consolaty-
ons agaynst the feare of death.



Leobole and Biton
were the sonnes of a re-
nowmed woman, the
whiche was nunne to
the goddess Iuno: and
when the daye of that so-
lemne feast was celebrated, her chyldren
prepared a chariote, wherein their mother
should go to the temple

For the Grekes had this custome, the daye
that the priestes went to offer anye sacrific-
ces, eyther they were carped on meynes or
mes, or in chariottes

They adourned their temples so well, they
esteemed theyr sacrifices so much, and didde
so much honour theyr priestes: that if anye
pypst did set his foote on the grounde, that
daye they didde not permitte him to offer
anye sacryfices to the goddess.

It chaunced as this nunne went in her
chariote, and her chyldren Cleobele and
Biton with her, the beastes whiche drew
the chariote, sodaynly fell downe deade. .x.
miles fro the temple of the goddess Iuno.
The chyldren seing the beastes dead, & that the
mother could not go on foze, & the chariote

THE DIAL

was algedy, and that there were no beastes to draue it: they (as long children) determined to poke theym selves, and draue the chariote, as if they had bene some beastes. And as the mother caried the .ii. monethes in her wombe, so did they draue her in the chariote .x. miles. For so that they passed throughte infinite nombre of menne, to the great feast of the goddess Luno: euery man seeing Cleobole and Biton poked in the chariote like beastes, were greatly amazed, sayeng that these .ii. children deserved with great rewardes to be recompensed. And truly they sayd iustly, and so they deserved it. For they deserved as much to be prayesed for the example which they shewed to all children to reuerence their parentes: as for carping their mother in the chariote to the temple. So after that the feaste was ended, the mother not knowing howe to requite the benefite of her children, with many teares besought the goddess Luno, that she with the other goddess would be contented, to geue her .ii. children the best thing that the goddess could geue to their frendes. The goddess Luno answered her that she was contented to requite the other goddess, and that they would do it. And the reward was, that for this noble acte the goddess ordeyned, that Cleobole and Biton should slepe one daye well and in the morning when they should wake, they should dye.

The mother pitifully bewaylinge the death her children: and complayninge of the goddess, the goddess Luno sayd vnto her Thou hast no cause why to complayne, for we haue geuen thee what thou hast demanded: & thou hast demanded what which we haue geuen thee. I am a goddess, & I art my seruant and therefore the goddess haue geuen to thy children the thing, which they count most deare, which is death. For the greatest reuenge which amongst vs goddess we can take of our enemies, is to let theym lye longe, and the best thing that we kepe for

our frendes, is to make them die quickely. The authour of this history, is called Hierarcho in his politikes, & Cicero in his first booke of his Tusculanes. In the ple of Delphos, where the oracle of the goddess Apollo was, there was a sumptuous temple, the which for want of reparation fell downe to the ground (as oftentimes it chaunceth to highe and sumptuous buildinges) which from time to time are not repayed. For if the walles, dungeons, castelles, and strong houses could speake, as wel would they complayne for that they do not reuew them, as the old men do for that we do not cherishe them. Triphon, and Agamendo were .ii. noble personages of Grece, & counted for sage, and riche men: the which went vnto the temple of Apollo, & built it newe againe, as wel with the labour of their persones, as with the greates expences of their goods. When the building was atchiued, the god Apollo sated vnto them, that he rewarded well their good seruice, wherefore he would they should demand him any thinge in rewarde of their trauayle, and with a good will it should be graunted. For the gods vse, for a litel seruice, to geue a great reward. Triphon, and Agamendo, answered vnto the god Apollo, that for their good will, for their trauayle, and for their expences, they demanded no other reward but that it would please him to geue them the best thinge that mighte be geuen vnto man, and that vnto them were most profit: sayenge, that the miserable men haue not the power to eschewe the euill, nor wisdom to chouse the good. The god Apollo answered, that he was contented to paye them their seruice, which they had done, to graunt them that, which they had demanded. By reason wherof, Triphon & Agamendo hauing dined, todaynly at the gates of the temple fel downe dead. So that the rewarde of their trauayle, was to plucke them out of their miserie. The ende to declare these .ii. examples is to shew that all moztall

moztall men maye knowe, that there is no thing so good in this world, as to haue an end of this life: and though to lose it there be no sauour, yet at the leasse there is profite. For we would repproue a traunapler of great folishnes, if sweating by the waye he would singe: and after at his iourneys end he should begin to wepe. Is not he simple, which is sozry for that he is comen into the haueyn: is not he simple, that geneth the barraste, and sigheth for that he hath gotten the victoꝝy. Is not he stubburne, which is in great distresse, and is angry to be succoured: Therfoze, moze folishe, simple, & stubborne is he, which traunapleth to dye, and is loth to mete with death.

For death is the true refuge, the perfecte health, the sure haueyn, the whole victoꝝy, the fleshe without bones, the without scales, and cozne without strawe: finally, after death we haue nothing to bewaile, and much lesse to desire.

In the tyme of Adrian the emperour, a philosopher called Secundus (being marueylously learned) made an oracion at his buriall, who spake exceeding much euell of life, and marueylous much good of death: And when the emperour demaunded him what death was, the philosopher answered, death is an eternal slepe, a dissolution of the body, a terrour of the riche, a despyze of the poore, a thing inheritable, a pilgrymage vncertayne, a thiese of men, a kinde of sleping, a shadowe of lyfe, a seperacion of the liuing, a company of the dead, a resolution of all, a reste of traunaples, and the ende of all idel desires. Finally, death is the scourge of the euell, and the chiese reward of the good.

Truly this philosopher spake very wel, and he should not do euell, which profoundly would consider that he had spoken. Seneca in an epistle declareth, of a philosopher whose name was Bassus, to whom when they demaunded what euell a man can haue in death, since men feare it so much, he an-

swered. If anye damage or feare is in him who dieth, it is not for the feare of death: but for the vice of him whiche dieth. We maye agre to that the philosopher sayde, that euen as the deafe can not indge harmony, nor the blinde colours: so likewise they can not say euell of death, in especiall he, whiche neuer tasted it. For of all those which are dead, none returned agayne to complayne of death: and of these selue that liue, al complayne of life. If any of the dead returned hither to speake with the liuing and as they haue proued it, so they would tell vs. If there were any harme in secrete death, it were reason to haue some feare of death: But though a man that neuer sawe, hard, felte, nor tasted death, dothe speake euell of death, shoulde we therfoze feare death: Those ought to haue done some euell in their life, which do feare and speake euell of death. For in that laste houre, in the straight iudgement, the good shalbe knowen and the euell discovered. There is no prince nor knight, rich nor poore, whole nor sicke, luckye nor vnlucky, which I se with their vocations to be contented, saue onely the dead, which in their graues are in peace & rest, and are neither cunctous, proude, negligent, bayne, ambitious, nor dissolute. So the state of the dead ought to be best, since we se none therein to be euell consyded. And since therfoze those which are poore do seke wherewith to enriche theym selues, those which are sad, do seke wherby to reioyce, & those which are sicke do seke to be healed, why is it, that those which haue such feare of death, do seke some remedy agaynst that feare: In this case I would say, y he which wil not feare to die, let him vse him selfe wel to liue. For y gyles taketh away feare fro death. The deuine Plato demaunded Socrates howe he behaued him selfe in life, & howe he would behaue him selfe in death, he answered. I let the wete y in youth I haue traunapled to liue wel, & in age I haue studied to die well, and syth my lyfe hath bene

THE DIAL

ben honest, I hope my death shall be ioyful and though I haue had sorow to liue, I am sure I shall haue no payne to dye. Trulpe these wordes were worthy of suche a man. Men of stout hartes suffer marueylously, when the swette of their traunple is not rewarded when they are saythfull: and their reward aunswereth nothinge to their seruice, when for their good seruices they become vnfaithfull frendes. When they are honourable men, and they giue theym no place mete for their estate. For the noble and balaunt hartes, do not esteeme to lose the rewarde of their labour: but thinke much vnkindnes, when a man doth not acknowledge their traunple. Whyppe are they that dye: for without inconuenience, & without paine euery man is in his graue. For in this tribunall, iustice to all is so equally obserued: that in the same place where we haue deserued life, in the same place we merited death. There was neuer no: neuer shall be iudge so iuste, no: in iustice so vpright, that geue reward by weight, and payne by measure: but sometimes they chaunge the innocent and absolue the gilty, they bere the faultlesse, and dissemble with the culpable. For little anapler is the pleyntiffe to haue good iustice: if conscience want to the iudge that should minister. Trulpe it is not so in the death, but all ought to counte them selves happy. For he which shall haue good iustice shall be sure on his parte to haue the sentence. When great Cato was censour in Rome a famous Romayne died, who shewed at his death a merueylous courage: and when the Romaynes prayesed him for that he had so great vertue, and for the wordes he had spoken, Cato the Censour laughed at that they sayde, for that they prayesed him. And he beinge demaunded the cause of his laughter, aunswered. Ye maruayle at that I laughe, and I laugh at that you maruayle. For the perilles and traunples, considered wherein we liue, and the safety wherein we

dye. I saye, that it is no moze needfull to haue vertue and strength to liue, then courage to die. The autho: herof is Plutarche in his apothegmes. We can not saye, but that Cato the Censour spake as a wise man. Thus dayly we see, shamefast and vertuous persons suffer hunger, cold, thirst, traunple, pouerty, inconuenience, sorowes, enemies and mishappes: of the whiche thinges, we were better to see end in one daye, then to suffer the euery houre. For it is lesse euill to suffer an honest death: then to endure a miserable life. Whow small consideration haue men to thinke, that they ought to dye but ons. Sins the trouthe is, that the daye when we are borne, and come into the world is the beginninge of our death: and the laste day is when we do ceasse to liue. If death be no other, but an ending of life, then reason perswadeth vs to thinke, that our infancy dieth, our childehode dieth, our manhode dyeth, and our age shall dye: whereof we maye consequentye conclude, that we dye euery yere, euery daye, euery houre, and euery moment. So that thinkinge to leade a sure life, we tast a new death. I knowe not whye, menne feare so muche to dye, sins that from the tyme of their birth, they seeke none other thing but death. For time neuer wanted to any man to die, neyther I knowe anye man that euer soyled of this waye. Seneca in an epistle declareth that as a Romayne woman lamented the death of a childe of hers, a philosopher sayd vnto her. Woman why be wayless thou thy childe: she answered I wepe because he hath lyued, xxb. yeres, and I would he should haue liued, liued. l. For amongst his mothers, we loue our chldren so hartely, that we neuer cease to behold them, no: yet end to bewaile them. When the philosopher sayd. Tell me I pray the woman, why dost thou not complayne of the goddes, because they created not thy sonne manye yeres before he was borne: as wel as thou complaynest that they haue not let him lyue other. l. yeres

res: Thou wepest, that he is dead so sone: and thou doest not lament, that he is bozne so late. I tel the true woman, that as thou doest not lamente for the one, no moze thou oughtest to be soze for the other. For without the determination of the gods, we can not chozen death: and muche lesse lengthen lyfe. So Plinie saied in an Epistle, that the chesest lawe which the gods haue geuen to humaine nature, was that none shuld haue perpetuall life. For with disordynate desire to liue longe, we should neuer reioyce to go oute of this payne. Two philosophers disputinge befoze the greate emperour Theodose, the one saied that it was good to procure death: and the other likewise sayed, it was a necessary thinge to hate lyfe. The good Theodose takinge hym by the hande saied. All we mortalles are so extreme in hatinge, and lousuge: that vnder the coloure to loue, and hate lyfe, we leade an euill lyfe. For we suffer so many trauayles for to perserue it, that sometymes it were much better to lose it: And further he saied, tyuers bayne men are come into so greate follies, that for feare of death, they procure to hasten death. And hauinge consyderation to this, me semeth that we ought not greatlye to loue lyfe, nor with dysperacion to seke death. For the stronge, and ballaunte men, ought not to hate lyfe so longe as it lasteth: nor to be displeased with death, whē he cometh. All commēded that which Theodose spake, as Paulus Diaconus sayeth in hys life. Let every man speake what he wil, and let the philosophers counsaile what they list, in my poze iudgement, he alone shal receiue death with out payne: who longe befoze is prepared to receiue the same. For sodayne death is not onely bytter to him whiche tasteth it: but also it feareth hym that hateth it. Lactancius sayed that in such sorte man ought to lyue, as if from hence an houre after he should dye. For those men which wil haue death befoze their eyes, it is impossible that they geue place to balne thoughtes. In

my opinion, and also by the aduise of Aurelius, it is as truche follye to shewe that he cannot flye: as to desire that he can not stayne. And this is spoken for those, that woulde flye the byage of death whiche is necessary: and desire to come againe, which is impossible. Those that trauayle by long wayes, if they wante anye thinge, they borrowe it of their company. If they haue forgotten oughte, they retourne to seke it at their lodginge, or els they wyte vnto their frendes a letter. But I am soze if we ons dye, they wyl not let vs retourne againe, we can not speake, and they wyl not agre we shall wyte: but suche as they shal fynde vs, so shal we be iudged. And that whiche is moste fearefull of all, the execucion and sentence is geuen in one daye. Let Princes and greate Lordes beleue me in this. Let them not leaue that vndone tyll after their death: whiche they maye doe duringe their lyfe. And let them not truste in that they commaunde: but in that whyles they lyue they doe. Let them not truste in the workes of another: but in their owne good deades.

For in the ende, one sighte shal be more wothe, then all the frendes of the wo:ld. I counsaile, pray, and exhozte all wyse and vertuons men, and also my selfe with them, that in suche sorte we liue, that at the houre of death, we maye say we lyue, for we can not say that we liue, when we liue not wel. For al that tyme which without profite we shall lyue, shall be counted vnto vs for nothinge.

The .xlix. Chapter.

Of the death of Marcus Aurelius the Emperoure and howe that there are fewe frendes vvhiche dare saye the troth to sickemen.

THE DIALL



He good Emperoure Marcus Aurelius now be-
ing aged, not only for great
yeares he had: but also for the
great trauailes he had in the
warres endured. It chaunced, that in the
xviii. yeare of his Empire; and lxxii. yeares
from the day of his birthe, and of the founda-
cion of Rome .v. hundredeth, xliii. beinge
in the warre of Pannonye (whiche at this
tyme is called Hungary) beseiging a fa-
mous Citie called Vendeborne, sodainly
a disease of the palsey toke him, which was
suche, that he losse his lyfe, and Rome her
Prince, the best of life that euer was bozne
therein. Amonge the heathen princes some
had more force then he, other possessed more
riches then he, other were as aduenturous
as he, and some haue knowe as much as he:
but none hath ben of so excellent and vertui-
ous a life, nor so modest as he. For his life
beinge examyned to the bittermost, there are
many princely vertues to follow, and se-
ueral vices to reprove. The occasion of his death
was, y going one night aboute his campe,
sodainely the disease of the palsey toke hym
in his arme: so that from thenceforward he
could not put on his golde: nor drawe his
sword, & muche lesse carry a staffe. The good
emperour beinge so laden w yeres, & no lesse
with cares, the sharpe wynter appocheinge
more & more, greates aboundaunce of water
and snow fel aboute the tentes: so that ano-
ther disease fel vpon him, called Litargie,
the which thing much abated his courage,
and in his hoaste caused great sorowe. For
he was so beloued of al, as if he had ben his
owne children. After that he had proued al
medicynes and remedies that coulde be
founde, and al other thinges, which vnto so
gret and myghty princes were accustomed
to be done, he perceiued in the end, y all re-
medy was past. And the reaso here of was,
because his sicknes was exceeding behemēt,
and he him selfe very aged. y ayeer ynholde,
and aboue all, because sorowes & cares op-

pressed his hart. Without doubte, greater
is the dyscase that procedeth of sorow, then
that, which procedeth of y feuer quartaine.
And therof ensueth, y more easely is he cu-
red, which of corrupte humours is ful: then
he, which w psofoud thoughtes is oppressed.
The emperour the beinge sicke in his cham-
ber, & in such sorte that he could not exercise
the seates of armes (as his mē ranne out of
their campe to scrimedge, & the Hungariōs
in like maner to defend, the fight on both par-
tes was so cruel, though the great effusion
of blood, y neither the Hungariō had cause
to reioice, nor yet y romaine to be mery in
vnderstanding the euil order, of his & especial-
ly that, v. of his Captaynes were slayne in
that conflicte, and that he for his dyscase
could not be there in person: suche sorowes
perished his harte, that althoughe he desired
for the with to hane dyed, yet he remayned
two dayes, and. iiii. nightes, withoute that
he would se lighte, or speake vnto any man
of his. So that the heate was much. the rest
was small, the sighes were continual, and
the thirte very greates: the meate lytle, and
the slepe lesse, and aboue all, his face was
wrynckled, and his lippes very blacke.

Sometimes he cast vp his eyes, and ano-
ther tyme he wronge his handes: alwayes
he was sylente, and continually he sighed.
His tonge was swollen, that he could not
spyrte: and his eyes verpe hallooe with
weppinge. So that it was a greates ppyte, to
se his death: and no lesse compassion, to se
the confuson of his pallace, and the hinde-
raunce of the warre. Many halpaunte cap-
taines, many noble Romaines, many faith-
ful sernauntes, and many olde frendes, at
all these heauines were presente. But none
of them durste speake to the Emperoure
Marke, partelye for that they toke him to
be so sage, that they knewe not what coun-
saile to geue hym: and partelye, for that
they were so sorowfull, that they coulde
not restryne their heauye teares. For the
louynge, and true frendes, in their lyfe
ought

ought to be beloued: and at their death, to be betwayled. Greate compassion oughte men to haue of those which die, not for that we se them dye: but because there are none that telleth them what they oughte to doe. Princes, and greate lordes, are in greater peryll when they dye: then the Plebeians.

For the counsayloure dare not tell vnto his Lorde at the houre of death, that which he knoweth: and muche lesse he wyl tel hym howe he oughte to dye, and what thinges he oughte to dyscharge whyles he is alive. Manye goe to visite the sicke, that I woulde to God they wente some other where. And the cause hereof is, that they se the sicke mans eyes hallowe, the fleashe dyed, the armes with oute fleashe, the colour enflamed, the ague continaill, the payne greate, the tonge swollen, nature consumed, and besydes all this, the house destroyed: and yet they saye vnto the sicke man, be of good chere, I warraunte you, you shall lyue. As yonge men naturallie desire to lyue, and as death to all olde men is dyedfull: so thoughe they see them selues in that dysfresse, yet they refuse no medycine, as thoughe there were greate hope of lyfe.

And thereof ensueth oftentimes, that the myserable creatures departe the worlde, withoute confessing vnto god, and making restitution vnto men. If those which doe this, knewe what euill they doe. For to take awaye my goods, to trouble my person, to blemyshe my good name, to slea under my parentage, and to reprove my lyfe, these woorkes are of cruell enemyes: but to be occasion to loose my soule, it is the worke of the deuyl, of hel. Certainly he is a deuyl, which deceyueth the sicke with flatterers: and that in steede to heale hym to dye well, putteth hym in bayne hope of long lyfe. Herein he that sayeth it, winneth litle: and he that beleneth it, aduentureth muche. To mortall men it is moze mere, to geue coun-

sayls, to reforme their consciences with the trueth: then to hatarde their houses with lies. With our frendes we are shamelesse in their lyfe, and also bashfull at their death. The which oughte not to be so.

For if oure fathers were not dead, and that we dyd not daylye see these that are presente dye: me thinketh it were a shame, and also a feare, to saye that he alone shuld dye. But since thou knowest as wel as he, and he knoweth as well as thou, that al do trauaile in this peryllous iourney: what shame haste thou to saye vnto thy frende, who is now at the laste poynte, if the dead shoulde now reuyue, howe woulde they complaine of their frendes? And this for no other cause, but for that they wold not gyue thein good counsaile at their death.

For if the sicke man be my frende, and that I see peraduenture he wyl dye: why shall not I counsaile hym to prepare hym selfe to dye? Certainly oftentimes we see by experyence, that those which are prepared, and are readye for to dye doe escape: and those which thinke to lyue, doe perishe. What shuld they do which go to visite the sicke: perswade them that they make their testaments, that they confesse their synnes, that they discharge their conscience, that they receyue the sacramentes, and that they doe reconcile them selues to their enemyes. Certainly, all these thinges charge not the launce of death, nor cut not the thred of lyfe. I neuer sawe blindnes so blynde, nor ignorance so ignorant, as to be ashamed to counsaile the sicke, that they are bound to doe when they are hole.

As we haue saied here aboue, Princes, and great Lordes, are those aboue al other that lyue and dye mosse abusedly.

And the cause is, that as their seruantes haue no hartes to perswade them when they are merre: so haue they no audacity to tel them trueth, when they are in peril.

For such seruantes care lyfe, so that their

THE DIAL

masters be queath them anye thinge in
 their wylls, whether they dye wel, or lyue
 euill. What myserye, and ppyte is it to
 see a Prince, a Lorde, a gentleman, and
 a ryche person dye, if they haue no faithfull
 frende aboute them, to helpe them to passe
 that payne: And not without a cause I say,
 that he oughte to be a saythfull frende. For
 manye in oure lyfe doe gaze after oure
 goods: and selue at oure death are soze for
 oure offences. The wyse and sage men, be-
 fore nature compellerh them to dye, of their
 owne wyll oughte to dye. That is to wete,
 that before they see them selues in the pangs
 of death, they haue their consciences
 readye prepared. For if we counte hym a
 foole, whiche wyll passe the sea withoute
 a shyppe: trulye we wyll not counre hym
 wyse, whiche taketh hys death without any
 preparaciō before. What loseth a wise man
 to haue hys wyll well ordeyned: in what ad-
 uenture of honour is any mā, before death,
 to reconcile him selfe to his enemies: and to
 those whom he hath borne hate and malice?
 What loseth he of hys credite, who in hys
 lyfe tyme restoreth that, whiche at his death
 they wil commaund him to render: wherin
 may a man shew him selfe to be moze wise,
 then when willingly he hath discharged
 that, whiche afterwarde by proces they wil
 take from him: How many Princes, and
 great lordes are there, whiche onely not for
 spēding one day about their testamēt, haue
 caused their chyldre, and heires, all hys dayes
 of their lyfe to be in trauerse in the lawe:
 So that they supposynge to haue leste their
 chyldren wealthy: haue not leste them, but
 for atturnyes, and counsaylours of the law.
 The true, and vnsayned Christian, ought
 euerye moynynge so to dyspose hys goods,
 and correcte hys lyfe: as if he shoulde dye
 the same nyght. And at nyght in lyke
 maner he oughte so to commyt him selfe to
 God, as if he hoped for no lyfe untill moyn-
 ynge. For to save the trowthe, to susteine
 life, there are infinite trauailes; but to mete

death, there is but one way. If they wil cre-
 dite my wordes, I would counsaile no man
 in suche estate to lyue: that for anye thinge
 in the world, he shoulde vndoe him selfe. The
 riche and the poze, the greate and the smal,
 the gentlemen and the Plebeians, all sape
 and sweare, that of death they are exceding
 fearefull. To whom I say, & affirme, that he
 alone fereth death, in whō we se amēdment
 of life. Princes, and greate lordes, ought al-
 so to be perfect, before they be perfect, to end
 before they ende, to dye before they dye, and
 to be mortified before they be mortified. If
 they doe this with them selues, they shal as
 easely leaue their life: as if they chaunged
 frō one house to another. For hys mosse parte
 of men, delighe to talke wth laisour, to d^{yn}ke
 wth laisour, to eate wth laisour, & to slepe
 wth laisour: but they die in haste. For with-
 out cause I sape they dye in haste, since we
 see them receiue the sacraments in haste,
 make their wylls by force, and with spede
 to confesse and receiue. So that they take it,
 and demaunde it so late, and so withoute
 reason: that oftentymes they haue lost their
 senses, and are readye to geue by the spi-
 rite, when they brynge it vnto them.
 What auasleth it the shyppe maister, after
 the shyppe is sonke: what do weapōs auasle,
 after the battaille is loste? What auasleth
 pleasours, after men are deade? By that I
 haue spoken, I will demaund, what it auai-
 leth the sicke, beinge heauye wth slepe, and
 berefte of their senses, to call confessours,
 to whom they cōfesse their synnes: Euel shal
 he be confessed, whiche hath no vnderstan-
 dinge to repent him selfe. What auasleth
 it to call the confessor, to vnderstande the
 secreete of his conscience: when the sicke
 man hath loste his speache: Let vs not de-
 ceine oure selues, saleng in our age, we wil
 amende here after: and make restitution at
 oure death. For in mine opinion, it is not
 the pointe of wyse men, nor of good christi-
 ans, to desire so muche tyme to offend: and
 they wyll neuer espye anye to amende.

Woulde

I woulde to God, that the thirde parte of
 tyme which men occupy in sinne, were em-
 ployed about the medytations of death: and
 the cares whiche they haue to accompysh
 their fleshly lustes, were spent in betway-
 linge their filchy sinnes. I am very sorre
 at my harte, that they so wickedly passe
 their life, in vices and pleasures: as if there
 were no God, to whom they should render
 accounte for their offences. All worldeli-
 nges willingly doe sinne, vppon hope onely
 in age to amende, and at death to repent:
 but I woulde demaunde him, that in this
 hope sinned, what certaintye he hath in age
 of amendemente, and what assurance he
 hath to haue longe warning before he dye.
 Since we se by experyence, there are mo in
 number whiche dye yong, then old: it is no
 reason we should commit so manye sinnes
 in one day, that we should haue cause to la-
 ment afterwarde all the rest of oure lyfe.
 And afterwarde to betwayne the sinnes of
 oure longe lyfe, we desire no more but one
 space of an houre. Considerynge the omni-
 potencie of the deuine merce, it sufficeth,
 ye and I say, that the space of an houre is to
 much, to repent vs of oure wicked life: but
 yet I would coufesse all, since the sinner for
 to repēt taketh but one houre, that he be not
 the last houre. For the sighes, & repentaunce,
 which procede fro the botom of the hartes,
 penetrate the high heuens: but those which
 come of necessity, doth not perse the sealing
 of the house. I allow, & commend, that those
 that visite the sicke, do counsaile them to co-
 fesse them selues, to receiue the sacrament,
 to praye vnto god, and to forgiue men, to
 commend them selues to the prayers of
 saintes, and to repent their sinnes, finally
 I say, that it is very good to doe all this: but
 yet I say it is better, to haue done it before.
 For the diligent, and careful Pirate, pre-
 pareth for hē tempest, whē the sea is calme.
 He that depely would consider, howe lytell
 the Gods of this lyfe are to be esteemed: let
 hym goe to se a riche man when he dyeth,

and what he doeth in his bed. And he shall
 finde, that the wise demaundeth her dowry,
 the daughter the thirde parte, the other the
 fifte, the childe the prehemynence of age, the
 sonne in lawe his maryage, the physicion his
 duty, the slaue his libertye, the seruantes
 their wages, the credytours their debtes,
 and the worst of all is, that none of those
 that oughte to inherite his goods, wyl geue
 hym one glasse of water. Those that shall
 here or rede this, oughte to consyder, that
 that which they haue sent done at the death
 of their neighbours: the same shall come to
 them, when they shall be sicke at the pointe
 of death. For so sone as the ryche thyteth
 his eyes, forthwith there is greate strife be-
 twene his chldren for his goods. And this
 strife is not to vnburthen hys soule: but
 whiche of them shall inherite moste of hys
 possessions. In this case, I wil not my penne
 trauaile any further, since bothe riche and
 poore, daylye se the experyence herof. And in
 thinges very manifest, it sufficeth only for
 wyle men to be put in memoire, withoute
 waisting any more tyme to perswade them.
 Now the emperoure Marcus Aurelius had
 a secretarie very wyle, & vertuous, through
 whose handes the affaires of the empire pas-
 sed. And when this secretarie saw his lord,
 and master, so sicke, & almost at the houre of
 death, & that none of his parētes nor frēdes
 durst speake vnto him: he plainly determy-
 ned to do his duty, where, in he shewed very
 wel the profound knowledge he had in wis-
 dom, and the great good wil he bare to hys
 lord. This secretarie was called Panucius,
 the vertues and life of whom, Sextus Che-
 ronences in the life of Marcus Aurelius
 declareth.

The .i. Chapter.

Of the faithful vvordes, vvich Pa-
 nutius spake to the Emperoure
 Marcus Aurelius at the houre
 of his death.

THE DIALL



My lord, and mayster,
my tonge cannot kepe silence,
myne eyes cannot refrayne
from bitter teares, nor my
harte leaue from fetchynge
sighes, ne yet reason can ble his durpe. For
my blood boyleth, my sinnewes are dyed,
my pores be open, my hart both saynte, and
my spirite is troubled. And the occasion of
al this is, so se that the wholesome counsa-
les which thou giest to others: either thou
canst not, or wyl not take for thy selfe. I see
the dye my lord, and I dye so: that I can-
not remedye the. For if the Gods woulde
haue graunted me my request, so: the leng-
theninge of thy lyfe one daye: I woulde geue
willingly my whole lyfe. Whether the so:
rowe be true, or sayned, it nedeth not. I de-
clare vnto þ with wordes, since thou maist
manifestlye decerne it by my countenance.
For my eyes with teares are wet, & my hart
with sighes is very heauy. I fele muche the
wante of thy company, I fele muche the do-
mage which (of thy death) to the whole com-
mon wealthe shal ensue, I fele muche thy so-
rowe which in thy pallace shal remayne, I
fele muche so: that Rome this daye is vn-
done: but that which aboue all thinges doth
mooste tormente my harte, is to haue seene
the lyue as wyle, and now to see the dye
as symple. Tell me I praye the, my lord,
why doo men learne the greke tonge, tra-
uaile to vnderstande the hebrew, sweate in
the latin, chaunge so many maisters, turne
so many bookes, and in studye consume so
much money and so many peres: if it were
not to knowe howe to passe lyfe with hono-
r, and take deathe with payence. The ende
why men ought to study, is to learne to liue
wel, for there is no truer science in man,
than to knowe howe to order his lyfe well.
What profiteth it me to knowe muche, if
therby I take no profite: what profiteth me
to knowe straunge languages, if I refraine
not my tonge fro other mens matters: what
profiteth it to study many bookes, if I study

not but to begyle my frendes: what profiteth
it to knowe the influence of the starres, and
the course of the elementes: if I cannot kepe
my selfe from vices: finally I say, that it ly-
eth auayleth to be a maister of the sage: if se-
cretely he be reported, to be a solower of
fooles: the chiefe of al philosophy consisteth,
to serue God, & not to offend me. I aske the,
mooste noble Prince, what auayleth it the
Pilot, to knowe the arte of saylynge: and
after in a tempest, by negligence to perishe.
What auayleth it the balyaunte captayne,
to raile muche of warre: and afterwarde
he knoweth not howe to geue the battayle.
What auayleth it the guide, to tel the newe
way: and afterwarde in the myddest to lose
him selfe. All this whiche I haue spoken, is
sayed for the my lord. For what auayleth it
that thou being in health, shouldest sigh for
death: since nowe when he doeth appoche,
thou wepest because thou woldest not leaue
life. One of the thinges wherin þ wise man
sheweth his wysdome, is to knowe howe to
loue, and how to hate. For it is great light-
nes (I should rather saye folle) to daye to
loue hym, whom yesterdaye we hated: and
to morowe to sclaunder hym, whom this
daye we honoured. What Prince so high,
or what Plebeian so base hathe there bene,
or in the worlde shal euer be, the whiche
hathe so lytell (as thou) regarded lyfe: and
so hyghlye commendyd death. What thin-
ges haue I wyrtten (beinge thy secretaire)
with my owne hande, to dyuers prynces
of the worlde: where thou speakest so much
good of death, that sometymes thou maketh
me to hate lyfe. What was it to see the
letter whiche thou wrotest to the noble Ro-
mayne Claudine, wydowe, comfortynge
her of the death of her husband, which dyd
in the warres. Wherein she answered,
That she thought her trouble comeforthe, to
deserue that thou shouldest wryte nowe her
such a letter.

What a pytyfull and lanoxye letter hast
thou wyrtten to Antigonus, on the death

of thy child Verillimus thy sonne so much desired. Whose deathe thou tokest so, that thou erredest the limites of philosophy: but in the ende, with thy princely vertues thou biddest qualifie thy woful sorowes. What sentences so profound, what wordes so wel couched diddest thou write in that booke entituled *The remedy of the sorrowfull* the whiche thou diddest send from the warre of Asia, to the senators of Rome: and that was to comforte them, after a sore plague. And howe much profite hath thy doctrine done sins: with what newe kinde of consolation hast thou comforted Helius Fabatus censor, when his sonne was drowned in the river: where I do remember, that when we entred into his house, we founde him weeping: and when we went from thence, we left him laughing. I do remember, that when thou wentest to visite Gneus Rusticus in his last disease, thou spakest vnto him so effectuously, that with the vehemency of thy wordes, thou madest hys teares to runne downe his chekes. And I demanding him the occasions of his lamentacions, he sayd.

The emperour my lord, hath told me so much evilles that I haue wonne, and of so much good that I haue lost, that if I wepe I wepe not for life, which is short, but for death which is long. The manne whom above all thou hast loved, was Torquatus, whom thou diddest obeye as thy father, and seruedst as thy master. This thy sayefull friend being ready to dye, and desiringe yet to liue, thou sendest to offer sacrifices to the goddes, not for that they shoulde graunt him life but that they shauld hasten his death. Herewith I being astonied, thy noblenesse to satisfy my ignorance, sayd vnto me in secreete these wordes. Marcellus Panutius, to se me offer sacrifices to haste my frendes death: and not to prolonge his life. For there is nothing that the sayefull friend ought so much to desire to his true friend: as to se him ridde from the trauayles of this earth, and to enioye the pleasures of

heauen. Why thinkest thou, moste noble prince, that I reduce all these thinges to thy memory, but for to demaund the howe it is possible, that I whiche haue hearde the speake so wel of death, do presently see the so unwilling to leaue life: sins the goddes command it, thy age willet it, thy disease doth cause it, thy feeble nature doth permit it, the sinful Rome doth deserue it, and the fickle fortune agreeth, that for our great miserie, thou shouldest die. Why therfore sighest thou so much, for to dye? The trauayles which of necessity must nedes come with thine harte ought to be receyued. The cowardly harte falleth before he is beaten downe: but the stout and valiant stomacke in greatestt perill, recouereth moste strength. Thou art one man and not two, thou oughtest one death to the goddes and not two: why wilt thou therfore, being but one paye for two, and for one only lyfe take two deathes, I meane that before thou endest life, thou diest for pure sorow. After that thou hast sayed, & in the sayting thou hast passed such perill, when the goddes do render the in the safe haven, ones agayne thou wilt runne into the raging sea, where thou scapest the victorie of life, and thou diest with the ambushmentes of death. Aris, peres hast thou fought in the felde, & neuer turned thy backe: and fearest thou now beinge enclosed in the graue: haste thou not passed the pykes and briers wherein thou hast been enclosed: and now thou tremblest beinge in the sure waye? Thou knowest what damage it is longe to liue, and now thou doutest of the profite of death whiche ensueth. It is now many peres, sins death and thou hast bene at defiance as mortal enemies: and now to laye thy handes on thy weapons, thou sleepest and turnest thy backe. Aris, peres are past, sins thou wert bent agaynst fortune: and now thou closest thy eyes, when thou oughtest ouer her to triumphe. By that I haue tolde the, I meane that sins we do not se the take death willingly

THE DIAL

willingly at this present: we do suspect y^e thy life hath not in times past bene very good.

For the man whiche hath no desire to appeare before the goddes: it is a token he is loaden with vices. What meanest thou, moste noble prince, whye wepest thou as an infant, and complaynest as a man in dispaire? If thou wepest because thou diest, I aunswere the, y^e thou laughedst as muche when thou liuedst. For of to muche laughing in the life, procedeth much weeping at the death. Who hath alwayes for his heritage, appropriated the places beinge in the common wealth? The vncostancy of the minde, who shal be so hardy to make steddye? I meane, that all are dead, all dye, and all shal dye: and amonge al wilt thou alone liue? Wilt thou obtayne of the goddes, that whych maketh them goddes? That is to wote, that they make the immortall, as the selues? Wilt thou alone haue by prynces ledge, that whych the goddes haue by nature? By p^rough demaunders thy age what thing is best, or to saye better, which is lesse euill: to dye well, or to lyue euill. I doubt that any manne maye attayne to the meannes to lyue well, accordyng to the contynual and variable troubles whych dayly we haue accustomed to cary betwene our handes, alwayes suffering hunger, cold, thirst, care, displeasures, temptacions, persecutiōs, euill fortunes, ouerthrowes, and diseases.

This can not be called life, but a longe deathe: and with reason we will call this life deathe, thus a thousande times we hate life. If an auncient man did make a shewe of this life, from time he is come out of the intrailes of his mother, untill the time he entreth into the bowels of the earthe, and that the body would declare all the sorowes that he hath passed, and the hart discover al the ouerthrowes of fortune, which he hath suffered. I imagine the goddes would maruaile, and men would wonder at the bodye which hath endured so much, and the harte which hath so greatly dissembled.

I take the Grekes to be more wise, whiche weepe when they children be bozne, and laugh when the aged dye: then the Romanes whiche singe when the children are bozne, and wepe when the old men dye.

We haue much reason to laugh, when the old men dye, sⁱns they die to laughe: and with greater reason we ought to wepe when the children are bozne, sⁱns they are bozne to wepe.

The .li. Chapter,

Pannutius the secratary exhorteth all men vwillinglye to accepte death,



Yns life is nowve condemned for euill, there remaineth nought els, but to approue death to be good. If it pleased the immortall goddes, that as I oftentimes haue hard the disputacions of this matter: so now that thou couldest therewith profite. But I am soye that to the sage, and wise man, counsaile sometimes (or for the most parte) wanteth. None ought to cleue so much to his owne opinion, but sometimes he should folow the counsaile of the third parson. For the man which in all thinges will folowe his owne aduise, ought well to be assured, that in all or the most part, he shal erre. O my lord Marke, sith thou art sage, liuely of spirits of great experience, and auncient, biddest not thou thinke, that as thou haddest buried many, so likewise some should burie thee. What imaginacions were thine, to thinke that seinge the ende of their dayes, others should not se the end of thy peres? Sins thou diest riche, honourably accompanied, old, and aboue all, seinge thou dyest in the seruice of the common wealth, whye starest thou to enter into thy graue?

The

Thou hast alwayes bene a frende as much to knowe thinges past: as those which were hid and kept secrete. Sins thou hast proued what honoures and dishonours do deserue riches and pouerty, prosperitie and aduersity, joy and sorow, loue and feare, bices and pleasures: me semeth that nothing remaineth to knowe, but that it is necessarie to know what death is. And also I sweare vnto y^e (most noble lord) that thou shalt learne moze in one houre, what death is: then in a hundred yerres what life meaneth. Sins thou art good, and presumest to be good, and hast lyued as good, is it not better that thou dye, and go with so many good: then that thou scape, and liue amongst so many euill? That thou felest death, I maruaile nothing at all, for thou art a man; but I do maruaile that thou dissemblest it not, sins thou art discrete. Many thinges do the sage men fele, which inwardly do oppresse their hart: but outwardly they dissemble theim, for the moze honour. If al the paynt which in y^e sorrowful hart is wrapped were in smal pieces in the feble flesch scattered: the walles would not suffice to rubbe, neither the nayles to scratche vs. What other thing is death, but a trappe or doore, wherewith to shutte the shoppe, wherin al the miseries of this woful life are vendible: What wrong or prejudice do the goddess vnto vs, when they call vs before them: but from an olde decayed house, to chaunge vs to a new builded pallace: And what other thinge is the graue, but a strong forte, wherin we shutte our selves from the assaultes of lyfe, and bypples of fortune. Truly, we ought to be moze desirous of that we find in death then of that we leaue in life. If Helia Fabricia thy wyfe do greue the, for that thou leauest her yonge, do not care, for she presently hath litle care of the perill, wherein thy lyfe dependeth. And in the ende, when she shall knowe of thy death, she wil be nothing grieved. Trouble not thy selfe for y^e she is lesse widowe. For yonge womē (as she is) which

are marked with olde men (as thou) when their husbendes dye: they haue their eyes on that they can robbe, and their hartes on them whom they desire to marry. And speaking with due respecte, when with they eyes they outwardly seme most sorow to bewaile: then with their hartes inwardly do they most reioyce. Deceyue not thy selfe in thinking that y^e emperesse thy wyfe is yonge, and that she shall finde none other Emperour with whom agayne she may marry.

For such, and the like, wil chaunge y^e cloth of golde, for gownes of skynnes. I meane, that they would rather the yonge shepheard in the felde: then the olde emperour, in his royal pallace. If thou takest sorow for the children whom thou leauest, I knowe not why thou shouldest do so. For trulye if it greue the now, for that thou dyest: they are moze displeased, for that thou liuest. The onely birde Phenix is he, which neuer desireth the death of his father: for that if he be yonge he maynteyneth him not, and if he be riche he desireth not his death to enherite the soner. Sins therfore it is true (as in dede it is) it semeth not wisdom that they sing, and thou wepe. If it greue the to leaue these goodlye pallaces, and these sumptuous buildinges, deceyue not thy selfe therein. For by the godde Iupiter I sweare vnto the, that sins that deathe dothe finish the, at the ende of lxxi. yerres: time shall consume these sumptuous buyldinges in lesse then xl. If it greue the to forsake the company of thy frendes, and neighbours, for them also take as litle thought, sins for that they wil not take any at al. For amongest y^e other cōpassiōs that they ought to haue of the deade, this is true, that scarcely they are buried, but of their frendes and neighbours they are forgotten. If thou takest great thought for that thou wilt not dye, as the other emperours of Rome are dead: me semeth that thou oughtest also to cast this sorow from the. For thou knowest ryght well, that Rome hath accustomed to be so
vnythankful

THE DIAL

Unthankful to those which serue her: that the great Scipio also, would not be buried therein. If it greene the to dye, to leaue so great a seignory, as to leaue the empire: I can not thinke that suche haustye be in thy head. For temperate, and reposed menne, when they escape from semblable offices, do not thinke that they lose honour: but y they be free, of a troublesome charge. Therfore if none of al these thinges moue y to desire life, what should let y y through thy gates enter not death? The one of y. ii. thinges which cause me to be loth to die is either y loue we haue, to y we leaue: or y feare of y we hope. Whins therfore there is nothing in this life woorthy of loue, nor any thinge in death why we shuld feare: why do me feare to die? According to the heauy sighes y fetchest y bitter teares y sheddest, according al so to the great payne thou shewest, for my part I thinke: that the thing in thy thought most forgotten was, that the goddes should commaund the to pay this debte. For admitt that al thinke that their life shal end yet no man thinketh that death will come so sone. For that men thinke neuer to dye, they neuer begin their faultes to amend: so that bothe life and faulte haue ende in the graue togethers. Knowest not thou (moste noble prince) that after the long night cometh the moost moorning: Most y not know y after y moost moorning, there cometh the clere son. Knowest not y, y after the cleare sonne, cometh the cloudy element: Dost thou not knowe, that after the darke myst there, cometh extreame heate: And that after the heate cometh the horrible thunders: and after the thunders the sodayne lighteninges, and that after the peryllous lighteninges, cometh the terrible hayle: Finally I saye, that after the tempestuous and troublesome time, commonly cometh cleare and faire weather. The order that tyme hath, to make him selfe cruel, and gentle: the selfe same oughte men to haue, to lyue and die. For after the infancy cometh childhode, after childhod cometh the youth,

after youth cometh age, and after age cometh the fearefull death: Finally, after the fearefull death, cometh the sure life, Whins I haue redde, and of the not sel-dome harde, that the goddes onely whiche had no begynnynge, shall haue also no endinge. Therfore me thinketh (moste noble prince) that sage men oughte not to desire to liue longe. For men which, desire to liue muche, eyther it is for that they haue not felt the traunyles passe, because they haue bene fooles: or for y they desire more time to geue them selues to vices. Thou myghtest not complayne of that, sins they haue not cut the in the floure of the herbe, nor taken the greene from the tree, nor cut the in the springe tide, and muche lesse eate the cager, before thou were ripe, By that I haue spokē, I meane, if death had called the to thy life was sweetest: though thou haddest not had reason to haue complained, yet thou mightest haue desired to haue altered it.

For it is a great grieve to saye vnto a yong man that he must dye, and for sake y world. What is this (my lord) now that the wall is decayed ready to fall, the flower is withered, the grape doth rotte, the terbe are loose the gotwe is woone, the laure is blant, the kniffe is dul, and dost thou desire to retorne into the world, as if thou haddest neuer knowen the world: he that will not be contented to liue, list. yeres in this death, or to die in this life: wilt not desire to die in 60000

The emperoure Augustus Octavian sayd, That after men had liued. l. yeres, eyther of theyr owne will they sought to dye: or els by force they should cause them selues to be killed. For at that time, all those which haue had any humaine felicity are at y best. Those which liue about y age passe their dayes in greuous toymes: As in the death of childre in y losse of goods, & impotunty of sonne in lawes, in mainteyning processe, in discharging debtes, in sighing for that is past, in bewapling y that is present, in dissembling iniuries, in hearing woeful newes, & in other infinite traunyles.

The lii. Chapter

So that it were much better to haue their eyes shutte in the graue: then their hartes and bodies aloue, to suffer so much in this miserable life. Him whom the goddes take from this myserable life, at the ende of 50. yeres, is quited from all these miseries of life. For after that time he is not weake, but croked, he goeth not, but roulerh, he stöbleth not, but fallerh. O my lord Marke, knowest thou not, that by the same waye wherby goeth death, death cometh: Knowest not: thou in like maner, that it is. 52. yeres that life hath fled from death: and that there is an other time asynche, that death goeth sekynge thy lyfe: and deathe goynge from Illiria where he leste a greare plague, and thou departinge from thy palayce. yf. nowe haue mette in Hungary, knowist not thou, that wher thou leapedste out of thy mothers intralles to gouerne the lande, immediately deathe leaped out of his graue to seeke thy lyfe. Thou hast alwayes presumed, not onely to be honozed: but also to be honozable, yf it be so, syns thou honoredst the Ambassadors of Princes which dyd sende them the more for they: prospte, then for thy seruice, why dost thou not honoure thys messenger whome the goddes send: more for thy profite, then for their seruices: Dost thou not remember well, whē Vulcane my sonne in latwe, popsoned me, more for the couetousnes of my goodes, thē any desire he had of my life: thou lord diddest come to comfort me in my chambze, & toldest me that the goddes were cruell, to stea the yong: and were pitiful, to take the old from this worlde. And thou saydest further these wordes. Comfort the Panutius.

For if thou were bozne to dye, now thou diest to liue. Syns therfore (noble prince) y I tel the that whiche thou toldest me, and counsaile the the same whiche thou counsayledst me: I render to the that, whiche thou hast geuen me. Finallye, of these bygnes, I haue gathered these clauers of grapes.

* The aunsvvere of the emperour Marcus, vwherein he declareth that he toke no thought to forsake the vvorlde: but all hys sorrowe vvas to leaue behind him an vnhappy child to enheryte the Empire.



Panutius blessed be the milke thou hast sucked in Dacia, the bread which thou hast eaten in Rome, the learning whiche thou hast learned in Grece, and the bringynge by whiche thou hast had in my pallace. For thou hast serued as a good seruaunt in life: and giuest me counsaile as a trusty frend at death. I commaund Cor modus my sonne to recompence thy seruice, and I beseeche the immortall goddes, that they acquite thy good counsailes. And not without good cause I charge my sonne with the one, and require the goddes of the other. For the payment of many seruices, one mā alone may do: but to pay one good counsaile it is requisite to haue all the goddes. The greatest good that a frend can do to his frend, is in some great and wayghty affayres, to geue him good and holsome counsaile. And not without cause I saye holsome. For commonly it chaunceth, that those which thinke with their counsaile to remedy vs: do pue vs oftentimes in greatest perylls. All the trauayles of lyfe are hard: but that of death is the most hardest and terrible. All are great, but this is the greatest. All are perillous, but this is most perillous. All in death haue end, except the trauayle of death, wherof we knowe no ende. That whiche I saye now, no man perfectly can knowe: but onely he which seeth him selfe, as I see
my

THE DIAL

my selfe now at the poynt of deathe. Certainly Panutius, thou hast spoken vnto me as a wise man: but for that thou knowest not my griefe, thou couldest not cure my disease, for my soze is not there, where thou hast layde the playster. The fistula is not there, where thou hast cut the fleshe. The opilation is not there, where thou hast layde the oyntmentes. There were not the righte baynes, where thou diddest let me blood. Thou hast not yet touched the wound which is the cause of al my griefe. I meane that thou oughtest to haue entered further withine, to haue knowen my griefe better. The sighes which the hart fetcheth (I say those which come from the hart) let not euery man thinke which heareth them, that he can immediately vnderstand them.

For as men cannot remedy the anguishes of the spirite: so the goddes likewise would not that they should knowe the secretes of the hart. Without feare or shame, manye dare saye, that they knowe the thoughte of others, wherein they shewe theym selues to be more fooles, then wise. For sins there are many thinges in me, wherein I my selfe dowte: howe can a straunger haue any certayne knowledge therein? Thou accusest me Panutius, that I feare death: greatlye the which I denie: but to feare it as man, I do confesse. For to deny that I feare not death should be to deny that I am not of fleshe. We se by experience, that the elephantes do feare the lion, the beare the Elephant, the wolfe the beare, the lambe the wolfe, the rat the catte, the cat the dogge, and the dogge the man: finallye the one and the other do feare for no other thinge, but for feare that one killeth not the other. When sins brute beastes refuse death, the which they thoughte they dye, feare not to fight with the furies, nor hope not to rest with the goddes: so muche the more oughte we to feare death, which dye in doubt, whether the furies will teare vs in pieces with their roymes, or the goddes will reueyue vs into

their houses with ioye. Thinkest thou Panutius, that I do not see wel that my vine is gathered, and that it is not hid vnto me, that my pallace fallerh in decay? I knowe well, that I haue not but the kinnell of the rason, and the skynne: and that I haue not but one sighe of all my life, vntill this time. There was great difference betwene me & the: and nowe there is great difference betwixt me and my selfe. For aboute the ensigne, thou dost place the armye. In the ryuers, thou castest thy nets, within the parkes, thou hunttest the bulles. In the shadow thou takest colde. By this I meane, that thou talkest so much of death: because that thou art sure of thy life. O miserable man that I am, for in shorte space, of all that in this life I haue possessed: with me I shal carry nothing, but onely my winding shete. Alas nowe shal I enter into the field, not where of the fierce beastes I shalbe assaulted: but of the hungrie wormes deuoured. Alas I se my selfe in that distresse, from whence my frayle fleshe can not escape. And if any hope remayne, it is in so deare. When I am sicke, I would not that he that is whole shoulde comforte me. When I am sorowful, I would not that he which is merry shoulde comforte me. When I am banished, I would not that he which is in prosperitie shuld comforte me. When I am at the houre of death, I would not that he shuld comforte me which is not in some suspiçon of life. But I would that the poore shuld comforte me in my pouerty, the sorowful in my sorowes, the banished in my banishment, and he which is in as great danger of his life, as I am now at the poynt of death. For there is no counsaile so healthfull, nor true: as that of the man which is in sorowe, when he counsaileth an other, which is likewise roymented him selfe. If thou considerest wel this sentence, thou shalte finde that I haue spoken a thing very profound, wherein notwithstanding my tongue is appeased. For in my opinion, euyl shal be comforted.

forsoed, which is weeping with him, that continually laugheth I say this, to chend thou knowe, that I knowe it: and that thou perceyue, that I perceyue it. And because thou shalt not lyue deceyued, as to my frende I will disclose the secretes: and thou shalt see, that smale is the sorowe whiche I haue, in respect of the great, whiche I haue cause to haue. For if reason had not cryed with sensualitye, the sighes had ended my lyfe, and in a ponde of teares, they had made my graue. The thinges whiche in me thou hast sene, whiche are to abhorre meate, to banyshe slepe, to loue care, to be anoyed with company, to take rest in sighes, and to take pleasour in teares: may easely declare vnto the, what torment is in the sea of my harte, when suche tremblinges doe appere in the earthe of my bodye. Let vs nowe come to the purpose, and we shall see, why my bodye is withoute consolacion, and my hart so ouercome with sorowes: for my felynge, greatly excedeth my complaining, because the body is so delicate, that in scratchinge it, it complaineth: and the harte is so souete and balsamie, that though it be hurt, yet it dyssembleth. ¶ Panutius, I let the wete, that the occasyon why I take death so greuouflye, is because I leaue my sonne Commodus in this life: who liueth in this age moste perillous for hym, and no lesse dangerous for the Empire. By the flowers are the frutes knowen, by the grapes the vines are knowen, and by the face men are knowen: by the colt the horse is iudged, and by the infante, yowth is knowen.

This I saye by the Prince my sonne, for that he hath bene euill in my lyfe, I doe imagine that he wyll be worse after my death. Since thou (as wel as I) knowest the euyl condicions of my sonne, why doest thou meruel at the thoughtes and sorowes of the father? My sonne Commodus in yeres is ponge, and in vnderstandynge ponger. He hath an euill inclinacion, and yet he wyll not enforse him selfe against the same.

he gouerneth hym selfe by his owne sente, and in matters of wysedome he knoweth lytell: of that he shoulde be ignorant, he knoweth so muche: and that which is worst of all, he is of no man esteemed. He knoweth nothinge of thinges passe, nor accuseth hym selfe aboute any thinge present. Finallye, for that whiche with myne eyes I haue sene, I saye, & that which with in my harte I haue suspected I iudge: that shortly the person of my sonne shalbe in hazarde, and the memoire of his father perishe. ¶ Howe unkindelye haue the Gods bled them selues towards vs, to commaund vs to leaue our honour in the handes of our chyldren: for it shuld suffice, that we shuld leaue them oure goods: and that to oure frendes we shuld commit oure honour. But yet I am sorry, for that they consume the goods in vices: & lose the honour, for to be vicious. The gods bringe ptesull as they are, since they geue vs the authority to deuyde our goods: why doe they not geue vs leane, to make our wylls of the honour? ¶ My sonnes name bring Commodus, in the Romaine tonge, is as muche to saye, as prosyre: but as he is, we wyll be contente to be without the lytle prosyre, whiche he may do to some: so that we maye be excused of the great damage, whiche he is lykely to doe to all.

For I suppose he wyll be the scourge of men, and the wrath of Gods. He entrecth nowe into the pathesweye of yowth, alone without a guide. And for that he hath to passe, by the highe & dangerous places: I feare lest he be lost, in the woode of vices.

For the chyldren of Princes, and greates Lordes, for so muche as they are broughte by in liberty, and wantonnes, do easily fall into vices, and bolupiousnes: and are most stubborne, to be with drawen fro their foly. ¶ Panutius, geue attentue eare to y I say vnto the. Heist thou not, that Commodus my sonne is at libertye, is ryche, is yong, and is alone? By the faythe of a good man. I sweare vnto the, that the leasse of

THE DIAL

these windes would ouerthrow, not onely a yong tender ashe: but also a mighty strong oke. Riches, youth pryde, and liberty, are 4 plagues which poison the prince, replensh the common wealth with filth, kil the liuing, and defame the dead. Let the old mē beleue me, & the yong men marke wel what I say, that where h gods haue geue many gyses: it is necessarie they haue many vertues to susteine them. The gentle, the peaceable, the counterfalte, and the simple, doe not trouble the common wealth: but those whom nature hath geuen most gistes, f or as experience teacheth vs, with the moste and fairest women, the steeles are furnished, the moste proper personages are vnschamefast, h most stout and balaunt are murderers, the most subtille are theues, and men of clearest vnderstanding, oftentimes become most fooles, I say, & say againe, I affirme, and affirme againe, I swere, & swere agayne, that if two men which are adourned with natural gistes doe wante requysite verities: such haue a knyfe in their handes wherewith they do strike and wound them selues, a fier on their shoulders where with they burne them selues, a rope at their neckes to hange them selues, a dagger at their breast where with they kyl them selues, a thorne in their foote wherewith they prycke them selues, and stones wherewith they stomble: so that stombling they fall, and fallinge they synde them selues with death whom they hate, and with our life whiche so muche they lored. Note wel Panutiuss, note, that the man whiche from hys infancy hath alwayes the feare of the Gods before hys eyes, and the shame of men, sayeth trouthe to all, and lyeth in p̄iudice to none: and to such a tree, though euil fortune do cleaue, h flower of his youth do wither, the leaues of their fauours dye, they gather the frutes of hys traunples, they cut the bough of his offices, they bowe the highest of hys brāches downewardes, yet in the ende, though of the wyndes he be beaten, he shall neuer be overcome. W hap-

pe are those fathers, to whom the Gods haue geuen quicke Chyldren, wysse, faire, able, light, and balpauite: but al these gyses are but meanes to make them vicious. And in suche case, if the fathers would be gouerned by my counsaile, I woulde rather desire that members should wante in them: then that vyces shuld abound. Of the moste fairest chyldren whiche are bozne in the Empire, my sonne Commodus the Prince is one. But I would to the immortal gods, that in face he resembled the blackest of Ethiopie: and in manners, the greatest philosopher of Grece. f or the gloze of the father is not, nor oughte not to be, in that hys chyld is faire of complexion, and handesome of person: but that in hys lyfe he be very by ryghte. We wyl not cal him a pytelull father, but a greate enemy, who exalteth for the his chyld, for that he is faire: and doeth not correcte him, though he be vicious. I durst saye, that the father whiche hath a chyld endued with many goodly gyses, and that he doeth employe them all to vices: suche a chyld ought not to be bozne in the world, and if perchaunce he were bozne he ought immediately to be buried.

The .liii. Chapter.

The Emperoure Marcus Aurelius concludeth his matter and sheweth that sondry yong princes for being vicious, haue vndone them selues and impoueryshed their Realmes.



VWhat great pyty is it, to se how the father blyth his chyld of h gods with sighes, how h mothers deliner them with payne, howe they bothe nouryshe them with traunples, howe they wathe to susteine them, howe they labour to remedy them, & afterwardes they haue rebelled,

rebelled, and be so bitious: that the miserable fathers oftentimes do dye not for age, but for the greuous wherewith their children torment them. I do remember, that the prince Commodus my sonne beinge yonge, and I aged (as I am) with greate paynes we kepte hym from vices: but I feare, that after my death he wyl have vertues.

I remember manye yonge princes, which of his age haue enherited the empire of Rome, who haue bene of so wicked a life: that they haue deserued to lose, bothe honour, and lyfe. I remember Dennis the famous tyrant of Scicill, of whom is sayed, that as great rewarde he gaue to those that inuented vices: as our mother Rome did to those which conquered realmes. Suche worke could not be but of a Tyrant, to take them for moste familiare, which are moste bitious. I remember. first yonge princes, which gouerned the empire, but not with such baselyauntnes, as the greate Alexander: that is to wete, Alexander, Antiochus, Siluius, and Ptholomeus, to whom for their bannity & lightnes, as they called Alexander the great, Emperour in Grece: so likewise doe they call these yonge men, tyrantes in Asia. Very happye was Alexander in lyfe, and they unhappye after his death. For al that which with glorious triumphes he wanne, with vyle vices they lost. So that Alexander deuided betwene the foure the worlde, and afterwarde it came into the handes of moe then .4. hundreth. I do remember, that king Antigonus wyle extened, that which cosse his lord Alexander muche. He was so lyght in the behanour of his person, and so defamed in the affaires of the common wealth: for mockery and cōtempte, in the steede of a crowne of golde, he bare a garsland, in the steede of a scepter, he carped netels in his hande, & of this sorte & maner he sat to iudge among his counsaillours, & used to talke w straungers. This yonge Prince doth offe me much, for his lightnes he committed: but muche moze I meruaile at the grauity of the sages of Grece, which suffred

hym. It is but mete he be pertaker of the payne, which condescended to the faulte.

I doe remember Calligulus, the fourth, Emperour of Rome, who was so yonge and folyse, that I doubte of these two thinges which was greatest in his tyme. That is to wete, the dysobedience which the people beare to their lord: or the hate which the lord beare to his people. For that unhappy creature was so disordered in his maners, that yf all the Romaynes had not watched to take life fro him: he would haue watched to take lyfe from them. This Caligula weare a brythe of golde in his cappe, where in were wyrtten these wordes.

Vitam omnis populus nam precise ceterum haberet, ut uno ictu omnes necarem.

Which is to say, woulde to god, that all the people had but one necke, to the ende I myghte kyl them all at one stroke. I remember the Emperour Tiberius thadoptine sonne of the good Cesar Augustus, which was called Augustus, because he greatly augmented the empire. But the good Emperour did not so muche augment the state of his common wealth, duringe his lyfe: as Tiberius dyd demynshe it, after his death. The hate and malice which the Romayne people bare to Tiberius in his lyfe, was manifestlye discovered after the tyme of his death. For the daye that Tiberius dyed (or better to saye, when they kyled hym) the Romayne people made greate processions, and the Senatours offred greate presents to the Temples, and the priestes gaue greate sacrifices to their Gods: and all, to the ende their Gods shoulde not receyue the soule of this tyrante amongst them, but that they woulde sende it to be kepte amonge the surges of hel. I remember Patrocles (seconde kynge of Corinthe) inheryted the Realme at .xlii. yeares of his age, who was so dysordynate of his feash, so vndyscrete in his doinges, so couetous of goods, and such a coward of his person: that where his father had possessed the

THE DIAL

realme. x. yeares, the childe dyd not possesse it. xxx. monethes. I remember Tarquine the proude, who though among. diu. knightes of Rome was the laste, and comelpest of gesture, balaunt in armes, noblest of bloud, and in geuynge moste lyberall: yet he employed all hys gyftes and graces which the Gods had geuen hym, euill. For he employed hys beautie to ryote, and hys forces to tyrannye. For throughte the treason, and byllayne, whiche he commytted with the Romayne Lucretia, he dyd not onely lose the realme, and flyng saued hys lyfe: but also for euer was banyshe, and all his lynage likewise. I remember the cruel emperour Nero, who lyued, enherited, and dyed ponge: and not without a cause I say, that he lyued, and dyed ponge. For in hym was grafted, the stocke of the noble and woorthy Celsars: and in hym was renewed, the memozye of those Tyrantes. To whom thinkest thou Panutius, this straunt would haue geuen lyfe, since he with hys owne handes gaue his mother her death: Tel me I praye the, whom thinkest thou hath made that cursed harte, who slew hys mother, oute of whose wombe he came: opened her breastes, whiche gaue hym sucke: shed the bloude, whereof he was boz: ne: toze the armes, in whiche he was carped: and saw the intralles, wherein he was fourmed: the day that the emperour Nero slew hys mother, an oratour saied in the Senate.

Fure interficienda erat Agrippina que tale portentum peperit in populo romano.

Which is to say, iustly deserued Agrippina to be put to death, whiche brought forth the so straunge a monster amoniges the romaine people.

Thou oughtest not therefore to meruaile (Panutius) at h noneltes whiche thou haste sene in me: for in these. lxx. dayes that I haue bene troubled in my mynde, and altered in my vnderstandynge, all these thinges are offred vnto me, and from the doctome of my harte I haue begested them.

For the careful men are not blynded, but with their owne imagynations. All these euill condycions whiche these Prynces had scatered amongst them (of whome I haue spokē) do mete togethers in my sonne Commodus.

For if they were ponge, he is ponge. If they were rich, he is rich. If they were fre, he is fre. If they were bolde, he is bolde. If they were wilde, he is wilde. If they were euil, certainly I do not thinke he is good. For we se many pong prynces, which haue ben wel brought vp, and wel taughte: yet when they haue inherited, they become immediately vicious and dissolute. What hope haue we of those, which fro their infacy are dissolute and euil inclined: of good wine, I haue made oftymes stronge vineger: but of pure vineger, I haue neuer sene good wine. This childe heapeth me, betwene the sayles of feare, & the scher of hope: hoping he shall be good since I haue taught hym well, and fearinge he shall be euill, because his mother Faustine hath nourished hym euil.

And that whiche is the worst, that the pong childe of hys owne nature is inclined to all euil. I am moued to sape thus much, for that I see hys naturall inclination increase: and that whiche was taughte hym demynyshe. For the whiche occasion, I doubt that after my death, my sonne shall retourne to that, wherein hys mother hath nourished hym: and not to that, wherein I haue taughte hym.

How happy had I bene, if neuer I had had childe, for not to be bounde to leaue hym thempire: for I would chose then, amoniges the chyldzen of the good fathers: and would not be bounde to suche a one, whom the Gods haue geuen me. One thinge I aske the Panutius, whom wouldest thou call moste fortunat: Vespasian whiche was natural father of Domitius, or Nerua the Putatine, father of the good Traiane: bothe those two (Vespasian, and Nerua) were good prynces, but of chylzen, Domitian

Domitian was the heade of all mischefe: and Traiane was the mirroure of al goodnes. So that Vespasian, in that he had chylde: was unhappye: and Nerua in that he had none, was mooste fortunate. One thinge I wyl tell the Panutius: the whiche by the considered, thou wylt lytle esteeme life, and shalt lose the feare of death. I haue liued, liit, peres, wherein I haue red muche, hard muche, sene, desired, attayned, possessed, suffred, and I haue muche retoyed my selfe. And in the ende of all this, I se my selfe nowe to dye, and I muste wante my pleasures, and my selfe also. Of all that I haue had, possessed attained, and whereof I haue enioyed, I haue onely two thinges: to wete, paine for that I haue offened the gods, and sorow for the tyme which I haue wasted in vices. There is great difference betwene the riche, and the poore in death, and more in lyfe. For the poore dyeth to rest, but of the ryche dye, it is to the great payne. So that the gods take from the one, that which he had: and putteth the other in possession, of that he desired. Great care hath the harte to seke the goods, and they passe greate troubles to heape them together, & great dyligence muste be had in keepynge them, and also muche wit to encrease them: but withoute comparison, it is greater grieve to depart from them. What intollerable paine and grieve, is it to the wyse man, seing hym selfe at the point of death, to leane the swette of his family, the maiesty of his empire, the honour of his presēt, the loue of his frēdes, the paymēt of his debtes, the desertes of his seruantes, & the memo:ye of his predecesours, in the powere of so euyll a chylde, the whiche neither deserueth it, nor yet wyl deserue it. In the ix. table of oure aunciente lawes, were wyrtē these wordes.

The ordeine and command, that the father whiche shall be good accordyng to the oppynion of all, maye dysheryte his sonne, who accordyng to the oppynion of all is euyll.

The lawe sayde further.

The Chylde whiche hath dysobeyed his father, robbed anye holye Temple, inuyned anye wyddow, fled from any battaile, and committed any treason to a stranger, thache shuld be banished from Rome, and disinherited from his fathers goodes. Truly the lawe was good, though by our offices it be forgotten. If my breath sayle me not, as it doeth sayle me (for of trouthe I am greatly payned) I wold declare vnto y how many Parthes, Medians, Egyptians, Assirians, Caldeans, Indians, Hebrues, Grekes, and Romaynes, haue leste their chylde: poore, beinge able to haue leste them ryche, for no other cause; but for that they were vicious. And to the contrary, other beinge poore, haue leste them ryche, for that they were vertuous. By the immortal Gods I swere vnto the, that when I came from the warre of Parthia, and triumphed in Rome and confirmed the Empire to my sonne, if then the senate had not withstode me, I had leste Commodus my sonne poore with his vices: and would haue made heire of al my realmes, some vertuous man. I let the to wete Panutius, that .v. thinges oppresse my harte sore, to the which I wold rather se remedye my selfe, then to commande other to remedye it.

The first for that in my lyfe tyme I can not determine the proces, the vertuous wyddow Drusia hath with the senate. Because since she is poore, and defourmed, there is no man that wyl geue her iustice.

The second, because I die not in Rome. And this for none other cause then that with the sound of the trumpet shoulde be proclaimed, that all those whiche haue anye quarell, or debte againste me, and my famylle shoulde comethither to be payed, or satisfied of their debtes, and demaundes.

The third, that as I made. iiii. tyrantes to be put to execution, whiche committed tyranny in Asia and Italy: so it greued me that I haue not also punished certayne Pirates, which roured on the seas,

¶ iii.

The

THE DIAL

The fourth, for that I haue not caused the temple to be simplified, whiche I dyd begin, for all the Gods. For I myghte haue sayed vnto them after my death, that since for all them I haue made one house: it were not much y any of them should receiue one in his, whiche passe this lyfe in the fauoure of gods, & without the hatred of men. For by eng after this sorte, me shal susteine our honours: & the gods shal prouide for our soules.

The fifth, for that I leaue in lyfe for my onely heire, Commodus the yongest yet not so muche for the distruction which shall come to my house: as for the great damage which shal succede in the common wealth. For the true Princes ought to take the damages of their persons lighte, and the damages of the common wealth for most greuous. ¶ Panutius, let therefore this be the laste worde whiche I wil saye vnto the, that is to wete, that the greatest good that the Gods maye geue to the man that is not couetous, but vertuous, is to geue hym good renowne in lyfe: and afterwarde a good heire at our death. Finally I saye, that if I haue any thing to doe with the gods, I requyre, and beseeche them, that if they should be offeased, Rome slandered, my renowne defamed, and my house diminished, for that my sonne be of an euill lyfe: that they wyl take from hym lyfe, before they geue me death.

The. liiii. Chapter

Of the vvordes vvhiche the Emperour spake vnto his sone, necessary for al noble yong gentilmē to vnderstand.



Since the deafe of Marcus Aurelius was so extreme, that in euery houre of his life he was assaulted with death: after he had talked a longe tyme with Panutius his secretarpe, he commaunded his sonne

Commodus to be wakened, who as a yong mā slept soundly in his bed. And being come before his presēce, al those which were there, were moued immediately with compassio, to se the eyes of his father all swollē with weeping: and the eyes of the child, closed with ouermuche slepe. They could not waken the child; he was so careles: and they could not cause the good father slepe, he toke so great thought. Al those whiche were there, seing howe the father despyed the good lyfe of the sonne, and howe lytel the sonne waped the death of his father: had compassion of the olde man, and bare hate to the wicked child. Then the good Emperoure castynge his eyes on highe, and byrcayng his wordes to his sonne sayed:

When thou werste a chyld, I tolde thy maisters howe they ought to bring the vp: and after that thou dydest were greater, I tolde thy gouernours howe they shoulde counsaile the. And nowe wyl I tell the, howe thou for them whiche are fewe, and all for the being one, ought to gouerne and mayntayne the common wealth. If thou esteeme muche that whiche I wyl saye vnto the my sonne: know thou, that I wil esteeme it much moze that thou wilt beleue me. For moze easely doe we old men, suffer pour injuries: then yea other ponge, doe receyue oure counsailes. Wylsedom wanteth to you for to beleue vs, yet ye wante not boldnes to dishonoure vs. And that whiche is worste, the aged (in Rome) were wonte to haue a chayer of wysedom, and sagenes: but nowe a dayes, the yonge men counte it a shame and follye. The worlde at this day is so chaunged, from that it was wonte to be in tymes past: that all haue the audacitye to geue counsaile, & few haue the wysedom to receiue it, so that they are a thousand, which sel counsailes: & there is not one, that by the wysedom. I beleue wel my sone, that according to my fatal destinyes, & thy euill maners, lytle shall that anaple, whiche I shal tell the. For since thou wouldest not credite

credite these wordes, which I spake vnto þe
in my life: I am sure that thou wilt lytle
regard this after my deathe. But I do this
more to satisfy my desire: & to accomplishe
that which I owe vnto the commo wealth:
than for that I hope for any amendmout of
thy life. For there is no griefe that so much
hurteþ a person, as when he him selfe is
cause of his owne paine. If any man dothe
me an iniurie, if I laye my handes vppon
him, or speake iniurious wordes vnto him
my hart is forthwith satisfied: but if I do
iniury to my selfe, I am he whiche wrong-
geth and am wronged, for that I haue non
on whom I may reuenge my wrong, and
I here and chafe with my selfe. If thou my
sonne be euill, after that thou hast inheri-
ted the empire: my mother Roma wil com-
playne of the goddess, which haue geue the
so many euil inclinations. She wil complaine
of Faustin thy mother which hath brought
the vp so wantonly. She wil complaine of
the which hath no wil to resist vices: but she
shall haue no cause to complaine of the old
man thy father, who hath not geuen the
good counsailes. For if thou haddest bele-
ued that, whych I told the: men would re-
ioyce to haue the for their lord, and the god-
des, to vse the as their minister. I can not
tel my sonne if I be deceyued, but I see the
so depryued of vnderstanding, so vncertain
in thy wordes, so dissolute in thy maners,
so vnjust in iustice, in that thou desirest so
hardie, & in thy dutye so negligent: that if
thou chaunge & alter not thy maners, men
wil hate the, and the gods wil forsake the.
¶ If thou knowest my sonne, what thinge
it is to haue men for enemies, and to be for-
taken of the goddess: by the sayth of a good
man I sweare vnto the, that thou wouldest
not onely hate the seignorie of Rome, but
with thy handes also thou wouldest destroy
thy selfe. For men which haue not the god-
des mercifull, and the men frendly, do eate
the bread of griefe, and drynke the teares
of sorrowe. I am sure thy sorrowe is not so

greate, so se that the nyghte dothe ende my
life: as is the pleasure which thou hast, to se
that in short space thou shalt be emperour
of Rome. And I do not maruaile herat
for where sensuality reigneth, reason is ban-
nished & constrained to flye. Many loue di-
uers thinges because of trouthe they knowe
them not: the which they did know, with-
out doubte they would hate them. Though
men lye in mockery, the gods & men hate
vs in earnest. In al thinges we are so doubt-
ful, and in al our workes so disordered, that
at some time our vnderstanding is dul, and
loseth the edge: & an other time, it is more
sharpe then it is necessary.
¶ Therby I meane, that the good we wyll
not heare, and much lesse we will learne it.
but of the euyl we knowe, more then beho-
ueth vs, or necessity requyret. I wil coun-
saile the my sonne by wordes, that whiche
in liu. peres I haue learned by science and
experience. And since thou art as yet so
yonge, it is reason that thou beleue him
which is aged. For since we princes are
the mirrour of all, euery man doth beholde
vs, and we other do not beholde our selues.
This daye or to morowe thou shalt enhe-
rite the Romayne empire, and thinke that
inheriting the same, thou shalt be lord of
the world. Yet if thou knowest howe many
cares and perilles, commanding bringeth
with it, I sweare vnto the, that thou woul-
dest rather chose to obeye all, then to com-
mand one. Thou thinkest my sonne, that
I leaue the a great lord, so to leaue the
the empire, which is not so. For all they
haue nede but of the, and thou alone haste
nede of all. Thou thinkest that I leaue the
much treasures, leauing the the great reue-
nues of the empire & which also is as li-
tle. For though a prince haue treasures in
aboundaunce yet if he want frendes, he hath
great want of treasures. Thou thinkest al-
so my sonne, & I leaue the & thou be obey-
ed of all, & that none dare gaine saye the.

¶ Trulye it oughte not to be so. For it is
more

THE DIAL

more mete for the princes (which desire
 to preserve his life, and augment his ho-
 nour) to be conformable to the will of al: the
 to desire that al should be agreeable to him.
 For thou my sonne that knowest not what
 truth is, lies wilt not greve the. Forasmuch
 as I knowest not what rest is, the troubles
 and motions of the people that not were the
 For that thou knowest not what friends
 meane, thou shalt esteeme it lile to have e-
 nemies. For if thou wert patient, repored,
 true, and a loving man: thou wouldest not
 onely refuse the empire of Rome, but also
 thou wouldest curse the father which wold
 leave the succe inheritaunce. I will thou
 knowe, if thou knowest it not, that in lea-
 ving the mpre, I leave the not riches, but
 poverty, not rest but travail, not peace,
 but warre, not frendes but enemies, not
 pleasures but displeasures: finally in place
 I leave the, where alwayes thou shalt have
 somwhat to be woe. And thoughte thou
 wouldest, thou shalt not laugh. I atterisse
 admonithe, and also exhort the my sonne to
 thinke that all that whiche I leave the, is
 vanity, lightnelle, and folly, and a disguised
 mockery. And if thou behest it is in moe-
 kery, from henceforth I knowe thou art de-
 repued. I have lived longer then thou, I
 have red more than thou, and with great
 payne have gone further than thou. And
 thus that with all these advertismentes, in
 the ende I finde my selfe mocked: hope I
 to live surely, and scape without fraude or
 guyle. When thou shalt thinke to have the
 empire in rest, then shall there arise a pro-
 vince in Affrica, or in Asia, the losse of
 the which should come to a great inconve-
 nience: and so to recover it, great charges
 would ensue. When thou thinkest to reco-
 ver frendes, then shall strange enemies
 invade the. So that in flattering and reioy-
 singe our frendes we can not kepe them:
 and in flying, and respecting them, we can
 not defend our selves.
 When thou shalt thinke to be in greatest

top, then shall some care oppresse thy hart.
 For princes which have, and possesse much
 the newes which give them pleasure, are
 very seldome, but the thinges which annoy
 the, come hourly. When thou shalt thinke
 to have libertie, to doo what thou wilt:
 then shalt thou be most restrained.
 For the good and wel ordered princes
 ought not to go whither they will: but
 first mouneth theym: but where it is most
 lawfull and decente for the honoure of their
 estates. When thou shalt thinke that none
 dare repode the, for that thou arte emper-
 our, then oughtest thou most to beware.
 For if they dare not threaten euill princes
 with wordes, they have the hardines to sell
 the by treason. If they dare not punish the
 they dare murmur at them: these which
 can not be their frendes: do procure to be
 their enemies: finally, if they laye not han-
 des on their persons: they let their tonge
 runne at large, to prate of their renoune.
 When thou shalt thinke to have satisfied
 thy seruantes, then wilt they demand re-
 compence for their services. For it is an
 old custome among courtiers, to spend fre-
 ly and couet greedely. Therefore if thou best
 credite these thinges I knowe not who is
 so folle, that for his inheritaunce desireth
 such sorowe.
 For admit that any man come to the em-
 pire without comparisen, the rest is more
 woorth, whiche he mpre taketh from him: the
 the pleasures which it giveth him. If the
 empire of Rome were as wel correct & orde-
 red, as in old tyme it was accustomed to be
 though it were great payne to gouerne it,
 yet it were more honoure to kepe it, but it is
 so roted in vices, & so many straitnes are
 entred therein, that I wold take them more
 wise to iudge it a mockery, the those which
 embrace it as an honour. If thou knowest
 what Rome is woorth, what Rome hath,
 what Rome maye, and what Rome is, I
 sweare unto the, that thou wouldest not la-
 bour much to be lord therof.

For though Rome with walles be strongly compassed: yet of vertuous it is greatly vnprouided, If the inhabitauntes be greates, the vices are without number. Finally I saye, that the stones which are in the buyldinges, in one day may be counted: but the euils which are therein, in a. 1000. yeres can not be declared. By the faith of a good man I sweare vnto the, that when I beganne to repaire that, which of the walles of Rome was fallen, in. iiii. yeres I caused it to be repaired: and one onely strete to liue well, in. xx. yeres I could not resourme. The deuine Plato saide very well. That muche more ought the great cittyes to gloriſie, to haue vertuous citizens: then to haue proude and sumptuous buildinges. Beware, beware my sonne, that the inconstancie of youthe, & the libertie which thou hast to possesse, and gouerne the empire, cause the not to vndo thy selfe. For he is not counted free, which in libertie is bozne: but he that dyeth in libertie. Of howe many I haue red, heard, and also seene, whyche are bozne slaues, and afterwarde haue dyed free: and thys for y they were vertuous. And how many I haue seene die slaues, beinge bozne free, onely for beinge vicious: so that there libertie remaineth, where noblenes is resident.

Princes which haue great realmes, of necessity shal haue occasions to punish the many excesses: wherfore it is requisite, that they be couragious. And beleue me my sonne, that they ought not to take courage vpon them, because they be mighty, and puissant: but because they are vertuous. For to punish the excesses of others the good life is more requisite: then is the great authority of the empire. A vertuous prince ought to leaue no vice vnpunished: for the good to folowe good, and the euill for feare of his correction, dare not commit any offence in the common wealth.

He that liueth like a wise man, is hardy to geue punishment: but he that liueth in feare dare not almost speake. For the ma

which dare be so hardy to punish an other, for the selfe same fault, for the whiche he deserueth to be punished: yet the gods he is lustily hated, and of men despised. Let princes take it for an assured thinge, that they shal neuer haue the loue of the people the libertie of the common wealth, the order of their house, the contentation of their frendes, the subiection of their enemies, and the obedience of their people: but with many teares shedde on the earth, and with many prouesses done of his person. To a vertuous prince, all do render: and against the vicious prince, all the earth doth rebell.

If thou wilt be vertuous, heare what thinge vertue is. Vertue is a castle which neuer is taken, a river which is not passed ouer, a sea which is not sayled, a fire that neuer is quenched, a treasure that neuer is wasted, an army that neuer is overthrowen, a chaunge which neuer wearith, a spee which alwayes returneth, a signe which begileth no man, a waye verie straighte, a frend that succoureth all necessities, a surgeon that immediatly healeth, & a renowne which neuer perissheth. If thou knowest, my sonne, what thinge it is to be good, thou wouldest be the best of the world. For the more vicious a man is, so muche the more he is entangled in vices: and howe muche more a man is vertuous, so muche more to vertues he cleaueth. If thou wilt be vertuous, thou shalt do seruice to the gods, thou shalt geue good renowne to thy predecessours, & for thy selfe thou shalt prepare a perpetual memozy. Thou shalt do pleasures to strangers, & get y fauour of thine owne people. Finally, y good wil honour y with loue: & the euill wil serue the w feare. In the histories of the warres of Tharentines, I found y the renowned Pirrus (king of Epirotes) did weare in a ring these wordes written. It is to litle punishment for a vicious man, to take his life fro him: & it is to small a reward for a vertuous man, to geue him the seignory of the whole erth. Truly these wordes

THE DIAL

woordes were woorthy of such a man. What thing can be begone of a vertuous mā, wher of we hope not to se the end, & come to good p[ro]fite. I am deceyued, if I haue not sene in in my dayes many men, whiche were base bozne, vnfitte for sciences, bolde of vices in the cōmon wealth, pooze of goodes, and vnknownen of birth, whiche with all these base condicions haue learned so many vertues, that it semed great rashenes to begin them and afterwarde for being vertuous only, they haue founde the effectes suche as they thought it. By the immortall gods I sweare vnto the, & to the god Iupiter take me into his custody, and confirme the my sonne in mine: I haue not knowen a gardener & a potter in Rome, whiche for being vertuous, were occasion to cast sūe riche senators out of the senate. And the cause to make the one to gayne, and the other to lose, was that to the one they would not pay the pottes, & to the other his appels. For at that time, moze was he punished, whiche roke an apple from a poze man: then he whiche bet downe a rich mans house. All this I haue told the my sonne, because vice abaseth the hardye prince: and vertue geueth courage to the basheful. From .ii. thinges I haue alwayes kept my selfe. That is to wete, not to strine against open iustice, nor to contend with a vertuous person.

The .lv. Chapter

The Emperour Mar. Aure. among other holsome counsailes exhorteth his sonne to kepe vwise and sage men about him, for to giue him counsaile in all his affayres.



hitherto I haue spoken to the ingenerally but nowe I wil speake vnto the perticulerly, & by the immortall gods I coniure the, that thou be very attētiue to that I wil say. For talkinge to the as an aged father,

it is reason thou heare me as an obediēt child. If thou wilt enioy long life, obserue well my doctrine: For gods wil not condescēd to thy hertes desires oneles thou receyuest my holsome counsailes. The disobedience & vnfaithfulnes whiche children haue to their fathers, is al their vndoing. For oftētimes the gods do pardon the offences, that are done vnto them: and do not pardon the disobediences, whiche the child beare to their fathers. I do not require the my sonne, that thou giue me money, sūe thou art poze. I do not demaunde that thou traunple, sūe thou art tender. I do not demaund the reuengement of mine enemies, since I haue none. I do not demaund that thou serue me sūe I dye. I do not demaunde the empire, sūe I leaue it vnto the. Quely I do demaund, that thou gouerne thy selfe well in the common wealth: and that the memozye of my house be not lost through the.

If thou esteeme much that I leaue vnto the so many realmes, I thinke it better to leue the manye good counsailes, wherewith thou mayst p[re]serue thy selfe, susteyne thy parson, and mayntayne thine honour.

For if thou hast presumption not to p[ro]fite with my counsaile, but to truste to thine owne mynd; before my fleshe be eaten with wormes, thou shalt be overcome with thy enemies.

My sonne, I haue bene yong, lighte, bolde, vnshamefast, proude, enuious, couetous, an aduolterer, furious, a glutton, slouthful, and ambitious, and for that I haue fallen into so great excesses, therefore I giue the such good aduise. For the man whiche in his youth hath bene very worldlye, from him in age proceedeth the ripe counsaile.

That whiche vntill this time I haue counsailed the, & which to my death I wil counsaile the. I desire of ons at the least thou p[re]sue it. And if it do the harme, leaue it, & if it do the good, vse it. For there is no medecine so bitter, & the sicke doth refuse to take: if ther by he thinke he may be healed. I pray the, I

whozt the, & I aduise the my sonne, that thy
 yowth beleue mine age, thy ignozance be-
 leue my knowledge, thy slepe beleue my
 watche, the dimmes of thy eyes beleue the
 clearenes of my sight, thy imaginacion be-
 leue my vertue, & thy suspition beleue my
 experieñce, for otherwise, one day þ shalt se
 thy selfe in some distresse, where smal time
 þ shalt haue to repent, & none to find reme-
 dy. Thou mayst saye vnto me (my sonne)
 that sins I haue bene yonge, I let the to be
 yong: & that when thou shalt be aged thou
 wilt amēd. I ans were the, that if thou wilt
 liue as yonge: yet at the least gouerne thy
 selfe as olde. In a pynce which gouerneth
 his cōmon wealth wel, many misfortunes are
 dissembled of his parson. Euen as for migh-
 ty affaires ripe counsayles are necessarye:
 so to endure the troubles of the empire, the
 person nedeth some recreation. For þ bowe
 string which alwayes is stretched, either
 it lengthneth, or it breaketh. Whether pyn-
 ces be yong or old, there can be nothings
 more iust, then for the recreation of theim
 selues, to seke some honest pastimes. And
 not without a cause I saye, that they be ho-
 nest. For sometimes they accompany with
 so dishonest persons, and so vnruly: that
 they spend their goodes, they lose their ho-
 nour, and weare their persons more, than
 if they were occupied in the affaires of a cō-
 mon wealth. For thy yowth, I leane þ chil-
 dren of great lordes, to whom thou mayst
 passe þ time alwaye. And not without cause I
 haue prouided, that with þ they haue bene
 brought vp from thy infancie. For after þ
 comest to mannes estate, emheritinge my
 goodes, if perchauce þ woldest accompany
 thy selfe to yong mē, þ shouldest finde theim
 wel learned. For thy warres I leane the
 valiant captaynes, though (in dede) thinges
 of warre are begon by wisdom: yet in the
 ende, the issue falleth out by fortune. For
 5. Guardes of thy treasures, I leane the faith-
 ful men. And not without cause I say they are
 saythfull, for ofentimes greater are the

theues which are receyvers, & treasourers
 then are they þ do robbe among the people.
 I leane the (my sonne) expert & auncient mē,
 of whō thou mayst take counsaile, & to whō
 thou mayst cōmunicate thy troubles. For
 there can be fourmed no honest thinge in a
 pynce, vnlesse he hath in his company auncient
 men: for such geue grauity to his parson
 & authoritie to his pallace. To inuent thea-
 ters, to fishepondes: to chase wilde beastes
 in the forrestes, to renne in þ felde, to let thy
 haukes flye, & to exercise weapōs, all these
 thinges we can not deny the, as to a yonge
 man, & thou being yong, mayst reioyce thy
 selfe I al these. Thou oughtest also to haue
 respect, þ to ordeine armies, inuent warres
 folowe victories, accepte truces, confirme
 peace, raise brutes, to make lawes, to pros-
 mote the one, & put downe the others, to pu-
 nish the euell, & first to reward the good, the
 counsaile of al these thinges ought to be ta-
 ken, of cleare iudgements, of persons of
 experience, and of white heades. Thinkest
 thou not, that it is possible to passe the time
 with the yong, & to counsaile with the olde?
 The wise and discrete pynces, for all thin-
 ges haue time inoughe, if they knowe well
 how to measure it. Beware my sonne, that
 they note the not to vse great extremities.
 And the end, and occasion why I speake it,
 is because thou shouldest knowe (if thou
 knowest not) that it is as vndecent a thing
 for a pynce, vnder the colour of grauity to
 be ruled and governed wholly by old men:
 as vnder semblance of pastime, alwayes
 to accompyny hū selfe with the yong. It
 is no general rule, that all yonge men are
 light, nor all old mē sage. And þ must acco-
 dinge to my aduise, in suche case geue thy
 hand: that if any old man fall for age, and
 if thou find any yong men sage, dispise not
 his counsaile. For the bees do drayne more
 honny out of the tender flowers: then of the
 hard leaues. I do not condemne the aged,
 nor I do commend the yong, but it shal be
 wel done, that alwayes thou chose of bothe
 most

THE DIAL

the most vertuous. For of trouble, there is no company in the world so euill ordered, but that there is meane to liue with it, without any suspicion: so that if the pouge are euill with folly, & old are worse through couetousnes. And againe I retourne to aduertise the (my sonne) that in no wise thou vse extremity. For if thou beleue none but yong, they will corrupt thy maners with lightenes: and if thou beleue none but the old, they will deprauie thy iustice through couetousnes. What thing can be more monstrous, the & the prince which commaundeth all, should suffer him to be commaunded of one alone? Belue no sonne in this case, that the gouernmentes of manye are seldome times gouerned well by the heade of one alone. The prince which hath to rule and gouerne many, ought to take the aduise and counsaile of manye. It is a great inconuenience, that thou being lord of manye realmes, shouldst haue but one gate, wherein all do enter into, to do their busynes with the. For if perchance he which shall be thy familiar, be of his owne nature good, and be not mine enemy: yet I would be afraide of him, because he is a frende of mine enemies. And though he for hate they do me no euill, yet I am afraide that for the loue of an other, he will cease to do me good. I remember that in the annalles of Pompeius, I found a litle booke of memoyses, whiche the great Pompeius bare aboute him, wherein were manye thinges that he had read, and other good counsailes, which in diuers partes of the world he had learned: and among other wordes, there were these. The gouernour of the comon wealth, which committeth al the gouernment to olde men, deserueth very litle: he that trusteth al yong, is light. He that gouerneth it by him selfe alone, is beyonde him selfe: and he which by him & others do gouerne it, is a wise prince. I knowe not whether these sentences are of the same Pompeius or that he gathered them out of some booke: or that

any philosopher had told him the, or if mine frende of his had giue him them, I meane that I had them written with his handes: and trulye they deserued to be written in letters of gold. When thy affaires shall be weyghy, se thou dispatche them alwayes by counsaile. For when the affaires be determined by the counsaile of manye, & fault shall be denied among them al. Thou shalt find it for a truth (my sonne) that if thou take counsaile of manye, the one will tel the the inconuenience, the other the perill, the other the feare, the other the damage, the other the profite, and the other the remedy: finally, they will so debate thy affaires, that playnly thou shalt knowe the good, and see the daunger thereof. I aduertise the (my sonne) that when thou takest counsaile, thou beholde with thy eyes the inconuenience, as well as the remedies whiche they shall offer vnto the. For the true counsaile consisteth, not to tel what they ought to do: but to declare what therof is like to succede. When thou shalt enterpryse (my sonne) great and weyghy affaires, as much oughtest thou to regard the litle damages, for to cut them of in time: as the great mishappes, to remedye them. For oftentimes it chaunceth that for the negligēce of takinge by a gutter, the whole house falleth to the ground. Notwithstanding I tell the, thou take counsaile, I meane not, & thou oughtest to be so curious, as for euerye trifle, to call thy counsaile. For there are manye whiche are of suche qualite, that they demand immediatly to be put to execution, and they do endamage them selves, attending for counsaile. That whiche by thine owne authoritie thou mayst dispatche without the damage of the common wealth, referre it to no other person: and herein thou shalt be iust, and shalt do iustice confor-mable. For considering that thy seruice dependeth onely of them, the rewarde which they ought to haue, ought to depend onely on the. I remember, that when Marius

Consull came from the warres of Numidia, he deuised the treasure he brought amongst his souldiers, nor putinge one iuel into the common treasure. And when here of he was accused for y he had not demanded licence of the senate: he answered them. It is not iust I take counsaile with others, for to geue recompence to those: whiche haue not take the opiniõs of others, to serue me. Thou shalt fynde (my sonne) a kinde of men, whiche are verie harde of money, and exceeding prodigal of counsaile. There are also dyuers lender s, which without demandinge them, doe offer to geue it. With suche lyke men, thou shalt haue this counsaile, neuer loke thou for good counsaile at that man, whose counsaile redeth to the p̄iudice of another. For he offreth wordes to thy seruice, and trauayleth thy busynes to his owne profite. As the gods gaue me long life, of these thinges haue I had great experyence, wherein I let the know, that for the space of .xv. yeres I was consull, Senatour, Censour, Priore, Quæstor, Edil, & Tribune: and after al this, I haue ben .xv. yeres emperour of Rome, wherein al those whiche haue spoken moste agaynst me, touched the profite or damage of another. The chiefe intencion of those which folow the courtes of Princes, are to procure to augmente their houses. And if they cannot come to that, they seke to demynishe that of another, not for that anye profite shuld folow vnto them thereof, be it neuer so lytle: but because mans malice is of suche condycion, that it esteemeth the profite of another, bys owne damage. They ought to haue greate compassyon of the Prince, for the moste that folow him, serue him not for that they loue him: but for the gyftes and rewardes whiche they hope to haue of him. And this seemeth to be true, for the day that Princes shal cease to geue them: the selfe same day begyn they to hate him. So that suche seruantes, we cannot call frendes of sure persons: but couetous of our goods.

That thou loue (my sonne) the one aboue the other, thou mayest ryghte well: but I aduertise the that thou, nor they, doe make anye semblaunce, in suche sort that al doe knowe it. For if thou dost othertwys, they wyl murmur at the, and wyl all persecute the. He incurrerth into no smal peryll, nor hath no lytle trouble, whiche is aboue all of the Prince beloued, and of the people hated. For then he is hated, and persecuted of all. And yet moze damage ensueth vnto hym, of the enmye of al: then doeth of the loue of the prince alone. For sometimes (the gods permittynge it, and his behauiour deserving it) the Prince doeth cease to loue him: and there with his enmyes begyn to persecute hym. From the tyme I knewe what meened to gouerne a commõ weale, I haue alwayes determynd neuer to kepe man in my house one daye, after I knowe him to be an enmye to the cominõ weale. In the yere of the scoundacion of Rome, 646. Lucullus the Senatour going to the warre agaynst Mithridate, by chaunce found a tablet of copper, in the cite called Triganie, the which was at the gate of the kyng of that prouynce. And on that same was engrauen certayne Caldean letters, the whiche in effecte sayed these wordes.

The prince is not sage, who wyl put in hazarde the state of his common weale, for the onely commoditie of one alone: for the seruyce of one, cannot awayle agaynst the loue of al. The prince is not sage, that for to enriche one alone, seeketh to emponerish al: for it is a thing vntollerable, that the one do labour the felde, and the other doe gather the fruite. The Prince is not iuste, whiche wyl satisfy the couetousnes of one, moze then y seruice of al: for ther is meane to pay the seruices of the good, and there is no ryghtes to satisfy the couetousnes of the euyl. The Prince is a foole, that despyseth the counsaile of all, and trusteth in the opynion of one.

For though there be in a greate thynpe

THE DIAL

but one Plot, yet it nedeth manye Harry-
ners. Bold is the Prince, which to loue one
onely, wyl be hated of al: for noble Princes
ought to thinke it muche profite to be be-
loued, and muche moze displeasour to be ha-
red. These were the wordes whiche were
wrytten in that tablet, worthy of eternal
memozy. And I wyl tel the further in this
case, that Lucullus the Senatour sente on
the one parte the tablet of copper, where
these wordes were: and on the other parte,
the coffers, where in he hadde broughte the
ryches, to the ende the senate shoulde choose
one, and leaue the other. The senate despy-
sing the riches and treasours, chose the ta-
blet of counlayles.

The. lvi. Chapter.

The Emperour solovveth his mat-
ter and exhorteth his sonne vn-
to certayne particuler thinges
worthy to be engraue in the
hartes of men.



VNtil now, I haue
spoken as a father to his
sonne, & which toucheth
thy profite. Nowe I wyl
tell the what thou shalt do,
after my death for my ser-
uice. And if thou wilt be the true sone of thy
father, the thinges whiche I haue loued in
my life, shal be of the esteemed after my death.
do not resemble many chiltzen, which after
their fathers haue closed their eyes, doe re-
member the no moze. For in such case, though
in dede the fathers be dead & buried: yet they
are alwaies liuing, to complaine to the Gods
of their chiltzen. Though it seemeth not to
be sclanderous, yet it is moze perillous, to
contend with the deade: then to insurpe the
lyuinge. And the reason is, for that the ly-
uinge may reuenge, & are for to aunswere:
but the deade cannot make aunswere, and

muche lesse they can be reuenged. And in
suche case, the Gods doe take their cause
in protection: and sometymes they execute
suche cruel punishmente of those that liue,
that rather then they would endure it, they
wythe to be deade. Thou oughtest to thinke
(my sonne) that I haue begot the, I haue
nourished the, I haue taughte the, I haue
trymmed the, I haue chastised the, and I
haue exalted the. And for this consydera-
cion, though by death I am absent: it is not
reason that thou euer forget me. For the
true, and not vnrhankful chyld, ought the
same daye to burye his father in his ten-
der harte: when other haue layde hym on
the harde grant. One of the visibill chastise-
mentes which the gods geue to men in this
worlde is, that the chyldren obey not their
fathers in their lyfe. For the selfe same fa-
thers did not remember their owne fathers
after their death. Let not yonge Princes
thinke, after they haue inherited, after they
se their father deade, and after they are past
correction of their maysters, that al thinges
ought to be done as they them selues will it,
for it wil not be so. For if they want the fa-
uour of the Gods, and haue maledyction of
their fathers: they lyue in trouble, and dye
in dannger. I require nought els of the (my
sonne) but that suche a father as I haue ben
to the in my lyfe, suche a sonne thou be to
me after my death. I commende vnto the
(my sonne) the veneration of the gods, and
this cheselye aboue al thing. For the prince
which maketh accöpte of the gods, nedeth not
to feare any storme of fortune. Loue the gods,
and thou shalt be beloued. Serue them, and
thou shalt be serued. Feare them, and thou
shalt be feared. Honour them, and thou
shalt be honozed. Do their commañdment,
and they wyl geue the thy hartes desire.
For the gods are so good, that they doe not
onely receiue in accompte, that whiche we
doe: but also that whiche we desire to doe.
I commende vnto the (my sonne) the reue-
rence of the Temples, that is to wete, that
they

they be not in dyscorde, that they be cleane and renewed, that they offer there in the sacrifices accustomed. For we doe not this honoz, to the substance wherewith the temples are made: but to the Gods, to whō they are consecrated. I commend vnto the, the veneration of priestes: I pray the, though they be conetious, auaricious, dysolute, impacēt, negligēt, & vicious, y they be not dishonored. For to vs others it apperteineth, not to iudge of the lyfe they leade as men: but we must cōsider y they are medpatours betwene the gods and vs. Behold my sōne, that to serue the gods, honoure the temples, and reuerence the priestes, it is not a thing voluntary, but very necessary for Princes.

For so longe endured the glove of the Greeces, as they were woysshippers of their Gods, and carefull of their Temples. The unhappy realme of Carthage was nothing moze cowardye, noz lesse ryche, then that of the Romaynes, but in the ende, of the Romaynes they were overcome, because they were greate louers of their treasures, and litle woysshippers of their Temples. I commend vnto the (my sonne) Helia thy steppe mother: and remember, though she be not thy mother, yet she hath bene my wyfe. That whiche to thy mother Faustine thou oughtest for bynging the into y worlde: the selfe same thou oughtest to Helia, for the good entertainemēt which she hath shewed the. And in dede, oft tymes I being offended with the, she maintained the, and caused me to forget: so that she by her good wordes, did winne agayne y, whiche y by thy evil wordes didest lose. Thou shalt haue my curse y thou vbest her euyl: and thou shalt fall into the ire of the gods, if thou agreest that othere doe not vse her well. For all the damage whiche she shall fele, shal not be, but for the inconueniēce of my death, & inturpe of thy persō: for her enterceptmēt, I leaue her the tributes of Hostia, and the offerings of Vulcanus, whiche I haue made to be planted, for her recreation, & thou

not so hardye to take them from her: for in taking them from her, thou shalt shewe thy wickednes, and in leaueinge them her, thy obedience, and in geauinge her moze, thy bounty & liberalitie. Remember (my sonne) that she is a Romayne woman, yong, and a wydowe, and of the house of Traiane my lord, and that she is thy mother adoptiue, and my naturall wyfe: and aboue all, for that I leaue her recommended vnto the. I commend vnto the, my sonne in lawes, whom I wyl thou vse as parentes and frēdes. And beware, that thou be not of those whiche are bretherne in wordes, and consins in woorkes. Be thou assured that I haue willed so much good to my daughters, that the best whiche were in al the countries, I haue chosen for their personnes. And they haue bene so good, that if in geuyng them my daughters, they were my sonne in lawes: in loue, I loued them as chyldren. I commend vnto the my wyffers, and daughters, whom I leaue the all married: not with strange kinges but with natural senators, so that al dwel in Rome, when they may doe the seruices: and thou maist geue them rewardes and giftes. Whisiffers haue greatlye inhercyted the beautye, of thy mother Faustine: and haue taken lytle nature, of their faither Marke. But I sweare vnto the, that I haue geuen them such husbendes, and to their husbendes, such and so profitable counsailes: y they would rather loose, then agre to any thing touching their dishonour. Als thy sisters in such sorte, that they be not out of fauoure, for that their aged father is dead: & that they become not proude, for to see their brother Emperour: women are of a very tender condicion: for of smal occasion they doe complaine, and of lesse they waxe proude. Thou shalt kepe the, and preserue them after my death, as I did in my lyfe. For other wyse, their conuersacion to the people shalbe very noisome: and to the verie impoynunate. I commend vnto the, Lipula thy pongest wyffer,

THE DUALL

which is inclosed with in the virgine befall
les, who was doughter of thy mother Faus
stine, whom so verely I haue loued in lyfe,
and whose death I haue bewailed vntill my
death. Euery yeare I gaue to thy sister, sise
thousand Serretces for her necessities: and
in dede I had maried her also, if she had
not fallen into the fire, and burnt her face.
For though she were my laste, I loued her
with all my hart. All haue esteemed her fal
into the fire for euill lucke: but I doe count
the euill lucke for good fortune. For her face
was not so burned with cooles, as her re
nowme suffered perill amonge euill tongues.
I sweare vnto the (my sonne) that for the
seruice of the gods, and for the renowne of
men: she is moze sure in the Temple with
the befall Virgines, then thou arte in the
Senate, with thy Senatours. I suppose
nowe, that at the ende of the iourney, she
shall fynde her selfe better to be enclosed,
then thou at libertie. I leaue vnto her (in
the prouince of Lucaine) euery yeare sise
thousande serretces. Trauayle to augment
them for her, and not to dymynish them.
I commend vnto the Drusie the Romaine
wydow, who hathe a proces in the Senate.
For in the tymes of the commotionis past,
her husband was prescripte. I haue greate
pety of so noble, & so worthy a widow: so it
is nowe thre monethes since she hathe put
up her complainte, & for the greate warres,
I coulde not shewe her iustice. Thou shalt
fynd (my sonne) that in xvj. yeares I haue
gouerned in Rome, I neuer agreed that
any wydowe should haue any suite before
me, aboue viij. dayes. Be careful to saue,
and dispatche the orphanes, and wydowes.
For the needy wydowes, in what place so e
uer they be, do encurre into great danger.
For with out cause I aduertise the, & thou
trauayle to dispatche them so sone as thou
maiest: & to administer iustice vnto the. For
through the prouiding of beaueful womens
sutes, their honour & credite is diminished.
So that their busynes being prouided, they

shal not recouer somuch of their goods: as
they shall lose of their renowne. I comend
vnto the (my sonne) my old seruantes, which
with my longe yeares, & my cruel warres,
with my greate necessities, with the com
burance of my bodye, and my long disease,
haue had greate trouble: and as faithful ser
uantes, oftentimes to ease me, haue an
noyed them selues. It is conuenient since I
haue prouided of their lyfe, that they shuld
not loose by my death. One thing I let them
be assured, that though my bodye remaine
with the wormes in the graue: yet before
the gods I wyll remember them. And here
in thou shalt shewe thy selfe to be a good
childe, when thou shalt recompence those
whiche haue serued thy father wel. Al prin
ces whiche shal do iustice, shal get enemies
in the execution thereof. And sith it is done
by the handes of those, which are nere him:
the moze familiare they are with the prince,
the moze are they hated of the people: all in
generallylly doe lone iustice, but none doe re
froyce that they execute it in his house, And
therefore, after that the Prince endeth his
lyfe, the people wyll take reuenge of those,
whiche haue bene ministers therof. It were
greate shifamp to the empire, offence to the
gods, iniury to me, but thankfulness to the,
hauing found the armes of my seruantes,
redy xviij. yeares, & thy gates shuld be shut
against them one day. Kepe, kepe these thin
ges (my sonne) in thy memozy: and since
particulerly I doe remember them at my
death, consider how hartely I loued them in
my lyfe.

The .lvii. Chapter.

The good Marcus Aurelius Empe
rouer of Rome, endeth his pur
pose, and lyfe. And of the laste
wordes which he spake to his
sone Commodus and of the ta
ble of counsels which he gaue
him.

When



When the Emperoure had ended hys perticuler recommendations, unto hys sonne Commodus, as the dawninge of the daye began to appeare: so hys eyes began to close, his tong to faulter, & his handes to treble, as it doeth accustome to those, which are at the point of death. The prince perceiuing the litle life to remaine, commaunded his secretary Panutius to go to hys coffer of hys bookes, & to bring one of the coffers befoze his presence: out of the whiche he toke a table of, liii. foote of bredthe, and, ii. of lengthe, the which was of Eban, bordered al about with hyrcorne. And it was closed with, li. yddes very fyne of red woode, whiche they cal rassin, of a tree where the phenix (as they saye) breedeth, whiche dyd growe in Arabia. And as there is but one onely, so in the worlde is there but one onely tree of that sorte. On the bittermoste parte of the table, was grauen the God Jupiter, and on the other h goddesse Venus: & in the other was drawen, the God Mars, and the goddesse Diana. In the vppermoste parte of the table, was carned a bull: and in the nethermoste parte, was drawen a hynde. And they sayed, the paynter of so famous, and renowned a worke, was called Apelles. The Emperoure takynge the table in his handes, casting his eyes vnto his sonne, sayed these wordes. Thou seest my sonne, how from the turmoyles of fortune I haue escaped, and how I into miserable destines of death doe enter, where by experience I shal knowe what there is after this lyfe. I meane not now, to blaspheme the gods: but to repent my synnes. But I would willingly declare why the Gods haue created vs, since there is suche trouble in life, and such paine in death. For vnderstanding why the gods haue bled so great cruelty with creatures, I see it now, in that after. liii. yeres I haue sailed in the danger, & perill of this life: now they commaund me to land & harbour in hys graue of death. Now appoacheth

the houre wherein the bad of matrimony is losed, the cloeth is cut and vnlioued, the key doeth locke, the slepe is wakened, my lyfe doeth end, and I go out of this trouble some paine. Remembryng me of that I haue done in my life, I desire no more to lyue: but for that I knowe not whither I am carped by death, I feare, and refuse hys dartes. Alas what shall I doe, since the gods tell me not what I shal do: what counsaile shal I take of any man, since no man wyl accompany me in this iourney? What great disceite, o what manifest blindnes is this, to loue one thing at the dayes of his lyfe, and to cary nothing with vs after oure death: because I desired to be ryche, they let me dye poore. Because I desired to lyue with companye, they let me die alone. For such shortenes of life, I knowe not what he is y wyl haue a house, since the narrow graue is our certayne mansiō place? beleue me, my sonne, y many thinges passe do grene me soze: but w nothing so much I am troubled, as to come so late to h knoweledge of this life. For if I could perfectly beleue this, neither shuld me haue cause to reprove me, neither yet I now such occasiō to lamēt me. How certayne a thing is it, that men when they come to the point of death, do promise the gods, y if they pzooge their death, they wil amēd their life: but notwithstanding, I am soze that we se them deliuered frō death, without any maner of amendmēt of life. They haue attayned that, which of the gods they haue desired: and haue not performed y, whiche they haue promysed. They ought assuredly to thinke, that in the sweetest tyme of their lyfe, they shal be constrained to accepte death. For admyt y the punishment of ingrate persons be deferred: yet therfore the fault is not pardoned. Be thou assured my sonne, that I haue sene enough, heard, felt, tasted, desired, possessed, eaten, slepte, spoken, and also liued inough. For vices geue as greate trouble, to those which follow them much: as they doe great desire, to those which neuer pzoued them.

THE DIAL

I confesse to the immortall Gods, that I haue no desire to lyue: yet I ensure the, I would not dye. For life is so troublesome, that it wearieth vs: & death is so doubtfull, that it feareth vs. If the gods deferred my death, I doubt whether I should refoyme my life. And if I doe not amende my lyfe nor serue the Gods better, nor profite the common wealthe more, & if that euerye tyme I am sicke it shuld geue me to die: I say it is much better, for me now to accept death, then to wythe the lengthninge of my life. I saye the lyfe is so troublesome, so fyeckle, so suspitious, so vncertaine, and so impo-
runate (synally I saye, it is a lyfe without lyfe) that he is an obstynate foole, whiche so muche desireth it. Come that, that maye come: for finallye, not withstanding that I haue spoken, I wyllynge commit my selfe into the handes of the Gods, since of necessity I am there vnto constrained. For it procedeth not of a lytle wisdom, to receiue that willingly, whiche to do we are constrained of necessity. I wil not recommend my selfe to the priestes, nor cause the oracles to be visited, nor promise any thing to the temples, nor offer sacrifices to the gods, to the ende they shuld warrant me from death, and restore me to lyfe: but I wil demaund, and require them, that if they haue created me for any good thinge, I may not loose it for my euill lyfe. So wyse and sage are the gods in that they saye, so iuste and true in that they promyse, that if they geue vs not that whiche we others would: it is not for that they wil not, but because we deserue it not. For we are so euill, and woithe so litel, and we maye doe so lytle, that for manye good woikes we deserue no meryte: and yet with an euill woike, we be made vnto: thy of al. Since therfore I haue put my selfe into the handes of the Gods, let them doe with me what they wyl for their seruice: for in the ende, the woike that they wyl doe, is muche better then the woilde wyl doe. For all that the woilde hath geuen me, hath

bene but mockery, and deceypte: but that whiche the gods haue geuen me, I haue gouerned, and possessed withoute suspicion.

For this laste houre (my sonne) I haue kepte the beste, the moste noble, and richest tewell that I haue possessed in my life tyme. And I doe protest vnto the immortall gods, that if as they doe commaunde me to dye, they would geue me licence to reade in the graue: I woulde commaunde it to be buried with me. Thou shalt know my sonne, that in the .x. yere of my Empire, a greate warre arose againste the vnrulye people of Persia, where by euyl lucke it was appointed for me, in person to geue the battayle: the whiche wonne, and al their countrey destroyed, I returned by the olde city of Thebes, in Aegypte, to se if I could finde any antiquite of those in tymes passe. In the house of an Egyptian prest, I found a lytell tabel, whiche they hanged at the gate of the kynges pallace, the daye of his coronation. And this poore prest tolde me, that that whiche was in this table, was wyrtten by a kyng of Egypte, named Ptholomeus Arsacides. I beseeche the immortall Gods, my sonne, that suche be thy woikes, as the woordes of this table require. As emperour, I leane the heire of many realmes: and as a father, I geue the this table of counsayles. The woordes whiche the fathers doe teache vnto the chyldren at the laste houre, the chyldren oughte to kepe continually in their memoire. Let this therfore be my laste woide, with the Empire thou shalt be feared throughe oute all the woilde: and with the counsayles of this table, thou shalt be loued of al nattons. This talke being ended, and the table geuen, the Emperoure turned his eyes, losse his senses, and for the space of a quarter of an houre laye in extreme payne, and within a while after yeldeth the ghoste. In this table were certayne greke letters whiche were in meter and in pure tongue signify thus.

ON honours shall I did not tirunt beaue,
 nor yet the poore suppress if he were iust
 For riches rule I would to pardon cleaue
 For want of welth nor folowe rigours lust.

For naked loue I neuer spent reward
 nor would correct for onely enuies beate
 of vertues impes I alwayes had regard
 And mischeis mates haue plagde with torment great

To others doome I neuer would commit,
 of open right the quarell to decide,
 ne yet of doubtfull strifes in trust of witte
 The finall ende alone I would deuide

To them that sought for iustice equall swaye
 her golden rule I neuer did deny
 ne yet to such for whom desert would saye
 Their slender faultes might wel be slipped by

To feede the grieve that waied in my minde
 With others smart I neuer could susteyne,
 nor yet rewardes my princely wordes would binde
 When swete delight had chiefly ioye to rayne.

In high estate when most blind fortune smild,
 A reckles lyfe I restles ran nro on
 nor yet when chaunge thoes happy dayes beguild
 to cold de speyer my quiet minde was gon.

By boiling heat of malice endeles fier,
 to vices trayne I cast no egre o,
 ne yet for lust of pining welthes desue
 Vnlesfull factes I recheles would apply

The traitours brest I neuer couldembraes
 nor lend mine eares to swalow flatteryng talke,
 of vices slaues I wayed not the grace
 nor lest vnfought good wil, in vertues walke

Poore Irus band for that I did relieue
 Whose necky state doth stoope in Cresus swaie
 the greatest gods whoes heauenly wraeke doth grient
 the proudest crownes was ay my present slae.

FINIS.

Desires of grace to be partake
in the hartes of them that
are given in
Christe

As new borne babes desire that
sweer milke of the
word that you
may growe
thry

And now brethren I commend you
to god & to the word of god
grace that is able to bring
you forth to give and
mercifull amongst
all them which
are sanctified
in Christe

Thine friend

Thine truly
Liber

¶ Here foloweth the letters

(which were not in the Frenche Coppe)

conferred with the originall Spanishe coppe.

The.lviij.Chapter

*Of a huge monstre yvhych vvas
seene in Seicilye in the time of
Marcus Aurelius.



N the yeare of the
foundation of Rome,
720. & 41. of the age of
Marcus Aurelius, and
2. yeares before he tooke
possession of the Empire
the 26. daye of August, aboute the goinge
downe of the sonne, in the realme of Syccill
(then called Trinacry) in the cytie of Belli-
na (whiche sopneth vnto the sea, and at this
present is called Palermo) there chaunced
a thing perillous to them that sawe it then,
and no lesse dreadfull to those which shall
heare it now. Whiles they of Palermo
were celebrating a great feast, with muche
joy for gladnes that their pirates had van-
quished the nauye of the Numidians, and
taken 10. of their shippes, and cast 32. per-
sons into the sea, for at that time they were
more all enemies the one to the other, and
for the wicked woorkes which they did, they
bittered the cruel affections which they had.
And as it is y manner of rousers: that which
they got to great peril on the sea, they wast
to litle thought, whē they come to land. It
is a thing woorthy to be noted, how all sort
es of men bothe good and euill do applye
their mindes. The good men haue al their
mindes on their triumphes, and the coue-
tous on their filthy lucre. In this sort men
should be beloued, as though within a sho-
rt space after, they ought to be hated. And so
they should be hated, as though shortly af-

ter they should be beloued. Thus the mas-
gistrates of the citie commaunded all these
shippes and riches to be arrested to then-
tent that neither the pirates should sel the,
nor the other couetous men bye them. And
the reason was, that amonge those of the
Ilandes, there was a lawe that all prizes
which were gotten in the warre, should be
laid by vntill they had peace. And truly it
was a iust lawe. For oftentimes the onely
let, whye the peace is not made betwene
princes, when they assemble to talke therof
is, because there wanteth riches to satisfie
the damages done. When all the people
were retourned home vnto their houses to
supper (for it was in the sommer there ap-
peared an huge monstre in the citie in this
fourme. He seemed to be of the length of 3.
cubites, he had but one eye, his heade was
balde, so that his scull did appeare. He had
no cares, save only ii. hooles in his necke
whereby men iudged that he heard: he had
2. withen hoynes like a goote, his ryghte
arme was longer then his left, his handes
were like the fete of horses, his shoulders
and his head were bothe of one heyghe, his
shoulders shone as dorch the scales of fishes
his brest was all ronghe of heere, his face
in all thinges was like vnto a man, save
that it had but one eye whiche was in the
middest of his forehead. In his nose there
was but one noletrell. From the middle
downeward there was nothinge, scene, be-
cause it was al couered, he sat on a chariot
with 4. wheles whiche was drawen with
4. beastes, that is 2. lions before, and two
beares behind. No man could tell of what
wood the chariot was made. In fashion
it differed nothing from those which other
men do accustomably vse. within the cha-
riot

THE DIAL

riote stode a greate chauldron with eares, wherein the monstre was, wherfoze it could not be sene but from the middle bpward. It wandered a great space in the city from one gate to an other, casting out sparkes of fire. The feare was so great throught out al the city that some women with childe were with great daunger deliuered, and others being saynt harted fell downe dead. And al the people both men, & women great and smale ran to the temples of Iupiter, Mars and Februa with dolefull clamours and cries making their importunate prayers. At the same time all these rours were lodged in the gouernours pallace of the city whose name was Solyno, born at Capua, where also the riches was kept. After the monstre had bene in al partes of the city (oz in h most part therof) it came to the pallace where h pirates were, & cut one of the lions eares of, & to the bloud thereof wrote these letters vpo h pallace gate which was thus R. A. S. P. I. P. These letters were of diuers men diuersly enterpreted so that the interpretations were no then the letters. And in the end, a woman prophetes greatly esteemed for her science (to whom godd had geuen this secrete knowledge) opened the true meaning of these letters, sayinge R. signifieth Reddite, A. aliena S. si vultis, P. propria, I. in pace, P. possidere. Which altogether is to say, Render vnto others that which is theirs, if you in quiet will possesse your owne. Truly the pirates were wonderfully afrayde of this sodayne comaundement and the woman was highly commended for her exposition. This being done, the monstre went the same night out of the city vnto a high hill called Iamicia, & there stode for the space of thye dayes in the sight of the city, the lions with terrible voices roying, the beares with no lesse feareful cries raging, & finally the monstre most dreadfull flames casting. Duringe all this time there was neither bird sene in the ayre nor beast in the fieldes. And the people offered such great sacrifices vnto the

gods h they brake the baynes of their haches & fete, & offered the bloud thereof to se if they could appease their wrathes. These .3. dayes being passed there appeared in h cleme a maruellous dark cloud, which seemed to darke h whole erth & therewith it began to thunder and lighten so terribly that sundry houses fel to the ground, and infinite men ended their liues. And laste of all there came such a flame of fire from the monstre, that it burnt both the pallace where the rours were and also the riches & all other thinges that were therein, so that all was consumed with fire: yea the very stones therein selued. This tempest was so great that there fell about two thousande houses, & there died more then ten thousand personnes. In this place where this monstre was on the topp of the hill, the emperor edified a sumptuous temple to the god Iupiter in perpetual memozy of the same. Wherof afterwards Alexandre emperor hauinge waite with the people of that ile made a strong castell,

The lix. Chapter

*Of that vvhich chaunced vnto a neighbour of his in Rome in the time of his empire,



And the same time when this wofull chaunce happened in h ple there dwelled a Romanne in the same city called Antigonus a man of a noble bloud & wel stroked in age, who with his wife, & daughter were banished, ii. yeares before from Rome. The cause of his banishment was this. There was an old laudable custome in Rome instituted by Quintus Cincinatus h dictatour, that .2. of the most auncient Senatours should go to the censor newlie created in the moneth of December to visite al Rome, and to examine severallye every Romanne, declaring vnto him the .xii. tables, and also the particuler decrees of the Senate demanding of theym if they knewe anye manne that

had not obserued these lawes, and if they did: they shuld enforce the senate therof, and so euery man shoulde receiue condigne punishment, according to his offence. But they neuer punished before they warned, for they vsed the one yeare to admonishe them of their fautes, and the next yeare, if they did not amend to punish them, or els to banishe them. These were the wordes of the lawe in the fift table and third chapter. The sacred senate doth ordeyne, the happye people do consent, and the aunciente colonies do allowe, that if men as men in one yeare do trespassse, that men as men for that yeare do winke at them: but if they as such men do not amend, that then the good do good do punish them. For euen the laworde, the first fautes are dissembled with all, because they are committed through weake ignorance: but the second shall be punished because they procede of negligēce and malice. This inquiry was made in the moneth of December, because in the moneth of January folowinge, the officers of Rome were elected. And it was reason the good from the euill shoulde be knowne, to the intent they mighte knowe who merited to haue them, & who deserued to go without them. The chiefe cause why this Antigonus, his wife and his daughter were banished was this. It was ordeyned by the second emperor of Rome Octa. August⁹, that no man shoulde be so hardye as to pisse nere the doores of any temple. And Caligula the .4. Emperoure commanded that no woman shoulde geue or sell anye letters of witchcraftes to hange about the peoples neckes to deliuer them from the feuer quartayne. And Cato the censour made a lawe that neither yong man, nor mayde shoulde talke togethers, at the conduites where they vsed to fetch water, nor at the riuer where they washed their clothes, nor at the backehouse where they baked their breade because all the wanton youth of Rome ordinarily haunted one of these two places.

It chaunced when the censours and Consulles visited the warde of mount Celio, Antigonus, who dwelled there by, was accused to haue pished against the walles of the temple of Mars, and his wife likewise was complayned of for sellinge writings to cure the feuers. And his daughter was noted for one that commonly haunted the conduites, riuers, and backehouses to talke with yong men, the whiche in those dayes was a great shame to maydes of Rome.

The censours therfore seeing the euill present which they found in the house of Antigonus at that time, registered also before, and that he had bene gently therof admonished: banished him into the yle of Sicilly, for as long time as it shoulde please the senate: And like as in sumptuous and goodly buildings one stone falleth not without shakinge of an other, so it chaunceth likewise to men. For comonly one mischaunce cometh not alone: but that another immediately foloweth. I speake it for this purpose for that Antigonus was not onely depriued of his honoure, goodes, and countrey, but also by the tremblinge of the earth his house fell downe to the ground, and slewe his dearest beloued daughter. Whiles both these great mischaunces happened, I meane of the monstre in Sicilly, and of the banishment of Antigonus from Rome. Marke the emperor was in the warres against the Argonautas where he receiued a letter from Antigonus of his banishment, wherof the emperor was merueylous sorry as it appeareth by the aunswere which he sent to comfort him.

The .ix. Chapter

Hovve Marcus Aurelius Emperour soughte the vvealth of his people, and hovv his people loued him.

THE DIAL

IN the second yeare that Marke was elected emperor the .45. of his age, when he returned from the conquest of the Germanes and the Argonantes (from whence he brought great riches and treasures to the Romayne empire, he to rest him selfe & to appoynte his men) lay at Salon untill suche time as the Romaynes had prepared all thinges convenient for such a glorious triumphe: There was one thing done which never was sene in Rome, for the same daye of his triumphe his sonne Commodus by the assent of the whole people of Rome, was chosen emperor after the death of his father. He was not chosen at the request of his father for he was against it: sayinge that the empyre oughte not to be given for the merites of those which are dead, but he should be chosen for his owne workes. This emperor said oftentimes & then Rome shuld be undone: when the election shal be taken from the senate, and when the emperor shal inherite the empire by patrimony. Howe to come to our matter the emperor beinge at Salon, traupled much to bringe his men into Rome in good order. And Rome was more careful for to receyue him triumphally, as it apperteyned to suche a great conquest: he was marueylously well beloued of all the empire, and he alwayes studied the wealth of his people, and they were alwayes most faythfull in his seruices. So that sundrye times there was a question moued in the senate which of these .ii. thinges was better beloued. Either the emperor of his people, or the people of the emperor. So that one day they appoynted .ii. iudges in this case, the one was the imballadour of the Parthes & the other was the imballadour of the Rhodes, and the infor-macion was geuen in bothe partes in writinge. The emperor alleaged the great profite that he had done to the comon welth,

and the many euilles which he had deliuered it from. On the other part the senators declared the good dedes they had done in his absence & the great loue they bare him alwayes in his presence. So likewise the emperor another day moued another question to the senate, affirminge that it was more glorie for him to haue such subiectes, then for them to haue suche an emperor. The senate denyed it affirminge that the contrary was greater that they had of him: then that which he could haue of them. And in this wise the emperor gaue the glorie to his people, and the people gaue the glorie to their emperor. Thus merliue this matter was reasoned of agayne. It was a pleasant thing to heare the reasons wherewith the part proued his purpose, for the good emperor attributed the whole laude for a perpetuall memoire vnto the people, because of the great obedience, diligent seruice, and faythfull loue which he had found in them. And on the other part, the fortunate people gaue the glorie vnto the emperor, for his clemency and mercifulnes, for his vprightnes governinge for his honesty of liuinge, & for his stout courage in conquering. It was a thing worthy of noting, to se how the people gaue the honour to their emperor, & how the emperor attributed the praise to his people. These matters were deliuered in trusting to the straunge imballadours, to shew that all people might learne to obey their princes and also princes learne to loue their people: to shew that by suche examples (as it was reason) the good shoulde be encouraged and the euil discomforted. Thus the emperor prepared all thinges redy with his captaynes and captiues for his entring, and the people of Rome made as great preparation for to receyue him. It was a marueylous thing to se what people came forth of Rome to mete him, and what an infinite nombre were at Salon to behold him. They that were at Salon had their eyes and also heartes at Rome, & they that were at

suche sorte that their eyes daseled with that they saw, also their hartes reioyced soz that they hoped to se. For there is no more greater toymente to the harte: then when it is differred from that whiche it greatlye desireth.

The .lxii. Chapter,

How at the intercession of many, vvhich the Emperesse had sente, the Emperoure graunted hys daughter Lucilla licēce to sport her selfe at the feastes.



On shal vnderstand that the Romaynes bled allwayes in the moneth of Ianuarie to permit that their Emperours should triumphe, and it chaunced that at that tyme when they prepared for the triumphe, that Faustine the Emperesse caused dyuers noble barons, to demaunde licence of the Emperoure that her daughter might come from her mysters, where she was taught, to the pallace to sporte her selfe at the feastes: Her name was Lucilla, who was elder then the Prince Commodus her brother. She had a goodly gesture, she was well made in the bodye, and derely beloued of her mother, whom she resembled not onely in beautye but also in lypunge. Though the request seemed to be reasonable and those that made it, counsellors and thoughte hym whom they asked was the father, and he that demaunded it was the mother, and the for whom this request was made, was the daughter: yet the Emperoure woulde not graunte it but halfe agaynst hys will. Faustine when she had obtayne licence was exceeding glad, and

so sone as she myghte possible, she brought her daughter home vnto the pallace.

And when the daye of the greote feast and solempne triumphe came: the yonge damsel perceiuyng her selfe at large, without anye gouernour, trusting in the innocēcy of her selfe, estreamed not the malice of any other man: but reioyced with those that reioyced, talked with them that talked, behelde them, that beheld her, and she thought because she myghte euill to no man that no man woulde euill to her. In those dayes it was as greote an effence for a mayde of Rome to laughe in the compaigns of men, as it was for the priestes of Grecia to committe adulterye with a woman. So greatlye was the honestye at that tyme of the Romayne matrones regarded, and the lightenes of the maydens was so detested, that they gaue more sharpe punishmente for one offence done openly, then for two other whiche were committed in secret. Amonge all other thinges, from the seueren the Romayne matrones dyd marceylously refraine, that is to wete: fro talking muche at feastes, from gredey eating among strangers, from dainkinge wine to byples they were whole: from talking in secret with any man: from liftinge vp their eyes in the temples, from gasinge muche out at the windowes. And from wandringe abrode without their husbands: For the woman that was apprehended in any of these thinges, was allwayes after counted as one infamous.

There are manye thinges suffered in parsons of meane estate, which can not be endured in those of hygher degree: For lacydes of hygh renoume can not keape the reputation of their estates, vntill they are marvellous circumspecte in all their doings.

All thinges that degenerate from their kynde defecte blame but the dishonest woman meritteth in faulte. If ladies in the court ladies in deede, for the know how much they

THE DIAL

excell others in riches, so much lesse licence
 haue they then other to go gaddinge in the
 streetes. For of a suretye the aboundance
 of their riches, and the liberty of their par-
 sons shuld not be a spurre to prouoke them
 to gadde abode, but rather a bydel to kepe
 them with in. Al this is spokē for this cause
 that Lucil as a mayde tender and yonge,
 and Faustine her mother as one not verie
 old: sometimes on foote, and sometimes ris-
 ding, sometimes openly, and now and then
 secretly: Sometimes with company and at
 other times alone: Sometimes by daye and
 oftymes by night: bled to sote the streetes of
 Rome, to blesw the fieldes of Vulcane: To
 spoze them by the riuer of Tiber: to gather
 the fruites in the orchardes of Saturne: to
 suppe at the conduites of Nero, and such o-
 ther bagares they vsed. The which thinges
 though their age dyd desire, and their dol-
 nes allure them there vnto: yet the grauity
 of suche lades ought to haue withd:awen
 them fro it. I wyl speake one thing, to the
 that other lades and gentylwomen maye
 take warning thereby: which is, that I can
 not tel which was greater, either the smal
 discretion which moued Faustine and Lu-
 cilla to wander in suche sozte aboute the
 streetes, or the audacite that euill men toke
 thereby to talke of their parsons and donbt
 of their honestyes. The keepinge of women
 in their houses, is lyke vnto a bydel to hold
 still euill mens tonges. The woman that is
 a strayer abode, putteth her good name in
 muche daunger, of crouth it were better for
 a woman neuer to be hoine: then to lyue
 with an euill name. Amonge all the sam-
 ples of the aunient Romaynes, that of the
 Corneliens was counted mosse fortunare,
 for amonge the men there was neuer anye
 founde a colwarde, nor amonge the women
 anye that was defamed. The historiogra-
 phers say, that there was one womā of that
 lynage, only for being lyght in her behaui-
 our, was by the hādes of her owne parties
 hāged vpo the gallowes. Surely it was wel

done of the Romaynes, to thentent that the
 lyghtnes of one womā alone, shuld not de-
 fame the whole family. Where as is noble-
 nes, and honesty: therethe matters & touchē
 the honoz ought not to tary, whyles they be
 remedied by iustice: but from that man or
 woman which among al, hath lost his good
 name, fro the number of the lyuyng he also
 ought to be taken. It is not sufficiēt for one
 to hym selfe to be good: but it is requysite
 that he geue no occasion to others to iudge
 him to be euil. Al the losses of tēporal goods
 that chaunce vnto men in this lyfe, oughte
 not to be compared with a lytle blemyshe, of
 a mans good name. The mā that hazardeth
 for a tryfle his good name in this world,
 shal at a hundredth shoores scarfly thote one
 right. And contrariwise, the man that hath
 losse his honesty & that esteemeth not the re-
 putation of his parson: truly from hym we
 shal neuer se any good thing procede. Now
 the emperour like vnto a wise ship maister,
 fearng after the greace calmes some tem-
 pestuous storme: I meane in the tyme of this
 great mirth and gladnes, fearedlest any in-
 fampe shoulde ensew vnto these two ladies.
 And for a surety he doubted not withoute a
 cause, for it is an infallible rule of enuyous
 fortune, to geue vs in manye yeares a lytle
 prosperitey to thentent that afterwarde so-
 beinly she maye bring vs into some greate
 aduersity. By experyence we see that the sea
 is seldome tymes calme: but immediatlye
 foloweth some peryllous tempest. The ex-
 treame heate of the daye doeth pronosticare
 the terrible thōder in the euen tye. I meane
 when fortune doeth flatter vs with her gal-
 den pylls, it is a token that she entendeth
 to cathe vs in her snares. The mylner be-
 fore the bankes broken repareth the dam-
 mes. The husbandeman before it rayneth,
 thacketh his house, fearinge the snowe and
 rayne that is to come. So lyke wise the sage
 man ought to consider, that duringe this
 lyfe he hath prosperyppe but by leue, and
 aduersity as by patrimonye, Marcus Au-
 relius

relius amonge all other men was he that knewe howe to enioye prosperitie and also to preyntle of aduersitie. Though fortune gaue hym muche prosperitie: yet he neuer therein trusted, nor for anye troubles that euer he receyued in this lyfe he was at any tyme abashed.

The lxii. Chapter.

Of the sharpe vvordes vyliche Marcus Aurelius spake to hys wyfe, and to his daughter.



When the tryumphes befoze named, were synysled this good Emperoure being wyllynge to vnbourden hys harte and to aduise Faustine, and to teache the yonge damel his daughter, and to thende that no man should here it, he called them a parte, and sayed vnto them these woordes. I am not content Faustine, with that thy daughter dyd, nor yet with that whiche thou haste done being her mother. The daughters if they wilbe counted good chyldren, muste learne to obey their fathers; and the mothers if they wyl be counted good mothers, muste learne to brynge vp their daughters well. When the mother is honest and the daughter shamefast, the father is excused in geuing counsell. It is greate shame to the father beinge a man, that the mother beinge a woman should chastise his sonne. And it is a greate reproche to the mother that the daughter shoulde be chastised by the handes of anye man. There was a law enacted amonge the Rhodians, that neither the father shold haue to doe with the daughters, nor the mothers with the sonnes, but the men vsed to brynge vp the men, and the women the women. And in suche wyse that they abydyng all

in one house, it semed vnto the fathers that they had no daughters, & vnto the mothers that they had no sonnes. O Rome Rome, I bewaile the not so; so se the greates vnpaynid, nor so se the houses so decayed, nor so se thy battelmentes so fallen downe, nor the timber helued downe, nor so; the dynnyng hynges of thy habytauntes, so; all this the tyme byngeth, and the tyme taketh awaye, but I wepe for the, and wepe for the againe, so se the vnpeopled of good fathers, and vnprovided in the noysshinge of their chyldren. Rome then began to decaye, when the discipline of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and that their byble was let at liberty. For there is nowe suche boldnes in men chyldren, and so hile shamefastnes in women chyldren, with the dishonestye of the mothers, that where as one father suffred for .xx. sonnes, and one mother for .xx. daughters, nowe .xx. fathers dare scarcelye vnder take to brynge vp well one sonne, and .xxx. mothers one daughter. I saye to you thus Faustine, you remember not how you are a mother, so; you geue moze liberty to your daughter, then ought to be suffred. And you Lucil remeber not how you are a daughter: so; you shoue to haue moze liberty then requireth so; a yonge maiden. The greates gift that the Gods haue geuen to the matrons of Rome is, because that they are women, they kepe them selues close and secret; and because they are Romanes they are shamefast. The day whē the women wante the feare of the gods secretly, and shame of men openly, beleue me they shal either sale the world, or the world them. The common wealth requireth it of greate necessity, that the women which therein enbabite shold be as honest, as the capitaines valiaunt: so; the capitaines going to warre desed them, and the women whiche abyde at home conserue them. As now. .iiii. yeaeres passed ye sawe the greate pestilence and I demaunded then to haue a count of the people, & I found y of a C. xl. p. honest womē, lxxx. p. dyed, & of .x. p.

THE DIAL

dishonest women, in maner they scaped al.

I cannot tell for whiche I shoulde wepe, eyther for the lacke that we haue of the good and vertuous women in oure common wealth, or els for the greates hurte and domages that these euill and wycked women doe to the pouthe of Rome. The sper that byrenneth in mounte Ethna, doeth not so muche endomage those that dwel in Sicil, as one euill woman doeth twelfth in the walles of Rome. A sperse beast, and a perillous enemye to the common wealth, is an euill woman, for she is of power to commyt all euils and nothings apte to do anye good. Whow manye realmes, and kyngdomes rede we of, whiche by the euyl behauiours of one woman haue bene lost, and to respyte agaynst them, there hath ben nede bothe of wysedom, perpls, money and force of manye men. The vices in a woman is as a grene rede that botweth euerye waye: but the lyghenes and dishonestye is as a dyke kyre that breaketh, in suche wise that the moze euil they bitter, the moze vnlykely is the amendmente thereof. Beholde Faustine, there is no creature that moze despyreth honoure, & woise kepeth it, then a woman, and that this is true, we se, by iustice, by oratiōs, by wyspryng and other trauailes man getteth fame & renowne, but without it be by flatering and faire speakinge, vnto this honre by auncient wyters we can rede of fewe women or none, whiche either by wytyng, redyng, working with nedle, spinning or by weynge, haue gotten them any great renowne: but as I say of one, I saye of another, certainly of dyuers we rede, by keepinge the close in their houses, wel occupied in their busines, seporate in their woordes, faithfull to their husbantes, wel ordeed in their persons, peasable with their neighbours, & finally for being honest amōg ther owne family, hamfast amōgest straungers, they haue obtained great renowne in their life, & leste a perpetual memozy of the, after their death. I wil tel you an auncient hystozy

as profitable to restrayne oure byes, as it did then angmer vertues, which is this. The realme of Lacedemonius as Plato saith, was a lōg tyme as dissolute throughe the diuinitys of womē, as infamed by the vices of mē, so y of al natiōs they were called barbarous, what tyme Grece, of pphilosophers was called the mother of philosophers. Licurges a wyse philosopher in knowledge, & a right iust king in gernaunce, partly with his doctrine very profitable, & partly with his life most pure, ordeyned lawes in the sayed realme, wherby he extirped all vices, & planted all vertues. I cannot tel whiche of these two were most happiest, the king hauing so obedient people, or els the realme to haue so worthy a king. Among other lawes for women, he enacted one worthy of highe commendatiō, the which commaunded, y the father which died, shuld geue nothing to his daughter, & another y neither liuing nor dieng, he shuld geue anye money to mary her w, to thynke that none shoulde take her for her goods, but al only for her vertues, & not for her beauty but for her qualitties: & where as now some be for sake, because they are poze, so the they abode vnmarrid, because they were vicious, & tyme worthy to be desired, whē maydens hoped nothing to be maried, with their fathers goods, but by the vertuous woorkes of ther owne persons, this was the tyme called the golde woold, when neither the daughter feared to be disherited, by the father in his life, nor y father to die so poful, for leuening her to our dowry at his death. & Rome cursed be he first brought gold into thy house, and cursed be he that first began to hoorde by treasure. Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and so poze of vertues: who hath caused noble men to marye the daughters of villaines, and leane the daughters of Senatours vnmarrid & what hath made, that the ryche mannes daughter is demaunded vntwyllyng, and the daughters of a poze manne, none twill despyze. What hath caused, that one marryeth a sole

with

with foue hundred marks, rather then a
 wisse woman with ten thousand vertues:
 then I wil not say that in this case the flesh
 vanquisheth the flesh, but I say that vanity
 is ouercome of malice: for a conerous per-
 son wyl soner now a daies, take a wyfe that
 is riche and foule, then one that is poore and
 faire: O unhappy women that bring forth the
 chylde, and more unhappy be the dought-
 ers that are borne: the whiche to take in
 maryage no man desireth, neyther for the
 blood of their predecessours, nor the fauour
 of their frendes, nor the worthynesse of their
 workes, nor the beautye of their persons,
 nor for the purity of their lyues. O wretched
 world, where the daughter of a good man,
 without money shal haue no maryage, but
 it was not wonte to be so. For in the olde
 tyme, when they treated of maryages, firste
 they spake of the persons, and after of the
 goods, not as they do at this present, in this
 unhappy tyme: for now they speake firste
 of the goods, and laste of al, of the persons,
 in the fated golden worlde, firste they spake
 of the vertues that the person was endow-
 ed with, & when they were maried, as it were
 in sporte they woulde speake of the goods.
 The Camillo triumphed ouer the Gauls,
 he had then but one sonne, and he was such
 one that his desertes merited great praise,
 and for the renowne of his father, dyuers
 kynges desired to haue hym to their sonne,
 and dyuers Senatours desired to haue hym
 to their sonne in lawe.

This yong man being of the age of .xxx.
 yeares, and the father at .lx. was importu-
 nately stirred, by his naturall frendes, and
 desired of straunge kynges, for to marie
 hym: but alwaye the elde Camille with-
 stode the counsell of his frendes, and the im-
 portunitee of the straungers. When it was
 demanded why he determined not vpon
 some maryage for his sonne, sicke there by
 should ensue the quyet life of the yong man
 and the ioye of hym selfe in his age, he an-
 swered, I wyl not marie my sonne, be-

cause some offer me ryche doughters seme
 noble of linage, some yong, and some faire.
 But there is none haib sayd to me, I geue
 you my vertuous doughter: Certainelye
 Camil merited tryumphe for that he dyd,
 and deserued eternall memoire for that he
 sayd: I speake to you Faustine, all these
 wordes, because I se you leade your dought-
 er to theatres and playes, and bynge her
 into the cappitoll, you put her to the re-
 pyng of the swerde players, you suffer her
 to see the tumbleres, and yet doe you not re-
 member that she is yong, and you not to as-
 ged, you goe into the streates withoute ly-
 cence, and spoyle you by the ryuers: I finde
 no byllayne therein, nor thinke that your
 doughter is euill, but I saye it, because you
 geue occasyon that she shoulde not be good.
 Beware beware Faustine, neuer trust to
 the rase of flesh of yonge people, nor haue
 no confydens in olde folkes, for there is no
 better waye, then to flye the occasion of all
 thinges.

For this intent the virgins bestalles are
 closed by betwene the walles, to eschew the
 occasyons of open places, not to be more
 lighte and soly she, but to be more sad and
 vertuous, flieng occasyons, the yonge shal
 not saye, I am yonge and vertuous, nor the
 olde shal not say, I am olde and broken. For
 of necessitye, the dyre flaxe wyl ben in the
 fier, & the grene slagge smoke in the flame.
 I saye though a man be a dyamonde set a-
 monge men, yet of necessitye he ought to be
 quicke and to melt as ware in the heate a-
 mong women, we cannot denye, I thoughte
 the wood be taken from the fyr and the
 timbers quenched, yet neuertheles the flo-
 wes oftentyme remayne hotte. In lyke wyse
 the fleshe, though it be chastised with hottes
 and dry diseases, consumed by many peres
 with trauayle, yet concupysces abydeth
 still in the bones.

What nede is it, to blase the vertues,
 and denye oure naturall types, certainlye
 ther is not so old a horse, but if he se a mare

THE DIAL

wyl ney once oꝝ stowle, there is no man so yong nor old but let hym se pong damissels, either he wyl geue a sighe oꝝ a wishe: in all voluntary thinges I deny not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natural thinges, I confesse euery man to be weake. When you take the wood fro the fier, it leueth burning when sommer cometh, the colde wynter ceaseth, when the sea is calme, the waues leaue their vehemente motions, when the sonne is set, it lightneth not the world, I wil say that then and not before, the flesh wyl cease to trouble vs, when it is layde in the graue. Of the flesh we are bozne, in it fleshe we liue, and in the flesh we shal dye, & there by it soloweth that our good life, shal soner end, then our fleschly desiers forsake vs, oftentimes some holisome flesh corrupteth in an euil vessel, & good wine sometime sauereth of the foisse, I say though that the workers of our life be vertuous: yet shal we fele the stench of the weake fleshe. I spake this Faustine, sith that age can not resist these hot appetites, how can the tender members of youth resist them: vnlesse you are the mother goe the right waye, how should the daughter that soloweth you find stee the Romaine matrons, if they wil byinge vp their daughters well, ought to kepe these rules, when they se y they would wander abroad, that they breake their legges, and if they would be gasinge then put out their eyes, and if they wyl lyffen, stoppe their eares, if they wil geue oꝝ take, cut of their handes, if they dare speake, solue vp their mouthes, if they wyl pretend any lightnes, burie them quicke, deaht ought to be geuen to an euil daughter in stede of her dowry, so: gyftes geue her woymes, & so: her house a graue, take hede Faustine if you wyl haue muche loy of your daughter take, from her the occasions whereby she shall be euil, so vnder set a house beboneth dyuers proppes, and if the principalles be taken awaye, it wyl fall downe, I say you women are so fraile, that with keepers with great paine, they can kepe

them selfe, and so: a smal occasion they wil lose altogether. How many euil hath there bene, not because they would be so, but because they solowed such occasiōs, the which they oughte to haue eschewed. It is at my pleasure to enter into this battel, but yet it is not in my power to attayne the victorie. It is so: me to enter into the sea, yet it lyeth not in my handes, to escape the peryl, it is in the handes of a woman, to enter into the occasyon, and after that she is therein, it is not in her power to escape from euil, to deliuer her from tonges. Veradventure Faustine, thou wylt say to me, none can speake to your daughter Lucil, vnlesse thou hearest it, nor se her, but thou seest him, nor chuey her, but thou knowest where, nor make any apointment, withoute thy consent, and yet thou knowest, that those which wil her euil, seke with their rōges to dishoner her, & those that to their hartes loue her speake onely in their hartes. Awe loue in yonge blood in the springing time and sloppynge youth is a popson that so: the with spredeth into euery dayne, it is a herbe that entreteth into the entrayles, a stowning that continually mortifyeth all the members, and a pestilence that sleeth the hartes, and finally it maketh an ende of all vertues, I knowe not what I saye but I fele that which I would saye, so: I woulde neuer blasen lone with my tonge, excepte I were so: wounded therewith in my harte. Ouide saith in his booke, of the arte of lone, lone is I wot not what, it cometh I knowe not from whence, who sente it I wot not, it engendreth I knowe not howe, it is satisfied I wot not wherewith, it is felt, & I wot not how oft, it sleeth, I wot not wherfore, & finally without breaking the fleshe outwardly, lone taketh roote and molesteth the harte inwardly: I knowe not what Ouide meaneth here by, but I trowe when he sayd these wordes, he was as farre banished from him selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. Faustine they that loue together. viter the se-

cretes of their hartes by diuers wayes, & in sleping they reason and speake, and by signes they vnderstande eche other. The many wordes outwardly declare smal loue within. And the feruent inward loue, keepeth silence outward, the entrayles within embraced with loue, cause the tongue outward to be mute, he that passeth his life in loue, ought to kepe his mouth close. And to thintent that ye shall not thinke, that I speake fables, I will proue this by auncient histories. We finde aunciently, that in the yeare. 160, after the foundation of Rome. Estrasco a yonge Romaine that was dombe, and Verona a sayre Ladye of the Latines which was dombe also, these two saue eche other on the mount Celio, at the feastes, and there fel in loue ech with other, and their hartes were as soze fired in loue as their tongues were ride from speache. It was a marueylous thing to se then, and feareful to note nowe. The yong lady came fro Solon to come: and he went fro Rome to Solon sundry times by the space of .30. yeares without the knowledge of any parson, and neuer spake together. It chaunced at the last that the husband of the lady Verona died, and the wife of Estrasco also, and then they discouered their loue, and treated a marriage betwene them, of whom descended the noble linage of our Scipions which were moze famous in the seates of armes, then their father and mother were troubled for want of wordes, then Faustin marke this thinge, it hadde litle anayled to haue cut out the tongues of the two dombe persons, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hartes. Also I shall tel you of Masnissa a worthy knight of Numidie, and Sopharisa a famous lady of Carthage, all onely by one sighte, as they saue eche other on a ladder he declared his desire vnto her: and she knowinge his lust, breaking the oozes of feare, and lifting by the ankers of shame, incontinente raysed the sayles of their hartes, and wyth

the shippes of their personnes, they toynd eche to other, here may we se, howe the first sight of their eyes, the knowledge of their parsons, the consent of their hartes, the copulation of their bodies, the decay of theyr estates, and the losse of their good names, in one daye, in one houre, in one momente, and in one step of a ladder were losse, what will you that I say moze to this purpose, do you not knowe, that Heleyne the Creke, and Paris the troyan, of two straunge nations, and of farre countreyes, with one onely sight in a temple their willes were so knitt together, that he tooke her as his captiue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appeared but small force, and in Helena but litle resistance, so that in manner these two yong persons, the one procuringe to vanquish, and the other sufferinge to be vanquished, Paris was cause of his fathers death, and Heleyne of the infamy of her husband, & they both of their owne deatthes, losse to their realmes, and sciaunder to all the worlde. All this grewe of one onely sighte: when great kinge Alexander would haue geuen battayle to the Amazonas, the quene captayne of them no lesse sayre then strong and verriuous, came to a riuer side. and the space of an houre, eche of them behelde an other with their eyes, without vttering of any worde. And when they retourned to their tentes, the sterlines was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes. When Pirrus the faithfull defender of the Correntines, and renowned king of Epirotes was in Italy, he came into Naples and he had not bene there but one daye, but he was enamoured of a sayre lady named Gemelicia of a high lignage and greatly esteemed for her beauty, and the very same daye she was gotten with childe and shamed throughe out all Italy & cast out of the city, after that she was deliuered of childe, she was slayne by one of her owne bzerherne, also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bithiny in that wood Sechin made

THE DIAL

mighte a goodly banquet to Marcus Antonius her louer, and though she was not very honest, yet had she with her chaste women, And thus she banquet endured a great part of the night. And the wood being thicke, the
 * poyng damselfs were not so wily to hide the, but the poyng men Romayns founde them, so that of 60. daughters of the senatoures, 55. were gotten with childe, among þ thick bushes, which thing made a great scandal in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cleopatra, and minished the honesty of Marce Antony. Thus as I haue shewed of a small nombre, I could saye of many other. All men are not men, nor all women are not women. I speake it because I would it should be sayd, let it touche the that it toucheth, and let them that come, vnderstand me. There are some ships whiche are so light that they wil saile with a litle winde. And there be other some mills that wil grind with a litle water. I say there be some womē so bickie, that as a glasse with a philippe wil breake, and wil slippe with a litle mire.

Tell me Faustine haue you suffered your daughter to speake but with her vnckles, and kept company but with their cousins, I say in this case as much, that the mother is in as much blame, as the daughter in perill.

Do you not knowe that the hote fire both not forbeare the woode be it it were oze or dyre: but in likewise it consumeth the hard stones. Do you not knowe, that the extreme hunger causeth beastes to deuoure with their teethe the thing that was bred in their entrayles?

Do you not knowe that the goddes made a lawe ouer al thinges, except ouer louers, because they may not abide it, and doubtlesse it was right wisely done that Rome condemnerth not these folishe innocents because they haue no vnderstanding. The goddes geue no payne to amorous people because they are deppriued fro reason: Ye

knowe when I was censured there was a yonge woman which hadde a childe by her owne father, and an other that had a childe by her sonne, and a niece by her proper vnckle, and there was sentence geuen on them that the father should be geuen to the lions, and the children buried quicke, and the mothers were burnt in the campe of Mars, the matter was so horrible to heare that I might not endure to see the cursed men, and I commaunded by my decrees that none should be so bolde to speake in suche a case any moze. And if this case were feareful to men, then certaynlye the Romayne matrones ought to liue chastlye. When if the fire of the father do chase the daughter, inflame her hartsfolke, and burneth them selfe: ye may be sure if he kinde after, other cosin, or saye sister, the flames of his concupiscence wil not leaue to take holde on her, for any parentage. If this riotous fleshe wil obeye reason, then it may be, that your daughter may speake liberally with her cosines, but with that passion repugnethe so muche at reason, I counsaile you, trust not to much in her betherne.

You se by experience that the woyme that is bred in the timbre, & the moignes which are bred in the clothes eateth þ same cloth: I saye that sometime a man bringeth him by in his house whiche afterwarde taketh his honour and life from him.

Faustine, take this that I haue sayde for a warning, and these laste wordes I giue you for counsaile.

If you wil kepe your selfe from thoughte, and your daughter from perill, let your daughter be alwayes occupied with some good woorkes, for when the handes are occupied with any good exercise, the harte is boyde from many idle and vaine thoughtes.

Euery lightnes done in youth breaketh downe a loupe of our life, but pdenesse, wherby our enuy entereth, is it which openeth the gate to al vices.

Knowest

Knowest thou Faustine from whence proceedeth the vndoinge of the pong Romaine daughters. I will tel the: for as sone as they be bozne, they presume to be amorous, they as bminidfull with the rechelesnes of the father and wantonnes of the mothers, dispise the honest traunples, and embrace the pleasaunt yolenes. Of tole mortons and outragious thoughtes the eyes take licence without leaue, the minde altereth, and the will is hurt. And finally thinking to be the white that amorous men shoote at, they remayne as a but ful of all bices. And in conclusion there is nothing that more chafereth the ball of the thoughte, in this playe, then the hand set a worke therewith.

The.lxiii.Chapter

The Emperour causeth his vvyfe to take avvaye all occasions of euell from her daughter, vvher in is declared the fraylty of the tender fleshe.



Then the good Emperour Marcus, hauing a clere vnderstanding and a quicte minde, toke right great hede of all thinges that were past prudely waying thinges present, & thinges to come. Seeing that the perdisio of princes depended all in will wholy, eyther geuinge them selues to straunge thinges, forgetting their owne, or els to entend to their owne only, nothing regarding straunge thinges: His hart was so agreable to him, that neyther the great busines of the, nor for al affaires of his house, he woulde leaue one of them vnder dispatched. I speake this because this emperour Marcus had .4. daughters, whose names were Lucille, Porlena, Matrina and Domicia. Al resembled their

mother in excellent beuty, but they resembled not their father in honesty nor vertue. And though they were in goneruance vnder their maystres, out of his presence, yet he had them alwayes in memozy, and the elder they were, the more study and thought he toke for them. And when they came to lawfull age, he studied to make provision for them. It was a landable custome, that the daughters of the officers of the senate, should not mary without licence, nor the emperours daughters without the consent of the senate. Then it was so that one of the sayd princeles his daughter beinge of age and of will to be married, her father seinge her impozunitie to accomplishe her desire because he was sicke, he sent for Faustine that she should go and talke in the senate, the which with al her power she withstode, because that secretly she had treated for another marriage for her daughter, and openly she excused her selfe, sayinge that her daughter was to yonge and tender of age. And as the goddes had geuen age sufficient to the father, so had not the daughter of yeres. When the emperoure vnderstode this, he called Faustine to his bed side where as he lay, and sayd: diuers thinges are dissimuled in perticuler persons: the least of theym is not to be suffered in them which are gouernours of oþer. The prince is neuer wel obeyed, onelesse he haue good credence among his people. I say this Faustine, because you do one thing in secrete, and saye another openly. herein failieth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth in suspect the auctoritey of so great an empire. If you suppose my good desires, be sinistre in your hart, for the wealch of your owne childe: how should we hope then, in auye of your good workes for the childe of straungers. It semeth to you better to geue your daughter to them that demaunde her of the mother, and refuse them that the father dothe chose. Certaynlye because ye be a woman, you desire pardon, but in that you are a mother

THE IDIALL

ther you augment your fault. Do you not knowe that marriages are guided some by fortune, and some by vertues and wise domes.

Such as demaund the daughters of the fathers, beleue me; their eyes be more upon their owne proper vniuersity, then vpon the wealth of another; I knowe well you bring forth the children, but the goddes will marry them, sith they haue endued them with so marueylous beauty.

Do you not knowe, that the beauty of women setteth strangers on desire, and putteth neighbours in suspicion: to great men it geneth feare, to meane men enuy, to the parentes infamy, and perill to the parsons thelm selues, with great payne it is kepte that is desired of many. Of truthe I say the beauty of women, is nothinge but a signe for idle folke, and an earlye waking for the that be lighte; whereas of strange desires, lyeth the renoune of them selues, and I deny not but that a light person seeketh soner a woman with a fayre face, then one of an honest life. But I saye that a woman that is married onely for her beauty, may hope in her age to haue an euill lyfe.

It is an infallible rule, that she that was married for her fayrenesse, shalbe despised for her foulenesse.

What trouble he offereth him selfe vnto, which marieth a fayre woman. It becometh him to suffer her pryde, for beauty and folly alwaye go togither.

Also he must suffer her expences, for follye in the heade and beauty in the face, be two wormes which create the life, and wast the goodes.

Also he must suffer her riots, for a fayre woman wil that none but she haue her commaundementes in the house,

Also he must suffer her nice minions, for many fayre women wil passe their liues in

pleasure, and must not be ruled by reason.

Also he must suffer her presumption, for euery fayre womanne: wil haue preeminence before all other. And finally he that marryeth with a fayre woman, putteth his life into great jeopardy, and I shall tell you wherfore surely. Carythage was neuer so enuironed with Scipions, as the house of a fayre woman is with light persons.

An unhappie husband when his spirite is at rest, and the bodye sleeping: then these light personces ronne about the house, sleepinge his bodye with selosye, castinge their eyes at the windowes, scalinge the wallles with ladders, singinge sweete songes, playinge on diuers instrumentes, watchinge at the gates, treatinge with baudes, broueringe the house, and waytinge at euery corner thereof.

All these thinges in case they shooote at the pycke of womans beauty they leaue not to shooote at the butte of the sorrowfull husbands good name, and whether this be true or not, let them aske my selfe, that am married with your beauty, and let them wise of my renoune that go so aboute the cite.

I saye much: but truly I fele more, no man complayneth of the goddes, for geuing him a foule wife, amonge his besties, whyle sithier is not wrought but in blacke pitche, and the tender tre is not preserved but by the harde barke. I saye, a man that marieth a foule wife, leaureth a sure lyfe, let euery man chose as he listeth, and I say a man that marieth a fayre wife: casteth his good name at hasard, and putteth his life in perill.

All the infamy of our predecessours stode in exercising of deedes of armes, and now all the pastime of the Romaine youthe is to serue Ladies. When a woman is

bruted

Printed to be sayre, then euerye man goeth
thither, and taketh great paine to serue her
and the woman wil be sene: I say Faustine
you neuer sawe a yong damsel Romayne,
greatly renowned in beauty, but either in
bede, or in suspicion, there went some euill
report of her name. In that litle that I haue
red, I haue heard of diuers sayre women,
both of Grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome; &
they be not in memozy because they were
sayre, but so: the great perilles and misad-
uentures whiche throughe their beautyes,
chaunced in the world. For by reason of
their excellent beautyes, they were visited
in their owne landes, and so: their infamy
shamed throughe all the world. When the
realme of Carthage flourished in ryches,
and was so: fortunate in armes, they ruled the
commen wealth by wise philosophers, and
that they repulsed their enemies by stronge
armes Arminius the philosopher was as
greatly esteemed among the Carthagini-
ens as Homere was among the Grekes,
or Cicero among the Romaynes. He liued
in this world 120. yeaues, 80. of the whiche
good yeaues, he liued most quietly, he was
as much courted from women, as geuen to
his hokes. When the senate seinge he had
such experience in the affayres of the weale
publike, and so: withdrawn from all natu-
ral recreations, they desired him with great
instanace to be married, to thentent the me-
mozy might be had of so excellent a wyfe
man, in tyme to come, and the more impo-
rtune they were, the more he resisted, & sayd.
I will not be married: for if she be soule, I
shal abhorre her, if she be riche, I must suf-
fer her, if she be poore, I must mainrein her,
if she be sayre I must take hede of her, if she
be a thewe, I can not suffer her, & least pe-
ssence of al these is sufficient to slea a. sp. me.
In such wordes this wise man, excused him
selfe. But in the ende throughe great studie
in his age; he lost his sight, whereby the so-
licitudines of his sweete liberty, constrained
him to take the compaignye of a woman, by

whom he had a doughter, of the whiche de-
scended the noble Amilears of Carthage,
competitours of the Scipioes of Rome.
The whiche shewed no lesse worthines in
defence of Carthage, then oures did cou-
rage, in the amplifying of Rome. Tell me
Faustine, may not such suspicion fall vpon
your doughter, though her vertue suc-
cour her in the perill, and her honestye as-
sure her person. I will discover a secreete
thing to you. There is nothinge that can
chaunce euill to a woman if she be enuiron-
ed with feminine shamelastnes. Greatlye
they desire & with much importunity they
procure those thinges which highly may be
attayned. There is nothinge so certayne as
this, that the welch of an other is the cause
of the owne euill. And Faustine ye knowe
that the most honest women, by our malice
are most desired. Certaynly their shamelas-
nes & keeping close, be arrows in defence
of our honestye. We reade not of the blond,
riches, nor beauty of the unhappye matrone
Lucrece, were the cause that she was desir-
ed: but the beauty of her visage, the grauitie
of her person, the honestye of her liuing,
the keeping of her selfe close in her house, the
spending of her tyme and credite amonge
her neygbboures, and the great renoume
that she had amonge straungers, prouoked
the follethe Tarquine to commit with her
aduoutry by force. What thinke you, wher
of came this? I shall shewe you. We that
be euill, are so euill, that we vse euill the
goodnes of them that be good. The faulte
herof is not in the ladies of Rome, but rather
in the immortall goddes. Their cleane ho-
nestye declareth our cruel malice. Faustine
you saye your doughter is to yonge to be
married. Do you not knowe, that the good
father ought to ordonaire his sonnes from
their yong age: & to prouide for his dought-
ers whiles they be yong. Of a trouthe, if
the fathers be fathers, and the mothers
mothers, as sone as the goddes haue geue
them a doughter, so: thwith they ought to

THE DIALL

be mindful thereof and neuer forget it, till they haue prouided her a husband. The fathers ought not to tary for riches, nor the mother for her lignage, the better to mary them: so what with the one and the other, the time passeth, and the daughter waxeth aged, and in this manner, they be to olde to be married, and to liue alone they can not, so that they them selues liue in payne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in suspicion, least they should be cast away. What great ladies haue I knowe, the daughters of great senators, which not for faulte of riches, nor of vertues in their persons, but al ouely for differring of time, and dylaying from one houre to an other, so that at last sodeyne deatch came to the fathers, and no prouision was made for the daughters. So that some were conered vnder the earthe, after their deeth, and others buried with forgerfulnesse, being aline. Either I lye, or I haue red in the lawes of the Rodians, these wordes. The commaund the father, in marryinge tenne sonnes, to traunple but one dape: but to mary one vertuous daughter, let him traunple ten peres, yea and hazard his body in the water, vpe to the chinne, sweate dropes of blond, alter the Romaie discipline, al his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduerture his person: These wordes in this lawe were pytiffull for the daughters, and no lesse graue for the sonnes. For sonnes by the lawe of men are bound to go ouer al the world: but the daughter, by this good lawe, ought not to go out of the house. I say mozeouer, that as thinges vnsfable, thence fallinge, so likewise it chaunceth to yonge damiels, which thinke all their time lost, and superfluous vnto the daye of their marriage. Homere sayeth, it was the custome of ladies of Grece, to count the yeares of their life, not from the time of their birth, but from the time of their marriage. As if one demanded a Cretian her age, she wold answer, 20. yerres, if it were 20. yith she was married, yougher it were 60. yerres, if she

was boyne. Affirming after she had a house to gouerne and to commaund, that day she beginneth to liue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abideth still in the gardeyne, can, not escape, but either it must be gathered, or els it rotteth. I sape the mayden that tarrieth long till she be married, can not escape, eyther to be taken, or infamed. I will sape no moze. As sone as the grapes be ripe, it beboveth that they be gathered: so it is necessary that the woman that is come to perfect age, be married. And the father that doth this, casteth perill out of his house, bringeth him selfe out of care, and getteth much contentation to his daughter.

The lxxv. Chapter.

Of a letter vyluche the Emperour
Marcus Aurelius. sente to his
especiall frende to comfort him
in his troubles.



Arke oratour Romaine,
borne at mount Celso, to Piramon of Lion my great frend
desireth healtie to thy person,
and strenght and vertue agaynst thy sinister fortune. In the thirde Calendes of January I receyued thy letter, whereby I perceyue thou hast receyued one of mine. I regarded not much thy wordes, but I esteeme greatly thy meaning. So that without declaring thereof, I haue gathered silence. Reason wold, because I haue wrytten so often to the, that thou shouldest the better vnderstand me: but thou art so slowfull, that though I cal the, thou wilt not heare: nor though I strike the, thou wilt not fele. But now we come to the purpose. Thou knowest Piramon, how nere we be in parentage, ancient in frendshyppe, and faste in loue, and tender of herres, and how faste fall in wrythinges, wherein one true frende might

proue another. Thou remembrest wel, whē we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled together in one house, and did eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest, I dyd it in effect: and that I sayed, thou neuer gainsaydest. Certainly thou were in my heart, and I in thine entrailles. I was thine and thou were mine. We being together, it seemed to all other, that we were but one, and of one will. What a matter is this? Thou wyltest how thou art heauy, and yet thou doest not tell the cause why: Thou complaynest that thou arte almost dead, and thou shewest me not who taketh from the thy lyfe. If thou wilt not shew to me thy troubles, sith thou art my frend, I will thou knowe, that I demaund it of righte: if thou wilt not, I wyl that thou know, that the pitefull gods haue determined, that al pleasures and ioyes shal departe from my house: and that al heuines and sorowes shal be lodged in my person; Sith I am prince of al honour, in tribulation, if thou wouldest, thou canst not escape out of my seignory. For if thou complayne, that thou art vnhappy in fortune, then I esteeme my selfe to be happy in vnhappines: I demaunde one thinge of the: when hast thou sene me haue suffyciet, and thou nedest? when hast thou sene me slepe, & thou wake? and when hast thou trauailed, and I rested? Of trouthe sith the goods and persons are their owne proper, the trauayles and euill aduentures are alwaies commō. One thing thou oughtest to knowe, if in myne amitye thou wylte perseuer, that all my goods are thine, and all thine euylles are myne, sith thou wast borne to pleasure, and I to trouble. I saye not this flatteringly: for thou hast hadde experyence of me, that when I amasia thy sister dyed, who was no lesse vertuous then faire, thou perceinedest wel when she was with earthe couered deade, I was with sorowes ouertobelmied alyue, and at the sowne of my teares thine eyes daunced.

Sith thou haste suche confydence in my parson, surelye thou mayest dysconer

to me thy paine. Yet as often as I haue demaunded, there haue no sayned excuses wanted. I require the, and desire the agayne, and in the name of the Gods I praye the, and in their names I censure the, that thou poure all thy sorowes into myne entrailles.

For from y waie that thou goest I wyl not depart one tose: if thou goest, I wyl goe: if thou rest, I wyl rest: if thou worke, I wyl worke: if thou leaue of, I wyl doe the same: if thou wilt dye, know thou I will not lue. Like frende what thou wilt doe. For thy troubles and mine, tormente both one here. If thou haue dyspleasure, all thinges dysplease me, if thou wepe, I swere fro henceforth neuer to laugh: if thou dyscharge the of thy payne: fro henceforth I shal take it for myne: if thou goe alone, I wyl forsake company, and forthwith lue solitarily.

What wilt thou that I shoulde desire. For al that euer thou wylte, I wyl. Thou complainest that in all thy triballes thou canst finde no parente to remedye the, nor frende to counel the, I swere to the my frid Piramō, that of these 2. thinges I haue as great neede in my house, as thou haste sorowe in thine.

I knowe well the remedye shoulde come by ryches, and by counel, and consolacion of them that be wyse. And by reason of my heauye destynies, I haue taken from me the knowledge of wysedom: and fortune wil not permyt me to haue greates ryches: Certainlye I wepe for thy miserie, and yet there is but smal remedye in me.

Thou saiest in thy letter, that thy neighbours and frendes in promysinge haue besight the many thinges: but in perfozming it they do nothing. Whereof I meruaile, for the vertuous hande is not bounde to make the longe a foole.

Trulye thoughe oure sete daunce, oure handes shoulde worke at the sowne of the tonge: oure lyfe, endeth in setue dayes, and our renoume in setue.

THE DIAL

Prompse is an aunciente custome amonge the chyldren of banitye, and of custome the tong speaketh basely, and the hādes woꝝke at leysure. Now let vs speake moze particu larlye. Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou findest not but in few, that diuers haue found in the alone, it hath bē a custome to receiue merily & wyllyngly, but to geue slowly and with euil wyl. They that be pre sumptuous doe the one, and they whiche be slouthful, doe the other. The Greekes saye, that he that prompseth and is long in fulfil ling, is but a slacke frende. The Romaines saye, that he is muche better that denyeth forthwith, because he doeth not deceiue him that asketh. In this case I saye, he that may geue and geueth not, is an open enemy: and he that promisseth forthwith, and is long be fore he perfourme it, it is but a suspitious frend. What neede woꝝdes to oure frendes, when we maye succour them with woꝝkes: it is not right, to whom we geue our heartes, which is the best thing in our heartes, that we geue him our tonge, whiche is the worst thing of oure lines. In good sothe the Gods wyl not suffer in the place of amity, to desire any thing of our frend in hāte, and to be dysuē of with longe delayeng. Plato in his lawes saith, we command, that in our governing, that politike counsaile be geuen to them, that be in prosperite, to the intent that they decay not: & to succour them that be in heauines and trouble, to the intent that they dyspaire not. Certainlye vnder these woꝝdes are compysed dyuers greatesentēces. Thou knowest wel, my frend Pira mon, y swete woꝝdes comfort & harr, but litel that is in tribulacion, vnieste there be some good woꝝkes therew. I wil not deny, but y they, to whō we haue geuen our good willes in & tyme of our prosperite, be bound to geue vs of their goods, & to shewe vs fauour in our aduersite. I demaund one thing of the, wherfoze holdest thou a presumpuous licence to demaunde, and reppouēt on the other parte the lyberte of denyeng.

Truly as the shamefast man shuld not haue deny in any of his requestes being honest: so the shameles and importunate mā shuld be denyed what so euer he demaundeth. Thou maist know, if thou know it not my frend Pira mō, that to attaine to euery thing that is demaunded, belongeth onely to the gods. To geue al thing that is demaunded, is the signe of a seruant. And to deny any thing, is a toke of liberty. To wepe for that is denyed, is the condicion of tyrantes. And to be vnthankeful for that is geuen, is the condicion of Barbarians: to haue a harte harte though thinges are denyed, is feigle of the romaines. One of the things, where in Caius Cesar shewed hym selfe to be of high courage was, that he had in the greas test day, when the senate denaied any thing desired by him. Oftentimes he saied. There is nothinge where in Rome geueth moze gloꝝy nor renowne to my persō, then when I shew my selfe moste hasty to demaunde, and the moste stiffe to deny: to the intent that after the shoulde know how great my wil is to desire, and how that my strength is to ac quire. He thinketh it is better to haue re cours to the gods with vertue, then to dys please them with vices. And to geue cōten tacion to thy repouēt wyl, which thou seest thy selfe in tribulacion: & that thy deman des of the Gods and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a ryghte measure, and to wey it in a right balancce, the many thinges whiche they haue geuen the, and the fewe thinges whiche they haue denyed the. Howe vnconscionable he be to the gods, and vngratious to men, when we mynysh with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytell that hath bene denyed vs, we augmente with com playntes: Frende Pira mon, I am begg led, if thou be not fiftye yeares of age, and all that season thou hast done nothing but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue not sene the doe one dayes seruice.

Certainlye it is no reason to complayne
of

of eight dayes of euill fortune, being fifty yeares of age. Thou saiest in thy letter, how thou hast much payne, because thou knowest all thy neyghbours to be enuyous.

In good sothe, I haue payne for thy payne, and of thy meruaillynge, I haue greate meruayle. For all admyration proceedeth of abundance of ignorance, and faulte of experyence. Doeth the quicke vnderstandynge of men rule the lyfe of them that be mortal, that they neede not to thinke of the trauaile to come, hanginge in their handes present remedye? If they be hungry, they maye eate: when they are colde, they maye warme them: if they be drownsye, they maye slepe, when they be werpe, they maye resse, when they are sicke, they maye be healed: when they are heauy, they maye reioyce in suche maner, that the carefull lyfe passeth, some to make tiltes and lyfles, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuent new gynnys, and some to repaire bulwarkes. I saye the world and the fleshy doe nought els, but fighte againste vs, and we haue neede at all tymes to defende vs fro them. All these remedies are againste the trauaile of the fleshe. But what shall we doe, that the cursednesse of enuy enderth not amonge all these? Cursed is that wealth, that euerye man enuyeth.

Certainely against enuy is no fortresse, nor caue to hyde, nor highe hyll to mounte on, nor thicke woode to shadowe in, nor shippe to scape in, nor hoxe to beare awaye, nor money to redeme vs. Enuy is so venemous a serpente, that there was neuer mortall man amonge mortalles, that coulde scape from the byttinge of her toothe, scratching of her nayles, desplyng of her fete, and the castinge of her popson. I sweare to the my frende Piramon, that suche as fortune lysteth vp with greate ryches, the full of crueltie sonest ouerthroweth. Enuy is so enuyous, that to them, whiche of her are most denied, & set farthest off: she geueth most cruel strokes with her seete. This vn-

happy enuy prepareth popson secretlye for them that enioye great pleasures.

I haue red diuers booke of Hebrew, Greke, Latine, and Caldei. And also I haue spoken with many excellent wyse men, to see if there might be found any remedye against an enuious mā. I confesse the tructh: reade all that can be red, and imagyne, all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded: and ye shal find none other cure against this cursed enuy, but to banishe vs fro all the prosperite, & to dwel in the house of aduersity. O how unhappy are they that be in prosperite: for lustye they that be set by in high estate, cannot fly from the peryll of Scilla, without falling into the danger of Caribdis. They cannot scape the peryll, without castinge their treasures into the sea. I saye that the malady of enuy wil not suffer them to scape fro death, & the medecine that is applyed to them, wil not assure their lyfe. I cannot determyne, which is the best, or to saye more properly, the worst, extreme misery without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperite, that is alwaies thynced to fall. In this case to be so extreme, I will not determyne sith in the one is a perillous life, and in the other renoume is sure. I shal tel the, what wyse Cicero sayed, when he was pursued with many at Rome: beholde you Romaynes, I hold you not for so good, nor my selfe so euill, to saye the trouthe alwayes, nor alwaies to make lies. I am certayne, that ye beare me no enuy, for that I am not as ye be, but it is, because ye cannot be as I am. In this case I had rather that my enemyes had enuy at my prosperite, then my frendes, at my pouertie.

This oratoure spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperite, leauynge to geue remedye to them that be sorrowfull.

And after this Cicero hadde sene the felldes of Farfale, he toke other counsel and remedye, such as pleased hym in Rome. For though Cesar had graunted him his goods, yet that turned not his credence & renoume.

Z. ll. Surely

THE DIAL

Surely frende Piramon, I know no remedye to geue the agaynste enuy, sith thou seeest all the woꝝlde ful thereof. We see how we be the sonnes of enuy, and we lyue with enuy, and die with enuy, and he that leueth moſte ryches, leueth the greateſt enuy. The auncient wyſe men counſayled ryche men, that they ſhuld haue poze folkes nere them, and they admonyſhed the pooze, that they ſhould not dwel nere to the rich.

And trulye it is good reaſon. For the ryches of ryche men, is the ſede of enuye to the pooze. And becauſe the poze man lacketh, and the riche hath to muche, cauſeth dyſcoꝝde among the people. I ſweare by the Gods immoꝝtall, frende Piramon, though they that be enuy would that I ſwere falſelye, as muche as ryches with thought nouriſheth couetyſe, ſo muche the enuiouſ nouriſheth enuye therby. I tell the one thing, and that is, that it is no good counſel to fly enuye, and ſo annoyde the vertue contrarie the ſame. Homer ſayeth, that in hys tyme there were two Grekes extream in all extremities: The one was extreme in riches, and therefore he was persecuted by enuye, and that was Achilles; and the other was ſoꝝe noted of malice, but no man had enuye at him, and that was Thieſtes. Certainly I had rather be Achilles with his enuy, then Thieſtes withoute it. Thou knoweſt wel, that the Romaſnes ſearch not but for reſt in our life, and ſoꝝe honoꝝ after death. And ſith it is ſo, it is not poſſible but the man that euerie mā enuieſh his renowne, ought to be exalted in the reſt of his lyfe. And ſithe I ſee thoſe two thynges in the, ſuch as be my frendes takerh liſtel thought, for that thine enemies mourne againſt the. Thou wyrtſt to me, how they of Lyons do wel, & are merre: except thy ſelfe, that are heuy, and full of penſiuenes, and ſith they thewe not to haue pleaſure at thy dyſpleaſure, thewe not thy ſelfe dyſpleaſed with their pleaſure. For it may chaunce one day they ſhall be ſoꝝetoful, when that thou art merre: & ſo thou ſhalt be

quite with them. In an euil perſo there can be no greater euil noꝝ in a good mā, a greater faute, then to be diſpleaſed with another mans wealth, and to take pleaſure at a nother mans harme. And in caſe that al do do damage with enuy, yet much moꝝe a frend, then the enemy. For of mine enemy I wyll beware, and ſoꝝe feare I wyll withſtand: but my frende with his amity may begyle me, and I by my fidelſtye ſhall not perceiue. Amonge all moꝝtall enemies there is none woꝝſe then a frende that is enuiouſ of my ſelycitye. Piramon my frende, I wyll conclude, if thou wilt withſtand the thy ſelfe fro enemies, then kepe compaigne with thine owne ſamplyare frendes. I wot not what to wyte moꝝe to the, but with all my herte I lament thy heuyneſſe. Thou knoweſt how thy nece Bruſia was ſlayne with a dagger by her owne huſband. I was very ſoꝝe for her death, and ſoꝝe the renowne that ſhe lefte behind her. Flavius Priſcus thine vncle is newly made cenſure. The proces betwene thy brother Fecnio and Britio is determined by the ſenate, and it pleaſeth me right wel, that they be frendes, and enerye man wel contented. The boke intituled the conſolacion of heauineſſe, I haue ended, and laied it in the capſtoll. I haue wyrtten it in greke, and that is the cauſe that I ſente it not to the. But I do ſend the a rich ſwerde, and a ſaice girdel. Fauſtine my wyfe doeth ſalute the, and ſendeth thy wiſe two ſlaves. The gods be my keepers, and comfort the in thy preſent heuineſſe. Marke the man ſoꝝetunate, to Piramon ſoꝝe diſcomfoꝝed.

The.lxvi.Chapter.

A letter ſente by rhe Emperour Marcus Aurelius to Cenſorius that vvas ſo ſorowfull for the death of his ſonne, vworthy to be red and noted.

The



He yonge and newe censour saluteth the, old and aunciente Catulus: I haue wryten two letters to the, and thou haste made aunswere to none of them. If it be because thou couldest not, I holde my peace: if it be because thou wouldest not, then I complayne me: if it be for forgetfulness, then I accuse the: if it be because thou settest lytel by me, then I doe appeale the: if thou haste dreamed that thou hast wryten: I save, belene not in dreames: And if thou wylt not, it shuld anayle to gloryfy me as a frend, yet thou mightest wryte it, aduertising and repreuing me, as the father to the sonne: yong vertuous persons are bound to honoꝝ auncient wyse men, and no lesse olde wyse men ought to endoctrine the yong people, and very yong as I am. A lust thinge it is, that the newe forces of yowthe supplie and serue them that are woꝝne by age. For their longe experyence instructeth our tender age, and natural ignorance. Yowth is euil applied, when it aboundeth in force of the body, and wanteth the vertues of the mynd: and age is honoured, where in the force dieth outward, where by vertues quickneth the moze inward. We maye see the tree, when the fruite is gathered, the leaues fall, and whē flowers dy, then moze grene and perfecte are the rootes. I meane that when the first season of youth is passed, whiche is the sommer time, then commeth age called winter, & putrifyeth the fruite of the flesh, and the leaues of fauour fall, and the flowers of delecte wither, and the bynes of hope dy outwarde, then it is ryght, that much better are the rootes of good woꝝkes within. They & be old and auncient, ought to praisse their good woꝝkes, rather then their whiste heares. For honoꝝ ought to be geuen for the good life, and not for the whiste head.

✱ Glorious is that common wealthe, & fortunate is that prince, that is lord of yong men to traualle, and aduicent persons to counsell. As to regarde the susteynyng of the

natural type of the lyfe, in lyke wyse ought to be considered the policy of gouernaunce, the whiche is, that all the frutes come not dy not al at ones, but whē one beginneth, another faileth. And in this maner, ye that be auncient reaching vs, and we obedyent, as olde fathers and yong pulletes, beinge in the nest of the Senate: Of some their feathers fallynge, and other yong fettered: and where as the olde fathers can not fly, their traualles are mainteyned by their tender chyldren. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to wryte one lyne this yere, because my penne was trobled with thy slouth: but the weakenes of my spyrite, and the greates payn of mine offices alwayes called on me to demaunde thy counsel. This pryncesse the olde wyse men holde in their houses where they dwell. They are alwayes lordes ouer them that be simple, and are slanes to them that be wyse. I thinke thou haste forgotten me, thinkynge that siche the death of my dere sonne Verissimus, the time hath ben, so long that I shuld forget it. Thou hast occasion to thinke so, for many thinges are cased in time, whiche reason cannot helpe. But in this case I cannot tel which is the greatest, thy trumpery or my dolour. I swere to the by the gods immortall, that the hungry woꝝmes are not so pũttant in the entrals of the vnhappy chyld: as the bitter sorowes are in y heuy hart of the woful father. And it is no comparisō, for the sonne is dead but one time, and the heauy father dyeth euery momente. What wylte thou moze that I shuld saye: But that one ought to haue entyre of his death, and compassyon of my lyfe, because in dyeng, he lyueth, and in the lyuynge I dye. In the vnchaunces of lyfe, and in the great vnconstancy of fortune, where as her gyles pꝛoꝛeth but lytel, and her strengthe lesse, I thinke the beste remedye is to sele it as a man, and dyssemble it as dyscrete and wyse.

If al thinges as they besette at heart, shuld be shewed outwarde with the tongue,

THE DIAL

I thinke that the wyndes should bzeake the heart with sighinges, & water all the earth with weping. ¶ If the corporall eyes saw the sorow of the hart, I sweare to the, they shuld se more of a drop of bloude sweatinge with in, then all the wepinge that appereth with out. There is no comparyson of the greates dolours of the body, to the least greife of the mind. For al trauaile of the body, men may finde some remedy, but if the heauye heart speake, it is not heard; if it wepe, it is not sene: if it cōplayne, it is not beleued. What shall the pooze heart doe? Abhoze the lyfe, wherewith it dieth: and desire death, where with it lyueth. The highe vertues amonge noble vertuous people, consist not all onlpe to suffer the passions of the body, but also to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter the humours, and shew it not outwarde: they bryng a feuer without altering of the poulce: they alter the stomacke: they make vs to knele to the earth, to suffer the water by to the mouthe, and to take death without leauing of the lyfe: and finally they length our lyfe, to thentente that we should haue no more tranayle, and denyeth vs our graue, to thentente that we should not rest. But considering, as I am troubled with sorowes so am I boide of cōsolations: for whē I haue either desire of the one, or wepynges of the other, I vse alwayes this remedye to dissimule with the tonge, to wepe with the eyes, and to sefe it with my hart. I passe my life, as he that hoped to lese al that he hath, and neuer to recouer that that is lost. I say this, though ye se me not nowe make fane-ral weppnges and waylynges, as I dyd at the death of my sonne: yet thinke not but it doeth hzen my heart, so that with the great heate inward, is consumed the humidity of the eyes, for it hzenmeth al my spirtes with in. Thou mayest knowe what an honourable father suffreth, to leese a good chyld: In all thinges the Gods be lyberall, except in geuyng vs vertuous chyldzen. Where there is aboundaunce of greates estates,

ther is greatesse scarcety of good inheritous. It is a dolesull thinge to heare, and greater pytie to se, how these fathers clyme to haue rycheffe, and to see their chyldzen dyscende to haue bycionsenes: To see the fathers honoure their chyldzen, and the chyldzen to infame their fathers: ye and the fathers to geue rest to the chyldzen, and the chyldzen to geue trouble to their fathers: yea and sometyme the fathers dye for sorow that their chyldzen dye so sone, and we see their chyldzen wepe, bycause their fathers dye so late. What should I saye more, but that the honoure and ryches that the fathers haue procured with greates thought, the chyldzen consume with lytel care. I am certayne of one thinge, that the fathers may gather ryches with strengthe and crafte, to susteyne their chyldzen, but the Gods wyll not haue durable, that that is begonne with euil intencion, as that is whiche is wonne to the pzeindyce of other, and possessed with an euill heire. And though the heauy destynies of the father permit, that the ryches be leste to their chyldzen, to serue them in all their byces for their passyme, at last accordeyng to their merytes, the Gods wyll that the heire and herpytage should peryshe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comode, and the Prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that was greatesse in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good liued, I shuld be poze, and now that the euil remaineth, I thinke to be rich. I wil tel the the cause, the gods are lopitifful, that to a poze father they neuer geue euil child: and to a ryche father they neuer geue a good childe. And as in al prosperyty there chaunceth alwayes some syniffer fortune, either sone or late, so there with fortune doeth arme and apparell vs, wherein the seeth we shall fall to our greatesse hurte. And therefore the Gods permit, that the conetous fathers, in gatherynge with greates tranayle, shoulde dye with that hurte, to leaue their ryches to their vicious chyldzen euil imployed.

I wepe as much for my child that the gods haue left me, as for him that they haue taken from me. For the small estimation of him that liueth, maketh immortall memory of him that is dead. The yll rest and conuersation of them that liue, cause vs to sigh for the company of them that be dead. The yll is alwaye desired for his ylnesse to be dead, and the good alway meritereth to haue his death betwaped. I say my frende Catulus, I thought to haue lost my wit, when I sawe my sonne Verissimus die: but I toke comfort againe: for either he of me, or I of him must se the ende, consideringe that the gods did but lende him to me, and gaue him not, & how they be inheritors, I to haue þe of the fruite. For al thinges is measured by the iust will of the gods, and not by our inordinate willes & appetites. I thinke when they toke away from me my childe, I restored him to another, and not that they haue taken mine. But sith it is the will of the gods to geue rest to the good childe, and hurt the father because he is euell: I yelde thanks to theym for the season that they haue suffered me to enioye his life, and for the patience that I haue taken for his death. I desire them to mitigate therewith the chaſticemente of they: yee. And I desire, sith they haue takē away the life fro this childe, to plant good customes in the prince mine other sonne. I knowe what heauinesse thou hast taken in Rome for my sorowe. I praye the gods to send the ioy of thy childe, and that I may rewarde the with some good pleasure, for that thou haste wepte for my payne. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and truly thou wouldest haue had compassion to se her, for she wepeth w her eyes, & sigheth w her hart, & with her handes hurteth her selfe and curseth with her tongue. She eateth nothing on the daye, nor slepereth in the night. She loneth darkenes, and abhorreth light, and therof I haue no maruayle, for it is reason that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she should fele sorowe at her

hart. And the loue of the mother is so strong, that though her childe be dead, and layed in grane, yet alwayes she hath him quicke in her hart. It is a generall rule, that the person that is entirlye beloned, cauſerth ener great griefe at his death. And as for me I passe the life righte sorowfull, though I shewe a ioyfull face, yet I want mirth at my harte. And amonge wise menne betinge sorowfull, and shewing they: faces mery, is none other thinge but burying the quicke, hauing no sepulture. And I sweare by the Goddes immortall I feele much moze than I haue sayde. And diuers times me thinke I should fall downe, because I dare not wepe with mine eyes yet I fele it inwardly in my harte. I woulde sayne common with the in diuers thinges. Come I praye the to Briette, to the entent that we maye speake together. And sith it hath pleased the gods to take my childe from me, that I loued so wel, I woulde counsaile with the, that art my louing frende. But selue dayes passed, there came thither an ambassadour fro the Rhodes, to whō I gaue the most part of my horses: and fro the farthest part of Spayne, there were broughte me .s. of the which I send the .4. I woulde they were such as might please the. The gods be thy safegarde, and sende me and my wife some comfort. Marcus Aurelius right sorowfull hath writen this with his owne hand.

The. lxxvii. Chapter.

A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius Emperour to Censorius, of the newes vvhich at that time vver at Rome.



Marcus the newve censure to the Catulus nowe aged sendeth salutations. There are ten dayes passe, that in the temple

THE DIAL

of god Ianus, I receyued thy letter. And I take y same god to witnes, y I had rather haue sene thy person. Thou desirest y my letters may be lōg, but the shortnes of time maketh me to aunswere the moze bryeflye, than I would. Thou wiltest me to geue the knowledge of the newes here. Therto I answer, that it were better to demaunde, if there were any thing remayninge here in Rome or Italy that is olde. For nowe by our euil destinies, all that is good and olde, is ended, and newe thinges which be euill nowe begin. The emperour, the consul, the Tribune, the Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines, the Pretours, the Centurions, all thinges be newe saue the vertues which be old. We passe the time in making newe officers, in deuising newe counsailes, and in raysing newe subsidies. In suche wise, that there harbe bene nowe mo nouelties within these .lxxx. yeares, then in time passed in .400. yeares. We now assemble together 300. to counsell in the capitoll, and there we bragge and bosse, sweare and promise, that we wil craite the vertuous, and subdue the vicious, fauour the righte, & not winke at the wrong, punish the euill and reward the good, repayre olde, and edefye newe, plucke bices vp by the rootes, and to plant vertues, to amende the olde, and soloue the good, reproue tirauntes, and assist the poze: and when that we are gone from thence, they that speake best woordes are often taken with the worst dedes.

O wicked Rome, that now a dayes haste such Senatours, which in sayinge we will do, we wil do, passe their life: and so euery man seeking his owne profite, forgetteth the weale publike. Oftentimes I am in the Senate to behold others as they regarde me: and I maruaile muche to heare the eloquence of their woordes, the zeale of iustice, and the iustificacion of their persons: and after that I come thens, I am ashamed to se their secreete extortiones; their damnable thoughtes, and their ill woorkes. And yet

there is an other thing of moze maruaile, and not to be suffered, that such personnes, as are most defamed, and vse most wicked bices, with their mosse damnable incencions, make their anowes to do most extrem iustice. It is an infallible rule, and of humain malice most bled, that he that is most hardy to committ greatest crimes, is mosse cruell to geue sentence against an other for the same offence. We thinke that we behold our owne faultes, as thozowe small nettes, which cause thinges to scame the lesser, but we behold the faultes of other in the water, that causeth them to scame greater. How many haue I sene condemned by the Senate, for one smal faulte done in al their life, and yet they them selues committe the same fault euery houre. I haue red, that in the time of Alexander the great, ther was a renoumed pirate on the sea, whiche robbed and drowned all shippes that he coulde get: and by commaundement of this good king Alexander, there was an army sent forth to take him. And when he was taken and presented to Alexander, the king said vnto him: Shewe me Dionides, why dost thou speyle on the sea, that no shippe can sayle out of the east into the west, for thee? The pirate answered and sayd: If I spoile the sea, why doste thou Alexander robbe both the sea and land also? Alexander, because I fight with one shippe in the sea, I am called a thefe, and because thou robbest with .xl. hundred shippes on the sea, & troublest all the worlde with 200000 men, thou art called an emperour.

I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the gods as extreame against the: they would geue me thine empire, and geue the my litle shippe, and then peraduenture I should be a better king than thou art, and a worse thefe than I am.

These were highe woordes: and wel receaued of Alexander, and of trouthe

so se if his woordes were correspondente to his promises, he made him of a pirate a great captayne of an army, & he was more vertuous on lande, than he was cruell on the sea. I promise the Catulus, Alexāder did right well therein, and Dionides was to be praysed greatly, for that he had sayd. Nowe adayes in Italy, they that robbe openly are called lozdes: and they that rob pryssly, are called theues. In the annales of Lilius I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warre punike, betwene the Romanes and Carthaginense, there came an ambassadour Lusitayn sent fro Spayne, to treat of accord of peace. When he came to Rome, he proued befoze the senate, that sith he entred into Italy, he had bene ten times robbed of his goodes, and whiles he was at Rome, he had sene one of them that robbed him hange by another, that had defended him. He seinge so euill a deepe, and howe the these was saued without iustice, as a desperate man toke a cole, and wrote vpon the gibet as foloweth.

*hms
hms
vte out*
O gibet thou art planted among theues, nozished among theues, squared of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set among theues, and hanged ful of innocentes, with innocentes. The originall of these woordes are in the history of Lilius, where the whole Decade was writte with blacke ynke, and these woordes with red vermilion, I can not tell what other newes I should send the, but that eery thinge is so newe and so tender, and is toynd with so euill sement, that I feare me, all will fall sodenly to the ground. I tel the, that some are sodenly risen within Rome vnto honour, whose fall I dare rather assure then life. For al buyldinges hastily made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in his kinde, the longer it will be er it be olde. The trees, whose fruite we eate in sommer do warme vs in winter. O howe manye haue we sene, wherof we haue marnayled of their risinge, and bene abashed of their

fall. They haue growen as a hole piece, and sodenly wasted as a skumme. Their felicity hath bene but a thort moment, and their infortune as a long life. Finally they haue made a mille, and layde on the stones of encreace, and after a litell grinding, left it vnoctupied all the whole yeare after.

Thou knowest wel my frend Catul⁹, that we haue sene Cinc⁹ Fuluius in one yere made consul, and his children tribunes, his wife a matrone for yong maydens, and beside that, made keeper of the capitol, and after that not in one yeare, but the same day we sawe Cincius beheaded in the place, his children drowned in Tiber, his wife banished fro Rome, his house rased downe to the ground, and all his goodes confisked to the common treasury. This rigorous example we haue not red in any boke, to take a copy of it, but we haue sene it with our eyes, to kepe it in our mindes. As the nations of people are variable, so are the conditions of men diuers, and me thinketh this is true, seing that some loue, some hate, and that some seke, some eschewe: and that some let litel by, other make much stoze. In such wise, that all can not be content with one thing: nor some with al thinges can not be satisfied. Let euery men chose as him list, and embrace the world when he wil. I had rather mount a soft pace to the falling, and if I can not come thereto, I will abide by the waye, rather then with the sweate to mount hastily, and then to tumble downe headling. In this case sith mens hartes vnderstand it, we nede not to write further with penne. And of this matter marke not the litel that I do say, but the great deale that I wil say. And sith I haue begun, and that thou art in straunge landes, I will write the all the newes fro hens. This yeare the 25. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of Alie, saying he was of the yle of Cettin, a baron right propre of body, ruddy of aspect, and hardy of courage. He considered being at Rome, though the sommers dayes were

THE DIAL

were long, yet winter would draw on, and then would it be dangerous sayling into this yle, and sawe that his businesse was not dispatched, On a day being at the gate of the senate, seeing all the Senatours entre into the Capitoll, without any armour upon them, he as a man of good sprite, and zelatour of his countrey, in the presence of vs all, sayd these wordes. O fathers conscript, O happy people, I am come from a straunge countrey to Rome, onely to se Rome, and I haue founde Rome without Rome: The walles wherewith it is inclosed, hath not brought me hither, but the fame of theym that gouerne it, I am not come to se the treasury, wherein is the treasure of all realmes, but I am come to se the sacred senate, out of the which issueth counsaile for all men. I came not to see ye because ye vanquish all other, but because I thought you more vertuous then all other. I dare well say one thing, excepte the gods make me blinde, and trouble mine vnderstanding, ye be not Romaynes of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the romaynes your predecessours. We haue heard in our yle, of diuers realmes haue bene won by the valiantes of one, and conserued by the wisdom of all the senate: And at this houre ye are more like to lose, then to winne as your fathers didde: all their exercise was in goodnes, and ye that are their children passe all your time in ceremonies. I saye this, ye Romaynes, because ye haue almost killed me with laughing at you, to see howe ye do all as muche your diligence to leaue your armure without the gate of the senate, as your predecessours did take to them to defend the empire.

What profite is it to you, to leaue of these armours whiche hurte the bodies, and to put on them, those which slea all the world? What profite is it to the careful suiter, that the senatour entreth vnarmed into the senate without sword or dagger: his hart entreth into the senate armed with mallice? O Romaynes, I will ye knowe, that in our

ile we esteeme you not as armed capitayns, but as malicious senatours. You feare vs not with sharpe grounden swoordes and daggers, but with harde hartes and venomous tongues. If ye shoulde in the senate put on harness, and therewith take awaye your lines, it were but a small losse, seeing that ye susteyne not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the businesse of suiters. I can not suffer it. I can not tell in what state ye stand here at Rome: for in our ile we take armoure from fooles, whether your armours are taken awaye as froo fooles or madde folkes, I wot not. If it be done for ambitionnes, it cometh not of Romayns, but of titauntes, that wranglers and ptesul folke shoulde not be iudges over the peaceable, and the ambitious over the meke, & the malicious over the simple: If it be done because ye be fooles, it is not in the law of the gods, that three hundred fooles, shoulde gouerne three hundred thousande wise men. It is a long season that I haue taried for mine answer and licence, and by your delays I am nowe farther of, then I was the first day. We bring oyle, honey, saffron, wood, and timber, salte, silver, and hold out of our yle into Rome, and ye will that we go els where to seke iustice. Ye will haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and another to determine our iustice, ye will that we pay our tributes in one day, and ye will not discharge one of our errandes in a whole yeare. I require you Romaynes determine your selues to take awaye our lynes, and so we shall ende: or elles heare our complayntes, to the entente that we maye serue you. For in another maner it may be that ye knowe by hearinge to your eares, which peradventure ye woulde not see with your eyes. And if ye thinke my wordes be out of measure, so ye will remedy my countrey I set not by my life. And thus I make an ende. Verily friend Catulo, these be the wordes that he spake to the senate which I gate in writing.

I say

I say of trouth, that the hardnesse that the Romaines were wont to haue in other countries, the same as nowe straungers haue in Rome. There were that sayde, that this ambassadour shoulde be punished, but god forbid, that for saying trouth in my presence, he shoulde haue bene corrected. It is enough and to much to, to suffer these euils, though we flee not, and persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of them. The shepe are not in saety of the wolfe, but if the shepherde haue his dogge with him. I meane, dogges ought not to leaue barking for to awake the shepherdes. There is no God commaundeth, nor lawe counsaileth, nor common wealthe suffereth, that they whiche are committed to chastice liers, shoulde hange them that saye trouth. And sith the senators shewe theym selues men in their liuinge, and sometime moze humayne than other that be sclauens, who els shoulde deliuer theym from chasticement? Wh Rome and no Rome, hauinge nothinge but the name of Rome, where is nowe become the noblenesse of thy triumphes, the glozve of thy children, the rectitude of thy iustice, and the honour of thy temples: for as nowe they chastice him moze that murmureth against one onely senator, than they do them that blasphemie all the gods at ones. For it greueneth me moze to se a senator, or censoze to be worst of al other, than it displeaseth me, that it shoulde be sayd, that he is best of al other. For of a trouth I say to the my frend Catulus, that as nowe we nede not to seke to the goddes, in the temples, for the Senators are made gods in our handes. This is difference betwene them that be immortall, and they that be mortall. For the gods neuer do thing that is euill, and the Senators do neuer any thing well. The gods neuer lye, and they neuer saye trouth: the gods pardon oftē, and they neuer forgiue: the gods are contente to be honoured fift times in the yeare, & the senators would be honoured ten times a daye. What wylt

thou that I saye moze: but what so euer the gods do, they ought to be praysed, and the senators in all their workes deserue to be reprobued: Finally I conclude, that the gods are constant in euery thinge, and erre and falle in nothing: and the Senators assure nothing, but erre in all thing: onely for one thing, the senators are not of reason to be chasticed: and that is, when they intend not to amend their faultes, they will not suffer the orators to waste their tyme to shewe them the trouth. Be it as may be, I am of the opinion, that what manne or woman, withdraueth their eares from hearinge of trouth, impossible it is for them to applye their hartes to loue any vertues: be it censoze that iudgeth, or senatoure that ordeyneth, or emperoure that commaundeth, or consul that executeth, or orator that preacheth. No mortall man take he neuer so good hede to his workes, nor reason so wel in his desires, but that he deserueth some chasticement for some cause, or counsaile in his doinges. And sith I haue written to the thus of other, I will somewhat speake of my selfe, because of þe wordes of thy letter, I haue gathered, that thou desirest to know of my personne. Knowe thou for certayne, that in the Kalendes of Januarie, I was made censoze in the senate, the which office I desired not, nor I haue not deserued it. The opinion of al wise men is, that no mā, without he lacke witte, or surmounteth in folly, will gladly take on him the burdeyne and charges of other men. A greater case it is, for a shamefast man to take on him an office to please euery man, for he must shewe a countenance outward, contrarie to that he thinketh inward. Thou wilt say, that the good are ordeined to take þe charge of offices. Unhappy Rome, that hath willed to take me in such wise, as to be the best in it. Greuous pestilence ought to come for them þe be good, sith I am scaped as good among the euill. I haue accepted this office, not for that I had any nede thereof, but to

THE DIALL

to fulfill the commandement of Anthonius my graundfather. Haue no meruayle of any thing that I do, but of that I leaue to be done. For euery man that is wedded to Faustine, there is no vilany but he shal do it, I sweare to the that sith the daye we were wedded, me seamerh that I haue no wit. I leaue wedding for this time, and resourne to speake of offices. Surely a peaceable man ought to be in offices, though it be payngfull; for as the offices are assured among them that be vertuous, so perillously goeth the vertuous folke among offices. And for the troth hereof, reckon what they winne, and then thou shalt se what they loose. Say it is good, if thou knewest it, and heare the cull if thou desire to knowe it. He that wil take the charge to gouerne othier, seeketh thoughte and trouble for him selfe, enuy for his neyghbours, spures for his enemies, pouerty for his richesse, a waiking of theues perill for his body, ende of his dayes, & torment for his good renoume. Finally he seeketh a way to relecte his frendes, and a repeale to reconer his enemies. An unhappye man is he, that taketh on him the charge of childzen of marpe mothers, for he shal be alwayes charged with thoughtes, howe he shold content them all: full of sighes, because one hath to geue him: feare that one should take fro him, weping if he lese: and feare that they insatne him. He that knoweth this, without long tarying ought to set a byrdell at his head. But I saye of one, as I saye of another. For I wil sweare, and thou wilt not deny it, that we may finde some now a dayes, that haue rather be in the parke to fight agaynst the bulles, than be in suerty vpon the scaffold. Oftentimes I haue heard say: Go we to the Cheaters to renne at the bulles: go we to chase the Hartes and wylde Boies: and whē they come there, they renne awaye, not the beastes fro them, but thei from the beastes. In such wise as they went runninge, they retournes agayne fleeing. I say, these ambici-

ous persons, procure to gouerne, and are gouerned: they command, and are commanded: thei rule and are ruled: and finally thinking to haue diuers vnder their handes, these wretches put them selues vnder euery mans fote. For the remedy of all these perilles, my thought is comforted with one thing, and that is without procuring or offering my selfe, the senate of their owne wil hath commaunded me. In the best table of our aunclent lawes be these wordes.

We command that in our sacred senate, charge of iustice be neuer geue to him that willingly offereth him selfe to it, but to such as by great deliberacion are chosen. This is verreyly a iust lawe. For men now be not so vertuous nor so louing to the comon wealthe, that they wil forget their owne quietnes and rest, doing domage to them selfe to procure an other mans profite. There is none so solithe, that wil leaue his wife, childzen, and his owne sweete countrey, to goe into straunge countreies, but if he se him selfe among straunge people, thinking vnder the colour of iustice to seke for his owne briliie. I say not this without weping: that the princes with their smal study & thought and the iudges with their conetise, haue vndermined and shaken downe the high walles of the pollicy of Rome. And my frend Catulus what wilt thou that I should say, but that our credence so miniseth our conetise so largely stretcheth, our hardines so boldeth, our shamesaftnes so shameles, that we prouide for iudges to go and rob our neyghbours, as captaynes against our enemies. I let the to wit, where as Rome was beloved for chastisinge the euill, nowe it is as much hated for spoyling the good. I do remember that I red, in the time of Dennis Siracusan, that ruled al Sicille, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, being of a good age, wel learned and balaunt in armes, & right curious to note all thinges. He came to Rome to se the maiesty of the sacred senate, the height of the high Capitol

toll enuironned with the Colliſſet : the multitude of ſenarours, the wiſedom of the counſailours, the glozy of triumphes, the correction of the euill, the peate of the inhabitants, the dyuerſitye of nations, the abundance of the mayntenance, the order of the offices, and finallye ſeing that Rome was Rome, he was demanded howe he thought thereby: He aunſwered and ſaid. O Rome at this time preſente worſde, thou arte full of vertues and wyſe men, hereafter thou ſhalte be furnyſhed with fooles. Lo what hight and verpe hyghe wordes were theſe: Rome was, vi. hundred peares without anye houſe of fooles, and nowe it hath bene the hundred peares withoute one wyſe or vertuous man, Loke what I ſaye, it is no mockerye, but of trouth, if the pytefull Gods nowe a dayes dyd reſſe oure predeceſſours fro death to life, either they would not knowe vs for their chyldren, or els they woulde atache vs for fooles. Theſe be thynges ſeene in Rome, but thou ſendeſt no worde of that is ſeene in Agripine. I will wyrye nothing to the, to put the to payne: wyrye to me ſome thyng to reioyce me, if thy wyſe Dinifila chaunced well of the ſtote that came oute of Cetin with ſalte, oyle, and honye, I haue wel prouyded for her. Wiſte thou, that Floadius oure vncle was caſt downe by the rage of his hoſe, and is deceaſed. Laercia & Coliodorus are frendes together, by oceaſion of a marriage. I do ſend the a gowne, I pray to the gods to ſend the ioye thereof. My wyſe Fauſtine ſaluteth the. Recommend me to Jamiro thy ſon. The gods haue the in keeping, and contrary fortune be ſe from me. Marcus thy frend to the Catulus his owne.

The.lxviii.Chapter.

Of a ſharpe letter full of reprehencion ſente by the Empe.Mar.Au. to the amorous ladyes of Rome, becauſe in hys abſence they deuifed a play of him.



Marce oratoure, readinge in Rhodes the arte of humanitye, to you amorous Ladyes of Rome, wyſeth health to your parſons, and amendement of your deſired liues. It was wyrye to me, that at the feaſte of the mother Berecynthia, all you being preſente together, made a playe of me, in which you layed my life for an example, and ſlaundered my renowne. It is told me that Auilina compoſed it, Lucia Fulvia wrote it, and thou Teringia dyd ſinge it, and you altogether into the Theatre dyd preſente it, you brought me for the painted in ſondry ſozmes, with a booke in my hande tourned contrarpe, as a ſained philoſopher, with a longe tounge, as a bolde ſpeaker, with out meaſure, with a horne in my heade as a common cuckold, with a nettel in my hand, as a tremblinge loue, with a banner ſalleir downe, as a colward capitaine, with my belt halfe ſhauen, as a ſeminate mā, with a cloth beſore my eyes, as a condemned ſoule, and yet not contente with this, another daye ye brought me for the poſtracted with another new deuile.

We made a figure of myne, with ſeete of ſtraue, the legges of amber, the knes of wood, the thighes of brace, the belly of horne, the armes of pitche, the handes of mace, the head of yello, the eares of an aſſe, the eyes of a ſerpent, the heares of rootes tagged, the teath of a catte, the tounge of a ſcorpion, and the ſozhead of lead, in which was wyrye in two lynes theſe letters, M.N.S.N.I.S.V.S. which in my opinion ſignifyeth this. This picture hath not ſo manye metalles as hys lyfe hath changes, this done ye wente to the ryuer, and tyed it with the head downe wards a hole daye, and if it hadde not bene for the good Lady Meſſeline, I thinke it had beneſted there til now.

And now ye amorous Ladyes haue wyſten me a letter by Fuluius Fabricius which greued me nothinge, but as an amorous man from the handes of Ladies I except it as a mockery.

THE DIAL

And to the intent I should haue no layser to thinke thereon, ye send to demand a question of me, & is, if I haue found in my books, of what, so; what, from whence, when, so; whom, and how women were first made, because my condycion is to take moches for moches; and sith you do desire it, I wyl shew it you, your frendes and mine haue wyrtten to me, but especially your imballadour Fulvius hath instantly required me so to doe. I am agreued with nothinge and wyl hold my peace, saue to your letter onely, I wyl make answer, and sith there hath ben none to aske the questio, I protest to none but to you amorous ladies of Rome I sende my answer. And if any honest ladye wyl take the demaunde of you, it is a token that she doeth enuy the office that ye be of, for of trouthe, that ladye whiche sheweth her selfe annoyed with your payne openlye, from hence; the I condemne her that she hath some faulte in secrete. They that be on the stage, feare not the royinge of the bull, they that be in a dongeon feare not the shot of the cannon. I wyl saye the woman of good lyfe feareth no mans slaunderous tong. The good marrons maye keape me for their perpetual seruauant and the cyll for their chiefe enemye: I answer. It is expedyente you knowe of what the firste women were made. I saye that accordyng to the dyuersities of nations that are in the worlde, I finde dyuers oppynions in this case. The Egyptians saye, that when the ryuer Nilus brake, and ouer ranne the earth, there abode certayne peces of earthe whiche cleued together, and the sonne comynge to them, created manye wylde bestes amongst whome was founde the firste woman. Note Ladies it was necessary that the floodde Nilus shoulde breake oute, so that the firste woman myghte be made of earthe. All creatures are nourished and bredde in the entrayles of their mothers, excepte the woman whiche was byed withoute a mother. And it seemeth mooste true, that withoute mothers ye were bozne, for withoute rule ye lyue, and withoute order ye

bye, trulye he taketh vpon him a great thing and hath manye cares in his minde, much to muse vpon needeth muche counsel, needeth longe experyence, and oughte to choose amongst manye women that thinketh to rule one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes neuer so wylde, at lengthe the Lion is ruled by his keeper, the bull is enclosed in the parke, the hore ruled by the byrdell, the litrell hoke catcheth the fysh, the Dye consented to yealde to the yoke, onely a woman is a beste whiche wyl neuer be tamed, the neuer loseth her boldenes of commaundyng, nor by anye byrdell wyl be commanded. The gods haue made men as men, and bestes as bestes, and mas vnderstanding very high, and his strength of great force, yet there is nothing, be it of neuer so greates power that can escape a woman, either with sleight or myght. But I saye to you amorous Ladies, there is neyther spurte can make you go, raine that can hold you backe, byrdell that can refrayne you, neither fysh hoke ne net that can take you, to conclude there is no lawe can subdue you, nor thame restrayne you, nor feare abathe you, nor chastimente amende you. As to what great peryll putteth he hym selfe into, that thinketh to rule and correte you, for if you take an opinyon, the whole worlde can not remoue you, who warneth you of anye thinge, ye neuer beleue him, if they geue you good counsell, you take it not, if one threaten you, straitte you complaine, if one praise you then are ye proude, if they reioyce not in you, then are you spitefull, if one forbere you, then are ye bolde, if one chastice you, straitte you becomis serpentis, finallye a woman will neuer forget an injury, nor be thankfull for a benefite receiued, nowe a daies the mooste symplest of all women will swere, that they knowe lesse then they doe, but I sweare whiche of them that knoweth least, knoweth more euill then all men, and of trouthe the wyldest man shall fall in their wyldeedom. Will ye knowe my Ladies howe litrell you vnderstande, and how much ye

be

ingnozaunte: that is in matters of impo-
taunce, ye determyne rashlye, as if ye had
studied on it a thousande yeres, if anye rea-
siste your counsell, ye holde him for a mortal
enemy, hardy is that woman that dare geue
counsaile to a man, and he more bolde that
taketh it of a woman, but I retourne and
saye that he is a foole whiche taketh it, and
he more foole that asketh it, but he most foole
that fulfilleth it. My opinion is, þe whiche
wyl not stumbe amongst so harde stones,
nor picke him selfe amongst such thornes,
nor stynge hym with so manie nettels, let
hym hearken what I will saye, and doe as he
shall see, speake well, and worke euill. In
promysinge a bove muche, but in perfour-
myng accomplyshe littell. Finallye allowe
your wordes and condemne your counsels,
if we could demaund of famous men which
are dead, how they liked in their life the coun-
cel of women. I am sure they woulde not
nowe risse agayne to beleue them, nor be re-
turned to heare them. Howe was kinge Phi-
lippe with Olimpia, Paris with Helaine,
Alexander with Rosana, Aeneas with
Dido, Hercules with Deanyrya, Anti-
bal with Tamira, Antony with Cleopa-
tra, Iulius with Domitian, Nero with
Agrippina, and if you wil not beleue what
they suffered with them, aske of me vnhap-
pye man what I suffer amongst you. O ye
women when I remember that I was bozne
of you I lothe my life, and thinkinge howe
I liue with you, I wish and desire my death.
For there is no suche death or tozmente, as
to haue to do with you, and contrary no such
lyfe as to flye from you. It is a common
saienge amonge women, that men be verpe
vnthankfull, because we were byed in your
entrailes. We order you as seruauntes. Ye
saye for that ye broughte vs forth with pe-
rill, and nourished vs with trauel, it is reason
that we shoulde alwayes employ vs to serue
you. I haue thoughte dyuers tymes with
my selfe, from whence the desire that man
harbe to women cometh.

There is no eyes but oughte to wepe,

nor harte but shoulde breake, nor spyrite but
oughte to waille to se a wyse man losse by a
foolyshe woman.

The solyly louer passeth the daye to con-
tente his eyes, and the darke nighte in toz-
mentinge him selfe with sonde thoughtes,
one daye in hearinge slynges, another day
in doinge seruices, sometime lpyng darke-
nes, sometime lochinge lyghte, dienge in
companye and solitarie liueth, and finallye
the pooze louer maye that he will not, and
would that he may not, more ouer the coun-
sel of his frendes auailleth hym nothinge nor
the infampe of his enemyes, nor the losse of
goods the aduenture of honoure, the losinge
of his lyfe, nor the sekynge of death, nei-
ther commynge neare, nor spenge sarre,
nor seinge with his eyes, ne hearinge with
hys eares nor tastynge with his mouth, nor
fealyng with hys hande, and to conclude
to get victo:pe he is alwaye at warre with
hym selfe.

Then I woulde ye louers knete from
whence youre loue doeth come, it is this,
The entayles whereof we are byed be fleshy,
the breastes that we sucked are of fleshe, the
armes wherewith we be fastened be of fleshe,
the thoughtes whiche we thinke be fleshy,
the workes whiche we doe are fleshy, the
men with whome we liue are of fleshe, and
the wonder for whome we dye are fleshy, by
whiche occasyon cometh the reuertynge
of oure fleshe to fleshe, many free hartes,
are intangled with the snates of loue.

It semeth well my ladyes ye were gendes-
red in puddels as befoze is mencioned of the
Egiptians, the puddels haue no cleare wa-
ter to drynke, nor fruite to eate, nor fishe to
be taken, nor hypppe to saile in.

I meane that in youre liues ye be filthy,
your personnes withoute shame, in aduer-
sitye weake and feble, in prosperytye full of
deceite and guyle, false in youre wordes,
and doubtefull in youre doinges in hatinge
without measure, in loue extream, in giftes
couetous, in takynge vnshamfast, & finallye I
say ye are þe ground of feare, in whom þe wyse
men

THE DIAL

men finde perill, & the simple men suffer iniury. In you & wise men holde their renoume flattered, & the simple men their life in perill: let vs omit the opinto of the egiptians, and come to the grekes, whiche saye that in the desertes of Arabia, the sone shyneth hottest: & at the beginning there was found one womā with one bird called the phenix, which bird was created of the water, & the woman engēdered by the great heat of the sone, and of the powder of trees in this wise: their was a tree soze eaten with woymes & vpon a time a blast of lightning set it on fier & burne it, so as amongst the ashes of that rotten tree the first womā was made & found. Although I be a Romayne philosopher, yet can I not disallow the opinion of the greke philosopher. Of trouthe ye amorous dames, ye haue your tonges of the nature of fier, and your condicions like the powder of a rotten tree. Accordinge to the dyuersitye of beastes, so nature hath in dyuers partes of the bodye placed their strength, as the Eagle in her byll, the Antiope in the horne, the serpent in his taile, the bul in the head, & beare in his pawes, the horse in the brest, the dogge in the teath, the boze in the rushe, the wood bere in the wynges, the womē in their tonges, for of trouthe the flight of the done is not so hygge, as the fantasy of your solishnes is balne, the catte scratcheth not so soze with her nayles, as ye scratche the solish men with your importunities, the dogge hurteth not hym so much, that he runneth after, as ye doe the sorrowful louer that serueth you, the lyfe of him is not in so much danger that catcheth the bul by the hornes, as the same of him that falleth in your handes. To conclude, the serpent hath not somuch poison in his taile: as ye haue in your tonges. I excepte the Romaine ladies a parte, for there are many very noble, whose lyes are not touched wth cōplaynte, nor good names had in suspect: of such neither my letter speaketh ought, nor my pen wyrteth: but of those womē I speake & be such, as al & be enemies beastes in & woold haue not somuch poiss in their bodies, as one of those hath in

their togges. And sith the gods haue cōmaunders, & our face doth permit, & the lyfe of men cānot passe wth our womē, I aduise the yowth, and beseeche the aged, & awake the wyse: and instruct the simple, to shonne women of euill name moze then & cōmō pestylēce. Readinge the auncient lawes of Plato, I find writē this, we cōmaund & al women openly defamed, be openly banished the city, to the intent & others seeing the sinne punished, maye abhorre the same, for feare to fall in the like paine: & same lawe sated further, we commaund & they pardon a woman for al her faultes she committeth bodely, in case ye se amendmēt likely in her, but we wil that no fault be pardoned committed by the tong, for actual sinne done, is the frailty of nature, the tōg only of malice. Wherof Plato, maister and measure of al knowledge & science, and prince of al philosophers. Wth thou in the golde world madest such lawes, in whiche tyme there was suche scarcity of those womē which were euill, & so greate plenty of them that were good, what shuld we do now in Rome, where there be so many euill openly, and none good in secret: women naturally oughte to be shamefast in their face, temperate in wordes, wise of wit, sober in going, honest in conuersatiō, pityful in correction, ware in their liuing, auoyding companies, faithful in their promise, cōstant in loue. Finally she that wylbe counted honest, let her not trust to the wysedome of the wyse, nor commyt her fame to the wanton yowth, let euery wise woman take hede what he is that promyseth her oughte. For after that the flames of Venus be set on fire, and Cupyde shotte bys arrowes, the ryche offereth all that he hath, and the pooze all that he maye, the wyse man wil be euer her serf, and the simple man for euer her seruaunt, the wyse man wyl loose her lyfe for her, and the simple wyl accepte hys death for her.

The olde men saye, they wylbe frendes to their frendes, and the yonge man wyl saye, he wylbe enemyes to their enemyes, the aged prouysyng to paye her debtes, the other to reuenge her iniuries. Finally the one because

because to hysde their pouerty, & the other to publishe their beanty, leade these fooles losing their liues, and bysingng their same to ende. I will leaue to speake of the good women, for I minde not to charge them with ought. I aske you amozous ladies, if Plato was amongst you when ye made a play of my life, and drew my picture about Rome? no surely, for that I se in your acte now, I do suspect that to be true, which harbe bene saied of others, for there are fewe in Rome that execute the paine of Platoes law. One thing ye cannot deny, if I were the worst of al men, at the last ye se the end of my villainies, but this you can not deny, that the whiche is least euil of all you, the nauities of her life, I could not sufficiently set out in al my life: it is greate peril to wyse women to be neibored with fooles, it is greate peril to the shamefast, to be wth the shameles, it is greate peril to h^e chaste to be with the aduocates, greate peril it is for the honorable to be with h^e defamed, for there is no slandered womā but thinketh eueryone defamed, or at the least desireth to haue the so, procureth to haue them slandered, or saith they be infamed. And in the end to hysde their infamy, they slander al h^e good. It is lōg sithe I knew you amozous ladies, & you me, if ye speake I speake, if you know, I know, if ye hold your peace, I am still, if ye speake openly, I will not talke in secret. Thou knowest wel Auilina h^e didest compasse h^e self of me, that Cumeses solde causes dearer, in the butcherp, the thou dyddest innocēt virgins in thy house. And thou Toringa knowest wel, h^e before me thou couldst not cōute all thy louers on thy fingers, but didest desire to haue a bushel of peas: thou wotest wel Lucia Fulvia, whē thou were (thou wotest with whom) at Bietus, we made agreement wth thy husband, thou tokest him aside, and saied, vnles I may lye out of my house one night in a weke, thou shalt not lie quietly in thy house, thou knowest well Fotoria h^e in thy pouth thou were. If veres on h^e sea, & didest cōpōnd wth the pirate h^e no womā

shuld serue the hūdred souldiers but thou alone in the galy. Thou knowest right wel Eгна Curcia, h^e when the censor came to take the, he found. b. mēs apparel, the whiche thou warest in the nyght season, & but one womā attire wherwith thou wast clothed in the day time. Thou knowest wel Pelilana Fabricia, h^e Alluines Metelles & thou being married demaūded openly what h^e haddest gottē in his house wth thy frendes in secret; thou knowest wel Camilla not being cōtent with thy owne cōuntre folkes, thou hadest such resort and haunt of straungers to the, h^e thou cāst speake al lāguages. I will marke them h^e haue marked me, hurt them h^e haue hurted me, persecute the that haue persecuted me, defame the that haue slandered me, all other my penne pardoneth for that they perdoned me in their play: because my letter begōn with h^e ye did to my parsō, therfore I wil end it, with that it knoweth of your good names. And thus I cōclude, that a mā may scape from al dangers in honning them, but frō women there is no way but to fle frō them, thus I end and beseeche h^e gods that I may se of you h^e whiche you woulde se of me, and sith ye be loners, I counsaile you as ye haue sent me h^e playe in a mōckerp, even so to receiue my answer, Marke Rodian to the amozous ladies of Rome.

The.lxix. Chapter.

Of a letter sente by Mar. Au. to his loue Boemia for that she desyred to go vvith him to the vvarres.



Arcus the Romaine pretor being in the warres of Dacia, sendeth healthe to hys lōtinge Boemia, remaning in h^e pleasours of Rome. Escaping from a cruel battaille, thy few lines I red, & vnderstode thy large info:rmactō. I let the know, thou hast affronted me moze, then mine enemies haue feared me, & taking thy letter in my hādes, the herbe of malice entered into my harte.

THE DIAL

When I temper my body with thy deligh-
tes, I thinke my hart free fro the bentme of
thy amours, sicke I of my will, and thou for
want of power, haue geue vs to be free of our
pleasures, I thinke as well to make a de-
uoyce of our sorowes: but ye be such, ye such
I say as are the banishmentes of loue: & the
treasure of griefes: the loue of you al oughte
to be digested wth pilles, but y^e passio of one of
you wil not be oppressed with al the rubard
in Alexandria: ye shewe your selues cruel
to pardon an enemy: and euery lightly you
chaunge your frendes I haue curiouslye
made serche whylest delighe gouerned my
youth, yet could I neuer se in a womā frow-
sartnes, nor reason in their loue: nor end in
their hate, thy presēt wantones quarreleth
with my youth passed: because thou seest not
in me the auncient good wil toward the, nor
the presēt seruice. And certainly hearing thy
accusatio: & not my iustificatio, thou migh-
test pay me as iustly with death, as I paye
the wth forgetfulness. The whiche forgetful-
nes ought to be as straunge in hym that ser-
ueth: as ingratitude in the lady y^e is serued:
thinkest thou that I haue forgotten y^e lawe
of Venus: when I commaundeth that the
curious louers shuld exercise their strengthe
in chivalry and occupy their hartes in loue:
& more it willet a mā to weare hys geare
cleerly: their sete right, their bodys cōstant:
their voice softe & humble, demure and mo-
dest of chere: they oughte to haue their eyes
open alwaies loking vp to the wyndowes,
and their hartes ready to fly into the ayre.
For a trouthe my frende Boemia: he is a
grosse louer y^e hath his will in captiuitie: and
his iudgemēt free. The iudgemēt is of no va-
lue where the wyll is in thraldome, this I
say that thou maist know, though my age
hath lest y^e exercise: yet my vnderstandynge
hath not forget y^e arte: thou complaineest be-
cause I geue my selfe to muche quiet, & that
haue forgotte the, I will not deny y^e trueth,
the day of my forgetting maketh the p^{re}u-
p of my thoughtes. And reason the ouerfect
declareth y^e it is not requisite for my graui-

ty to permit I shuld loue: nor in thy age so
suffer to be beloued. Though that the world
doth discible many thinges in youth: which
in age meryteth greuous correction. The
wanton toies of youth procede of ignorance,
but the villanies done in age growe of ma-
lice. Whē I walked in nightes: I tettered the
streets, I sang ballades: I gased to y^e wynd-
owes, I played on the gytroones: I scaled
the walles, I wakened the youth. Thinkest
thou I wist what I dyd in my youth bute
sith I se my selfe bereued of all my wonted
wanton toies: & polished wth so many whyte
heares, clad wth so manye sorowes: either I
thinke now, I was not thē: or els I dreame
now, not knowing the way I stray in, nor
seing y^e stony way ready to stūble in, vniot-
tingly I haue fallē into the staires, not for
seing y^e wherilpole, guidles I entred in the
rashnes of my youth I lost me: for y^e which
I aske pardon, & now y^e I am out of the by-
ers, y^e wouldest haue me furder in, thē euer
I was: now y^e I canot take the purgatiōs,
thou offerest to me the stropes, I haue was-
hed al night, & nowe thou geuest me a fresh
a lareme by our auncient frendshyp I praye
the: & by the gods I cōsure the: y^e sithens my
hart is rebel to thy will: y^e thy donbifull will
doe suffer & let alone my wyl out of doubtre.
And because y^e shuldest not thinke any vng-
ratitūde in my white heares: as I may in
thy yong & wanton parlo, I wil that we ac-
compte y^e we haue gotten: & that we hope to
get. Tel me what cometh of these vaine ple-
sures: the time euil spēt, the same in way of
perdictio, the godos consumed, y^e credite lost,
the godos offended, the vertues flandered.
Fro whēce we get the names of brute beas-
tes: & sire names of shame: suche be ye, and
others. Thou wistest in thy letter how thou
wouldest wyllinglye lene Rome, & come to
se me in the warres of Dacia. Considering
thy folly I laugh, but knowing thy holdnes
I beleue the. And when I thinke on this: I
tourne to my bosome and peruse thy sealed
donbringe whether the letter were thine or
not, the vaines of my hart do chaunge, my
couler

couler north turne, imagininge that either
 shame hath utterly forsake the or els graun-
 ty hath wholly abayoned the. For such light-
 nes shuld not be beleued, but of hysle pera-
 son; thou knowest wel, he that doth euill de-
 serueth punishment soner then he that doeth
 insamp. I would aske h whether thou wilt
 go, thou suffrest to be cut as sowre, and
 now thou wouldest be sold for wine; I cam-
 mest in with cherpes, and yet wouldest re-
 maine as quinces, we haue eaten h in blof-
 somes, and thou wilt be like the fruite; the
 myttes be pleasaunt, but the shelles be hard,
 by dong thou were made ripe in thy youth,
 and thou wouldest to be in still, I arte nought
 els but rotten, and if thou be rotten, thou
 art to be abhorred, thou arte not contente
 with xl. yerres which thou hast, whereof xlv.
 thou dydest passe in tast like to swete wyne
 that is sold, or like to melones that be ripe
 and melow; art not thou h Boemia; which
 lacketh. ii. teath befoze: are not thine eyes
 sunken into thy head: thy heares whiter, thy
 flesh wrinkled, and thy hand pershed with
 the gout, and one ribbe marred with thide
 bearing. Whether dost thou desire to go:
 put thy selfe then in a harel and cast it into
 the riuer, so shalt thou be come pure and
 white. We haue eaten the fleshy fish, and now
 thou wouldest bringe bet bet the stinkinge
 lake fish. O Boemia Boemia, in this case
 I see no trust in youth, nor hope in age.
 For vnder this thy hored age there is hyd,
 the panges of fralle youth. Thou complay-
 nest that thou hast nothing, it is an old qua-
 rel of the auncient amorous ladies in Rome;
 that taking al thinges, they saie they haue
 leste them nothinge. The cause thereof is,
 where you do lacke credite, there ye would
 haue it accomplished with motiey, beleue
 me louing frend, the folish estate of vnlaw-
 ful gattning, both geueth an vnsture state, and
 also an euill fame to the person. I know not
 how I art so wasteful, so if I pulled of my
 ringes to the one hand, I picketh my purse
 to the other: greater warres haddest thou
 then to my coffers, then I haue now to my
 annies. I neuer had suell, but I demaundest

of me, I neuer denied h I find a betwape
 now in my age, h high parties of my youth:
 of trauel; pouerly thou coplatnest. I am he
 that hath great nede of h medicine for this
 spilactid, and plasters for h sore, and cold water
 for such a burning feure. Dost thou not
 wel remeber how I did banish my nere ally
 into the lād of forgetfulnes, and placed thy
 good wil, for h request of my seruice, in the
 winter I wēt naked, and in the sommer I cō-
 tith clothes, in the mire I went one foote,
 and rode in a faire way, when I was sad I
 laught, when I was glad I wept, being a
 fraid I dyed out my strength, and out of
 strength cowardnes, the nightes to lightes,
 and daies in wailling I consumed. What thou
 hadest nede of any thinge, I robbed my sa-
 ther for it. Tel me Boemia with who did-
 dest thou fulfil thine open folles, but with
 the misforders h I did in secret: wot ye what
 I thinke of h amorous ladies in Rome: that
 ye be moored in old garments, a pastyme
 for light persons, a treasure of foolles, and the
 sepulchers of vices, this I feareth to me is, h
 in thy youth, euery mā gaue to the, so that
 thou shuldest geue to euery one, now I ge-
 nest thy selfe to euery man, because euery
 one shuld geue them to the. Thou tellest me
 that thou hast two sonnes and lackest helpe
 for them, geue thanks to the Gods for the
 mercy they haue shewed the. To xv. childre
 of Falricius my neighbour they gaue but
 one father, and to thine onely two sonnes
 they geuen, xv. fathers, wherefoze demyde
 them to their fathers, and euery one shal not
 haue a cenger. Livia thy daughter in bed,
 and myne by suspect, remeber that I haue
 done moze in marteling of her, the than did-
 dest byn frigid her so; so in h getting of
 her thou calledst many, but to mary her I
 did it alone: very litle I write to the, in res-
 pecte of h I would write, Sufrio Cornely
 hath spokē muche to me on thy behalfe, and
 that say as much to h in my part, it is long
 ago sith I knew thy impaciere, I know wel
 thou wilt sō me another letter moze malici-
 ous, I pray h see I write to the in secret,
 discouer me not openly, and when thou readest

THE DIALOG

this, remember what occasion thou hast ge-
uen me to write thus: Although we be sal-
len out, yet I wyl sende the money. I sende
the a golwe, and the gods be with the Boe-
emia and sende me from this warre with
peace: Marke perctour in Daci, to Boemia
his louer his auncient frend.

The .lxx. Chapter,

The aunliuere of Boemia to the
Emperoure Marcus Aurelius
vwherein is exprelled the greate
malice, and lytle patience of an
euil vwoman.



Boemia thine aunciente
louer, to the Marke of mount
Celio her natural enemy, de-
scribeth vengeance of the per-
son: and euil fortune darynge
thy life. I haue receiued thy letter: and there
by perceiue thy spitefull intentes, and thy
cruel mallices. Suche naughty persons as
thou art haue this pryncedage: that sith one
doeth suffer your villanies in secrete, you
wyl hurte them openly: but thou shalte not
doe so with me Marke. Although I am not
treafozes of thy goods: yet at the least I am
of thy naughtines. All that I cannot renige
with my person: I wyl not spare to doe it
with my tongue: and though we women for
weakenes sake are easely overcome in par-
son: yet know thou that oure hartes are in-
vincible: thou saiest escapyng from a bat-
talle thou receiuedst my letter, wherof thou
wast sore agasse. It is a common thinge to
them that be slouthful, to speake of loue: for
fooles to treat of bookes, and for cowardes
to blafe of armes. I saye it because the aun-
swere of a letter, was not needfull to res-
hearte to a woman whether it was before
the battalle or after. I thinke wel thou hast
escaped it, for thou werte not the first that

fought not the last that fled. I neuer sawe
the goe to the warre in thy youth that euer
I was fearful of thy life: for knowing thy
cowardlines: I neuer take care for thy ab-
sence. I alwaies iudged thy person safe.
Then tel me Marke what doest thou now
in the age, I thinke thou carrest thy lance:
not to serue thy tourne in thy warre: but to
lean on when the gouise taketh the. Thy
head pce I iudge, thou hast not to defend
the from strokes of swordes: but to stinke
with al in taverles. I holwe sawe the strike
any man with thy swerde: but I haue seene
the kil a thousande women with thy songe.
O malicious Marke, if thou werte as baly-
sunt, as thou art spirital: thou shouldest be
no lesse feared amongst the barbarous na-
tions: then thou art abhored (with good rea-
son) amongst the Romayne nations. Tel
me what thou list: but thou canst not denye
but both thou hast ben and arte a flache lo-
uer: a cowardly knight: an unknowe frend:
an ambitious infamed: an enemy to all men:
and frend to none. For euer we that know
the a ligheryng man, to demine the now for
an old doting fool. Thou saiest that taking
my letter into thy handes: for the which thy
hart receiued the heards of malice. I beleue
the well vntwoyne: for any thing doubting
malice, doeth straighte fynde harbor in thy
brest. The beastes corrupted do take poison,
which the sound and of good compleais re-
fuseth: of one thing I am sure, thou shalte
not dye of popson: For seldome tyme one
poiso hurteth another: but it doeth hurt the
other: O malicious Marke: if all they in
Rome knewe the as well as the vntwapped
Boemia doeth: they shuld se how much the
wordes that thou speakest differ from the
intention of thy hart. And as by the bookes
thou makest thou merpitt y name of a phil-
osopher: then so for the sinest thou in deed,
thou doest deserue the name of a traitor.
Thou saiest thou sawest neuer chafney in a
womans loue, nor end in het hate: I saye not
a litle that other ladies in Rome as well as
in other places, haue had such chafney in
their loue.

I doe knowe thy smal wisdom: Behold
 Marke I will not worke the: for thou art
 such a one as neuer deserued, y^e one shold
 begin to love; nor end so hate. *¶* While thou
 haue stabillite in love, and thou
 brynkeful of thy service: wilt thou sit
 in machinery, and be beloued saythfully: wilt
 thou enjoy the parson without spendinge
 any of thy goodes: wilt thou haue no com-
 playntes on the, and thou cease not thy
 malice: Thou knowest the ill of women: I
 will thou knowe, that we be not so foliſhe
 as ye wene vs; no; thou so wise as thou
 playest thy selfe to be. *¶* Hither to we haue
 sent many men folowe the desire of women,
 then women haue liked to folowe men: I
 haue sent a thousand times; yea and thou
 thy selfe, that one man hath not so many
 a hart, as to overcome three wise women,
 and one woman holdeth her selfe stronge
 enough to subdue. *¶* I will light persons in:
 Thou sayest thou art ashamed of my light-
 nes, sitte me for sake to me and come to the
 into the warres. Great is the love of the
 country, and manye leave manye goodes
 which they haue in straunge landes, y^e to live
 poorly in their owne: but greater is my love
 for I would leave Rome with the delities
 therein, and come to seeke the straunge lan-
 des among the rude souldiours. *¶* Malici-
 ous Marke, o straunge frende. If I leave
 Rome, it were to go seke my hart which is
 with the in the warres. And certainly: of
 tentimes when I thinke of thy absence, I
 fall into a swoone, as one that had no hart:
 but I neuer finde remedye. I thinke our
 love is not like to these beastes, which haue
 their mindes only upon sensuall pleasures,
 without the consoling of the loving hartes.
 I sweare to the by the goodes of Hea-
 uen the mother Berecynthia; that thou shalt
 more to me for the love I haue borne to the
 in one day, then for the service I haue done
 to thy father. Behold unhappy Marke
 howe much and dearely I loved thee in thy
 presence I alwayes beheld the: and absent

I alwayes thought of the, sleeping I dream-
 ed on the, I haue wept for thy sorowes;
 and laught at thy pleasures; and finally all
 my welth I wished y^e at thy misfortunes
 I took as mine. I ensure the of one thinge:
 that I fele not so much the persecutio thou
 hast done to me, as if I do the wayling for
 griefe: thou thewell to me. It is a great
 griefe to a conetous man to lose his goods
 but without compassion it is a greater for
 mee for the longer to see his love thus be-
 towed. It is a hurt that is alwayes soze, and a
 payne alwayes paynfull, a sorow alwayes
 sorowfull; and it is a death that neuer en-
 deth. *¶* If men knew howe dearely and fasty
 fully women do love, when they are be-
 haved to one: and with what malicious hart they
 hate, beinge set to hate: I sweare to you ye
 would never company with them in love:
 or if ye did love them, ye would neuer leave
 for feare of their hate. And as there is ne-
 ver great hate, but where there was first
 much loue: even so thou shalt neuer be gre-
 ly hated, for that thou wast rather truly be-
 loved of the ladies. The sorowfull Boemie
 hath loved the. xiiij. yeares of her life: and
 now she only hateth the till after her death.
 Thou sayest I may be eaten for verghise: and
 yet would be sold for wine: I knowe I have
 erred as one both yong and light: and wh^e
 I found meto straye out of the waye; and
 my mishap could not way; nor remedye.
 It is a great losse of all tallos when there is
 no remedye. I haue offended as a weake and
 frayle woman; but thou as a man stronge:
 I erred by simple ignorance; but thou of
 a purposed and wilful malice: I sinned not
 knowinge: thou sinned with an ill will: but thou knowest
 all what thou doest: I do not credite thy wo-
 des as a saythfull knight: and thou bett ap-
 rest me into a coward: yea as a common yett:
 Tell us of worst: not thou least of all: thou
 comest into my mothers house Gerulia, to
 entice me her daughter. Boemia to thy
 misdeed: dost thou promise my father;
 to reache me to reade in the yeare; and tell
 be

THE DIAL

dest me Ouide of the arte of loue: biddest not thou swear to marry me, & after with-
drew thy hand as a false aduoucer: doste
thou not knowe that thou neuer foundest
in my personne anye villanye, no; in thy
mouth anye truthe: At the leaste thou canst
not deny but thou hast offended the goddes,
thou art defamed amongst men, obious as
the Romaynes, a sleanderer of the good
folkes, an example to the ill, and finallye a
traitour to my father, a breaker of thy faith
to my mother, and to me the unhappy Boe-
mia an unkind lover. O malicious Sparke
hast thou not cut me in leaues, offering to
my father to kepe his vines safe? Ouell
may the chicken trust the kite, or the lam-
bes the wolfe, or the doves the falcon, but
thou art worse to bring vp the daughters
of good men. O cursed Sparke, a hurtfull
heyer of vines hast the marrons of Rome
found the in keepinge their daughters. I
swear that there was neither grape nor
cluster, but it was either eaten or gathered
by the, thou biddest rate me grene, for the
which I promise the I shalbe set thy teethe
on edge. Thou sayest I was rised by power of heat
and strawe. It groweth me not so much tha
thou sayest it, as that thou geuist me occa-
sion to say to the, thy name is so Hamlet,
and thy euill so malicious, that I can not
make answer to thy purpose, onlesse I
cubbe the on the naycke. I asse the to haue
thy marred Faustine: whether thou for-
dest her grene or rype: thou knowest well
and so do I also; that other gaged the beere,
and thou drankest the peece, other had the
meate and thou the huske; other dyd eat
them beynge grene and with the refuge set
thy teath on edge. O cursed marke: behold
howe great thy euils are and howe the gods
des haue iustlye punished the, that beynge
young thou couldest not deserve to be be-
sed of thy louers, nor yet now in thy age
thy wyfe kepe her faith to the. For now
to be reuenged of thy parson, I neede no more

but to se the marke to Faustine. By the
mother Berecinia I promise the, that if
thy final wisdome might attayne to know
at the full what they saye of the, and her in
Rome, thou wouldest wepe both daye and
night for the life of Faustine, and not leaue
the woful Boemia. O Sparke little care is
taken for the, and howe ferre is our vnder-
standinge vncoupled from thy thoughtes.
For though thy great learninge, thy house
in the daye time is a schole of philosophers,
and the wantonnes of thy wyfe Faustine
in the nighe maketh it a recepte of ruffi-
ans. It is a iust iudgement of the goddes,
sith that thy malice onelye sufficeth to per-
son many that be good, the euillnes onelye
of one woman, shalbe enough to spoyle and
take awaye thy good renoume. One diffe-
rence ther is betwene the and me, and thy
Faustine, whiche is, that my fathers are in
suspecte: and yours done in drede, intne be
in secrete, but yours knowne eyentye, I
hauis but stumbled, but you haue fallen, for
this onelye faulte I deserue punishment; but
you deserue pardon for none. O dishonour
dyed with my face, and is buried with my
name nomer, but your infamy is boyned with
your desires, nourished with your malis-
ces, and spyl with your workes. Finallye your
infamy shall neuer dye, for
you liued neuer well. O Sparke malicious, with all that thou
knowest, doste not thou knowe that to dye
well, both conuincen euill faith, and to make
an ende of an euill life borge begin a good
lauer. Thou ceasest not to saye euill onelye of
suspecte, whych thy false iudgements geue
the, and yet wouldest thou we shoulde con-
reale that we se with our eyes. Of one thing I am sure, that neyther of
the nor of Faustine there hath bene anye
false witness. For there are so many true
wittnes, that thet needeth no lyes to be in-
uented. Thou

Thou sayest it is an olde custome with the amorous ladies in Rome, though they take of many, yet they are the poorest of all: because we want credite, we are honored for silver. It is most certaine, that of holie we loke for pickes, of acorns, huskes, of nettels stinging, and of thy mouth malices, I haue seriously noted: I neuer sawe the say well of any, no: I neuer knewe any that would the good. What greater punishment can I desire for thy wickednes, or more vengeance for my iniuries, then to see all the amorous ladies of Rome discontented with thy life, and so to thinke on thy death: cursed is the man whose life many do bewaile; and in whose death every one doth reioyce. It is the property of such vnthankful wretches as thou arte, to forget the great good done to them, and to repent that litel they geue. How much the noble hartes do reioyce in geuing to other: so much they are ashamed to take service vntrewarded. For in geuing they are lordes, and in takinge they become slaves. I aske what it is thou hast geuen me, or what thou hast receyued of me: I haue aduentured my good fame, and geuen the possession of my parson: I haue made the lord of me and mine: I banished me, from my countrey, I haue put in perill my life: in recompence of this, thou dost detect me of miserie. Thou neuer gauest me ought with thy hart, no: I toke it with good will, no: it euer did me profite. As all thinges recouer a name, nor for the worke we openly see: but for the secrete intencion with which we worke, euen so thou vnhappy man desirest me, not to enioye my parsonne, but rather to haue my money, we ought not to call the a cleare louer, but rather a thefe and a wily person. I had a litel ring of thine, I minde to chynge it into the riuer, and a gowne thou gauest me, which I haue burnt, and if I thought my bodye were increased with the bread I did eate of thine, I would cut my fleshe being whole, and let out my blood without feare, I ma-

licious Marke, thy obscured malice will not suffer the to vnderstande my cleare letter. For I sent not to the to aske money to redde my pouerty and solitarines, but only to acknowledge and satisfie my willinge hart. Suche bayne and couetous men as thou, are contented with giftes, but the hartes incarnate in loue, are not satisfied with a litell money. For loue is rewarded alway with loue, the man that loueth not as a man of reason but like a brute beast, and the woman that loueth not where she is beloued, but onely for the gaine of her bodye, suche ought not to be credited in wordes, nor their persons to be honored. For thy loue of her enioyment goodes faileth; and his loue when her beauty decayeth. If the beauty of my face, did procure thy loue, and thy riches once allured my good will, it is righte, that we should not be called wise louers, but rather folishe persons. Cursed Marke I neuer tored the for thy goddes, although thou lykedst me for that I was sayre. The I loved with my hart, and now I abhorre the with al my hart. Thou sayest the gods bled with pite on me to geue me seuen children, and them many fathers. The greatest faulte in women is shameles, and the greatest villany in men is to be euil sayers. Diuers thinges ought to be borne in the weakenes of women, which in the wisdom of men are not permitted. I saye this for that I neuer saw in the temperance to cloke thine owne malicousnes, no: wisdom to shadow the debility of others. Thou sayest my children haue many fathers, but I sweare to thee, that the children of Faustine shall not be fatherles, although thou die, and if the goddes as thou sayst haue bene pitifull to my children, no lesse art thou to strange children. For Faustin kepeth the but to excuse her fautes, and to be rutoz to her children. Cursed Marke, I needest not take thought for thy children haue no neede to be married. For one thing we are bound to the, that is the example of thy patience, for sith thou sufferest

THE DIAL

sufferest Faustine in so many open infamies, that it is no great neede we suffer any secreete in the. For this presente I save no more I ende my letter, desiringe to se thou by the ende of thy life.

The, lxxi. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the emperoure Marcus Aurelius sent to the ladye Macrine the Romaine of vvhom (beholdinge her at the vvindeuue) he became enamoured, vvhiche declareth vvhath force the beauty of a fayre vvhoman hath in a vveake man.



MArke, the verie desirous to the ladye Macrine greatlye desired, I know not whether by my euill aduenture, or by happe of my good aduenture: not longe agoe I sawe the at a windowe, where I hadst thy armes as close, as I my eyes displayd, that cursed be they for ever, for in beholdinge thy face, forthewith my hart abode with the as prisoner. The beginning of thy knowledge is the end of my reason, and falling in thynning one euill, come infinite traualles to men. I say it for this, if I had not bene ydell I had not gone out of my house, and not gone out of my house, I had not passed by the streete: and not going throught the streete, I had not sene the at the windowe, and not seinge the at the windowe, I had not desired thy person, & not desiring thy person, I had not put thy name in so great perill, nor my life in doubt: nor we had given no occasion to Rome to speake of vs. For of trouth ladye Macrine, in this case I condemne my selfe. For willingly I did behold the. I did not salute the, although thou desirest to be sene. Sith thou were set vpp as a whete, it is no meruayle

though I shotte with the arrowes of my eyes at the but of thy beauty. With rolling eyes, with bowes bent, wel coloured face, incarnate teche, ruddy lippes, coulered heere handes set with ringes, clothed with a thousand maner of coloures, hauing purses full of swete sauoures, the braceletes and eare ringes full of pearles and stones. Tell me what this meaneth. The moste that I can thinke of this is, sith thou shewe vs your bodies openlye, ye woulde we shoulde knowe your desires in secreete. And if it be so as I beleue it is it semeth to me, ladye Macrine thou oughtest to loue him, that liketh the, to ensourme him that sekerh the, to answer him that calleth the, to seale him that sealeth the, and to vnderstande hym that vnderstandeth the, and sith thou vnderstandest me, I do vnderstand the, & vnderstand that thou knowest not. I do well remember as I wet by the streete solitarly to se. ii. theues put to death, my eyes sawe the at a windowe: on whom dependeth all my desires. More iustice thou dost to me, then I to the theues: for I being at iustice, thou hast iusticed the iustice, and none dare pain the. The gallows is not so cruell to the which neuer knewe but doing euill, as thou arte to me which neuer thoughte other but to serue the. They suffer but one death, but thou makest me suffer a thousande, they in one daye and one houre ende their lyues, and I eche minute do feele the panges of death. They died giltly, but I innocently, they dye openlye, & I in secreete. What wilt thou I say more to the, they wepte for that they died, and I wepe teares of blond from my hart, for that I liue. This is the difference, their tormentes spreadeth abrode throught al their body, & I kepe mine together in my hart. O cruel Macrine, I knowe not what iustice this is, y they kill men for robbing and stealinge of money, & suffer women to liue which deale mens hartes. If they take the liues fro them that picke purses, whye then do they suffer ladies which robbe oure entrailles

By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddess Venus I conjure the, eyther satisfie my desire, or restore to me my hart which thou hast robbed from me. I woulde thou knewe lady Macrine the cleare intencion of my harte, rather than this letter written with my hand. If my happe were so good and thy loue would permitte me to speake with the, I would hope by sight and speech to winne that which I am in suspett by my letter to lose. The reason wherof is because thou shalt read my rude reasons in this letter, and if thou sawest me, thou shouldest see the bitter teares which I wold offer to the in this my unhappy life. O that my mouth could publish my cruel peynes as my harte sealeth them. I sweare to the lady Macrine that my woful playntes, would stirre vpp thy smal care, and as thy beauty hath made the thine owne, so I knowledg of my greife should make the mine. I desire thou wouldest regarde the beginning, and therewith note the ende. For of truth, the same day I thou imprisonest my harte at thy window in the dungeon of my desires, I had no lesse weakenes to overcome, then thou haddest strengthe to enforce me, and greater was thy power to take me from my selfe, than my reason was to put me from the. Nowe lady Macrine I do not aske other mercy of the, but that we may declare our mindes together. But in this case what wilt thou I say vnto the: but that thou hast so much power ouer me, and I so litell of my libertie, that though I would not, my harte must needs be thine, and that bring thine, thou wilt shewe thy selfe to be mine. And sith it may not be, but that my life must be condemned in thy seruice, be thou as sure of my faith, as I am doubtful of thy good will: for I shall have a greater honour to be lost for thy sake, then to winne any other treasure. I haue no more to say to the now, but that thou haue respect to my perdition, and graue life out of my death, and turne my teares to ioye, and because I hold my faith

in thy faith, and wilt neuer dispaire in thy hope, I sende the, x. litel ringes of golde, with x. ringes of Alexandria, and by the immozall goddess I conjure the, that when thou putttest theym on thy finger, thou receyuest my loue into thy hart. Marcus thy louer wrote this with his owne hand.

The, lxxii. Chapter.

Of an other letter, vvhiche the emperor sente to the Ladye Macrine, vvherein he expresth the fyre flames vvhiche consume sonest the gentle hartes.



MArke thy neyghboure at Rome, to the Macrine his swete enemy. I call the swete for it is Iust I die for the: and enemy, because thou ceasest not to kill me. I can not tell howe it is, but sith the feast of Ianus hitherto, I haue written thre letters vnto the, in the aunswere whereof I woulde haue bene contented to haue receyued but .ii. fro I. If wold I serue the, thou wilt not be serued, if I speake to the, thou wilt not aunswere me, if I behold the, thou wilt not loke at me, if I call the, thou wilt not aunswere me, if I visite the, thou wilt not se me, if I write to the, thou wilt make no aunswere, and the worst of all is, if others do shewe the of my greifes, thou takest it as a mockery. O that I had so much knowledg where to complayne to the, as I hast power to cease my playnt, then my wisdom should be no lesse prayed amonge the wise, then thy beauty amongest the fooles. I beseeche the hartelye not to haue respecte to the rudenes of my reasons, but regarde the faith of my teares, which I offer to the as witness of my troth. I knowe not what profite may come by my harmes

THE DIAL

harne, nor what gayne of my losse thou mayst hope to haue, nor what suerty of my perill thou mayst attayne, nor what pleasure of my payne thou mayst haue, I had answered by my messenger that withoute reading my letters with thy owne handes thou diddest rent them in pieces, it oughte to suffice the to thinke howe many persons is tormented. If it had pleased you ladye Macrine to haue red those fewe lines, by which you should haue perceyued howe I am inwardly tormented. Be womē be very extreme and for the misadventure of one man, a woman will complayne of all men in generall, so ye all shewe cruelty for one particular cause, openly ye pardon all mens sinnes, and secretly ye procure death to all. I accompte it nothing ladye Macrine that thou hast done, but I lament that whiche thou causest thy neighbour Valerius to say to me.

One thinge I woulde thou shouldest remember, and not forget, that is, Sith my liberty is so small, and thy power so great, that being wholly mine, am tormented to be thine, the more inturpe I doo to me, the more I hurte thy selfe, sins by the I die, as thou by me dost liue. In this peruers opinion abide not, so mayst thou hatarde the life of vs both. Thou hurte thy good name and destroyest my health, in the ende thou must come to the same physyke. Pardon me ladye Macrine if I say ought that maye offend the, I knowe ye women desire one thing greatly, that is to haue souerainty of vs, yet not seme so muche as by thought to wishe the same. Thou haddest the same of a gentle nature though in deede thou were not so, yet thou haddest the same therof, and an auncient good name oughte not to be lost with a newe unkindenes. Thou knowest howe contrarie ingratitude is, to vertue in a vertuous house. Thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou be curteys.

There is no greater ingratitude, then not to lone agayne. Though I blisse the and thou not me, it is nothing though I remember the, and thou forgettest me, it is nothing, though I wepe and thou laugh, it is nothing, though I craue of the, and thou deny me, it is nothinge, though thou owest me, and paye me not: it is nothinge, but if I lone the, and thou not me, this is a great thinge, whiche the eyes can neyther dissemble, nor the hart suffer.

All the vices in mortall men are to be pardoned because they offend naturally saue only this discourtesy in women, and vngentlenes in men, whiche are counted of malice,

Diners seruices by me done to the: and all the good willes I haue heretofore bozne to the, thou onely ladye Macrine with one thinge reward me.

I praye the be not slacke to healte me, for I was not so to offer me into perill.

If thou sayst that Patroclus thy husbände hath the property in the, at the least yet receyue me vpon prose, and I will pretende a possession of the, and in this wise the vaine gloze in being thine, shall hide the hurte beinge mine.

Thou makest me marryable not a litell that for so small a rewarde, thou wilt suffer so great an importunitye.

For certaynly we graunt manye thinges to an importunate man, which we deny to a temperate man.

If thou ladye Macrine hopest to overcome me, Beholde I yelde me as vanquished, if thou wilt lose me, I holde me losse, if thou wilt kyll me, I holde me deade:

For by the gestures whiche I make before thy gate, and the secrete sighes whiche I fetch in my house, thou mayst know how greatly I minde to rest, but thy braue assaults are rather buildinges to nourishe death, then to comfort the life.

If thou wilt I escape this danger, done me not remedy. For it shalbe a greater dishonour for to slea me, then shame to saue me. It is no iust thinge for so small a gapne to lose so faithfull a frende. I wote not howe to make the my better; nor howe to make the paye me, and the worst of all is, I know not what to say, nor howe to determine. For I was not borne to my owne wealth; but to be faithfull in thy seruices, and for thou knowest whom thou hast trusted with thy message, the same I do trust with this open letter, and my aunswere in secreete. I do sende to the a fewell of pearle, and a peece of gold, I pray the gods make the receyue them as willingly, as I do freely send them. Marke o'atour to the Inerorable marryne.

The.lxxiii.Cpapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the emperoure Marcus Aure. sent to the beautifull Ladye Lybia, vyherem he proueth that loue is naturall, and that the moste parte of the philosophers and vwise menne haue bene by loue ouercome.



Marke full of sorowve to the careles Lybia. If thy lytell care did lodge in me, and my sorowes were harbert in me, thou shouldest then se how litell the quarell is that I make to the, in respect to the toimet I suffer. If the flames issued out, as the fire doth burne me within, the heauens should perishe with smoke, and the earth should make imbeares. If thou do well remember the first time I sawe the in the temple of the virgin Messals, thou being there diddest allway pray to the gods for thy selfe, and I upon my knees prayed

to the for me. Thou knowest and so do I, that thou diddest offer oyle and honey to the goddess, but I did offer to the teares & sighes. It is iust thou geue more to him that offered his hart, then to him whiche bzalweth money out of his purse. I haue determined to write to I this letter: wherby thou shalt perceyue howe thou art serued with the arrowes of my eyes, which were shotte at the whyle of thy seruice. Unhappy that I am I feare least this present calme, doth threaten me with a tempest to come. I will saye that discourtesy in the, causeth doubtfull hope in me. Behold my misadventure, I had lost a letter, and turninge to the temple to seke it, I found the letter whiche was of small importaunce, and had almost loste my selfe, which is the greatest thing. Considering my small reward, I se my eyes the ladders of my hope, set on so highe a wall, that no lesse certayne is my fall, then my climbing was doubtfull. Thou bendinge downe thy harnes of thy high deserttes, and putting me to the poynt of continuall seruice, suffrest me to enioy the fruit, & geue to whom thou wilt the leaues. By the immortal goddess I sweare, that I maye not a liell, for I thought that in the temple of the virgin Messalles no temptacion could haue come to man, but nowe by experience I finde that that woman is easeliter overcome, which is most watched, then the other. All bodily diseases be first had or they be knowen, and knowen or they be sene & sene or they be felt, and felt or they be talked & so in all thinges except loue this, whom they first feale the stroke therof, before they knowe the waye howe it commeth. The lightning commeth not so sodayne but it is knowen before by the thunder, the wal falleth not sodaynly, but first some stones fall downe, the cold commeth not so faste, but some small shivering is sene before, onely loue is not felt untill he hath had power in the entrayles. Let them knowe that are ignorant and thou ladye Lybya if thou wilt knowe

THE DIAL

And we. Loue sleapeth when we wake, and
 waketh when we slepe, laugheth when we
 weepe, and wepeth when we laugh, it as-
 sureth in taking, and taketh in assuringe: it
 sweareth when we be still, and is still when
 we speake. And finally it hath such a con-
 striction, that to geue vs our desire it causeth
 vs to liue in payne. I sweare vnto the, whē
 my wil became thy seruauit, and thy bea-
 uty made me my mistres, when I was at the
 temple, and there found the, neyther thou
 in thy prayer didst minde me, nor I vn-
 happy man did thinke on the. O vnhappy hart
 of mine, that being hole thou art deuised,
 being in healt thou art hurt, being aloue
 thou art killed, being mine thou art stolen,
 and the worst of all is, that thou not hel-
 ping to my life, consentest that death shall
 assault me. Considering many times lady
 Lybia with my selfe, my thoughtes to be
 high, and my fortunes base, I would haue
 seperated my selfe from the, but knowing
 my trauaile to be well employed in thy ser-
 uice, I saye though I might, I woulde not
 be seperated from the. I will not deny one
 thing, that is, y^e cursed loue taketh awaye
 the tast of al thinges, and in those thinges
 onelye it geneth vs pleasure, whiche are
 greatly agaynst our profite. This is the
 profe of him that loueth hartelye, that one
 scowne of her that he loueth, dothe more
 greene him, then all the deliightes of the rest
 of his life can please, I deme ladye Lybia
 thou art abashed to se me openly as a philo-
 sopher and to knowe me secretlye as a lo-
 uer. I beseeche the hartelye discover me not,
 for if the goddess graunt me long life, I am
 determind to amend my parson, & though
 I am nowe a yong foole, yet in age I wil
 be wise. The goddess knowe what I desire,
 and the force which doth enforce me there
 vnto. And as the fleshe is weake and the
 hart tender, the occasions manye, the ver-
 tues fewe, the world deceytfull, the people
 malicious, so I passe this spring time with
 floures, in hope that in haruest I shal haue

some fruite. Thinkest thou ladye Lybia,
 that philosophers be they neuer so wise,
 are not touched with the sharpe darts of
 loue: y^e vnder their course clothes there is
 not soft fleshe and white: Certaynly among
 ges harde bones, is nourished soft fleshe,
 and withyn the pricking huskes growe the
 chesse nut. I saye that vnder simple attire
 is the faithfull loue.

I do not deny but our fragile nature doth
 withstand our vertues. For I denye not
 but y^e the wanton desires are repressed in
 vertuous mindes, nor I deny not but y^e
 the rashnes of youth are restrayned wth the
 reynes of reason. I deny not but many ti-
 mes wisdome dothe withstande that that
 the fleshe procureth, and yet I confesse that
 he that is not amorous is a foole. And dost
 not thou knowe althoughe we be wise, we
 leaue not therfore to be men: dost not thou
 knowe all that euer we learne in our life,
 suffiseth not to gouerne y^e flesch one houre:
 dost not thou knowe that to wise men in
 this case hath fallen many errors: dost
 not thou knowe that there haue bene and
 are many maistres of vertues, and muche
 more there are and haue bene folowers of
 vices: then why dost thou make suche a
 wonder onely of me: I wil not say it with-
 out a trouthe, that I neuer had my iudge-
 ment so good and persite, as when Cu-
 pide blew wind on me with his win-
 ges. There was neuer man vntill my tyme
 accompted wise, but first he was entan-
 gled with Cupides snares. Gratian was
 in loue with Tamira, Solon Selaminus
 the geuer of the latres was enamoured
 with one Crettane Pitacus Mitelenus,
 lest he his owne wife and was in loue with
 a bonde womanne, that he broughte
 from the warre. Cleobulus when he was
 60. yeare old, and had red philosophye. 45.
 yeres, climbing vpp a ladder to scale his
 neighboures house fel, and of the bruse dis-
 ed. Periander prince of Achaia and chiefe
 philosopher at Grece, at the instance of
 his

his louers, knew his owne wife. Anacharsis a Philosopher, a Sithian by his father, and a Greke by the mother syde, loued so dearely a frend of his called Tebana, that he taughte her all that he knew, in somuch that he beinge sicke on his bed, she red for him in the scholes. Epimenides of Crete, that slepte .xv. yeares with oute wakynge, Althoughe he was a greate woorthypper of the Gods, yet was he bannyed Athens .x. yeares for the landynge of women, Archytus Tarentinus the maister of Plato, and scholer of Pithagoras, occupped bys mynd moze to inuente new kinde of loue, then to employe bys minde to verrues and learnynge. Borgias Cleontino, bozne in Seicil had moe concubines in bys house, then booke in his studie. All these were wise men, and we knewe them wise, yet at the end they were overcome with the fleshy.

Therfore blame not me alone, for as I haue tolde the of these fewe, so could I of a hole army. For of trouthe, he ought to haue many thinges that wilbe accomped a careless louer. he must haue his eyes displased on her that he loueth, his vnderstandynge muche altered in that he thinketh, his tong troubled in that he shuld speake, so that in seinge he be blinde, in thinkynge dismaide, in speakynge troubled. O ladye Libia, the loutynge in mockery, passeth by mockerye, but where as trewe loue is, there is greife and no mockerye, there loue spytteyth bys popson, and cruell Cupide fixeth his arrowes vp to the feathers, the eyes wepe, the harte sigheth, the sleache trembleth, the senewes doe shrinke, the vnderstanding is grosse, reason falleth, and so al faileth to the earth. Finally the heauy louer abyding in him selfe, holdeth nothing of hym selfe. All this I say because if I want knowledge to make me a louer, yet am I sure that the woorkes fail not in me to woike thy seruice. And thoughe by mishappe I sawe the yet by good chaunce, I knewe the: I aske nothing of the but that thou loue me faithfully, sith

I loue the vnsainedly, and if thou hearest that I am sicke from my harte, I desire the to doe me some good. Sith it is only in the to healepe me, it is reason thou only do seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted when Fulius Carlinus desired me in thy behalfe to doe a pleasure, which I dyd in contentment al that thou desirest, to the intent that thou an other daye shouldest doe frankly that I desire the. And beholde lady Libia, the woman that is serued with seruices, it is reason with in a while, she be sued vnto by prayer. And thoughe my strengthe cannot open the gates of the purpose, or not agreeinge to thy demaunde, yet all my labours shalke to vpholde thy renowne: I praye the dyscouer not the one, nor begyle me with the other. For thou seest in grauntynge, is remedye, and in hopynge is comforte. But promise is deceivable, and delayeng is peryllous, and the entertaynyng byndeth. I see wel that the happy demaund, requyret a longe answer. But I would not thou shouldest doe so, but as I loue the, so loue me, as I desire of the, so graunte thou me. I wyll saye once agayne I am all thine, and nothinge my owne. And note Ladye Libia, that it as muche honour to the, as profitablen for me, that thou chaunge these thy desires, and put in order, thy disordered wyll. For thou seest it is mache better to heale thyselfe then to late with fallynge thy purpose. All women obserue one euyl oppynyon, that is, ye neuer receiue counsell, althoughe it be geuen you in neuer so waighy a case. And if it be not so, then because thou arte esteemed beautifull, be lyke wyse honoured for takynge of good counsell. In this sorte, though my losse be much, and thy patience litel, yet shall they accept me wise in geuynge counsell, and the moste happy to folowe it. One thinge I will saye to the, and pardon me therein, women be so muche defamed in that they wyl take no counsell, and suche as doe assure their renowne so muche on the iudgemente of o-

THE DIAL

there, as they condemne wel doing before.
I thinke good if it so lyke the, and woulde
if thou wylte, that thou shoulde doe in all
pointes as I haue counseled the. I wil say
no more Ladye Libia, but that I doe pre-
sence to the all my vnfortunate troubles,
my sighes as a desperate man, my seruice
as thy seruante, my troubled greses, my

wordes of Philosophy, and my teares as a
louer. I sende the here a gyfte of golde, on
condicion that thou alwayes fixe thy eyes
on that, and thy hart on me. I praye the
gods geue me to the, and the to me. Marke
the open Philosopher wrote this in greates
secrete.

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per septenium.

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James

richer. T. minor. and J. g.

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London

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William Lloyd

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Sitt my dear is to be to please
god not to be to please
if my dear is to be to please
what is to be to please

where to shall I in quite my legs
to sail or want to get still
or how long I find but
tired to get where not journeyed with

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